

COBBETT'S

POLITICAL REGISTER.

.....
VOLUME LXXXIII.

FROM JANUARY 4 TO MARCH 29, 1834,

INCLUSIVE.
.....

LONDON:

**PRINTED AND PUBLISHED BY THE AUTHOR,
11, BOLT COURT, FLEET STREET.**

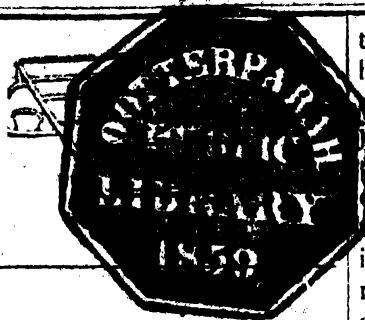
1834.

COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

VOL. 83.—No. 1.]

LONDON, SATURDAY, JANUARY 4TH, 1834.

[Price 1s. 2d.]



My House, No. 21, Crown-street, Westminster, facing the park, and having a door into the park on the other side, I shall have ready to be let, in about a week. It is a house fit for any gentleman's family; and it is just about six hundred yards from the chair of the Speaker in the House of Commons. There is not a better or pleasanter house in London. The particulars and the terms will be stated in the next *Register*. I should be much obliged by any editor of a newspaper, who would insert this notification about the house.

RUSSIA AND TURKEY.

Bolt-court, 1. January, 1834.

It was my intention to insert in this week's *Register*, the famous Message of the President of the United States; and to remark particularly on the very interesting financial part of it; and on that part where he speaks of the villanous manœuvres of the grinders of paper-money. Seeing him, however, in a fair way to blow the whole of the infernal machine to atoms, I shall defer the expressions of my joy on that account, or, at least, the detail of those expressions, in order to make some remarks upon the subject stated at the head of this article.

My writing-life has been so long, and I have always seen so far before me, and have so constantly put upon paper predictions of what would take place, that, as events now come on, I seem to have very little to do but to re-state, and, most commonly, merely to re-print

that which I have stated and printed before on the subject. This is precisely the case with regard to the subject before us. That which I wrote and printed in 1829, at and after the blue-headed battle of NAVARINO, was then, in considerable part, *prophecy*; it is now *history*. My readers will remember my contemptuous observations on, and ludicrous description of, that expedition, quoting the old country sarcasm:

"Father and mother and I,
"With a stout and trusty band,
"Beat a poor little boy,
"Till he couldn't go nor stand."

The villanous newspapers: I might call them *hellish*; for they *must* be of infernal birth: these prodigious monsters, nearly one and all, town and country, cried up the "*victory of Navarino*," as something "which would not suffer in a comparison with the most brilliant naval achievements of England"! And, oh! their praises of the gallantry and skill of the *French* and their admiral! Their intolerable baseness in this respect, their praises of the French and their crowing over the poor Turk, the faithful friend of England for two hundred years, against these very French! It was enough to drive one to distraction as one read, reflecting that such words had dropped from the pens of Englishmen; and it required all the patience, all the forbearance, all the long-suffering, all the equanimity, all the cool and placid resignation, belonging to my character, to preserve to me any portion of my senses!

By-and-by, it came out, that this "*brilliant*" and "*glorious achievement*," was an "*untoward event*." I did not, however, stop for this discovery: I said, at once, that it would lead, and that it must lead, either to a war with Russia; a resolute and desperate war; or to a base and cowardly abandonment, not only of the rights acquired, but of the character acquired for England, by our

wise and brave forefathers. To-day, I read in the *Times* newspaper, that England, in 1828 and 1829, did "commit the baseness of leaving the Turkish empire to the tender mercies of Nicholas, the Duke of Wellington being fairly over-reached, as in 1831, she and France together, from similar mystification practised on the Whigs, barbarously deserted Poland. They now reap the fruits of the double crime. However, the design of Russia is palpable; and fixed, we have reason to believe, is her resolve to execute it, judging by her known preparations."

I believe it was to the tender mercies of the "magnanimous" gentleman who was so much praised for having ordered, or approved of, the burning of about a thousand women in child-birth, in his own city of Moscow, and to touch the hem of whose merciful garment the "ladies" of England galloped so many miles; I believe that it was he, and not NICHOLAS; but it is of very little consequence which of them it was: this very *Times* newspaper joined the rest in applauding the battle of NAVARINO, and in being delighted with the consequences of that battle. There will be a time to talk of Poland hereafter, perhaps; but what is *Poland*, compared with *Turkey*? The monsters, who, chiefly through the instrumentality of the blaspheming Jews, have barbarously murdered, or doomed to the cruellest of slavery, the unhappy Poles, are objects of my execration; but, their deeds there do not endanger the power of England but in a very indirect manner. In *Turkey* the autocrat comes at us at once; and we must strike, or acknowledge that we dare not: and then we come to the disgraceful point, at which I have a hundred and a thousand times said we should arrive at last. In the year 1822, when I proposed, at a county-meeting at MAIDSTONE, to add to the petition a prayer, that there might be a "just" reduction of the interest of the debt; and, when that petition, so added to, obtained for me, in the House of Commons, from persons who, being now in the House, I will not here name; when it obtained for me from that body

every epithet and term descriptive of villany, two of those who so designated me having since cut their throats, or killed themselves in some way or another; when my reasonable and just proposition, which was adopted by the assembled county of Kent, with a minority of four voices, or at most seven; I, at that time, put it to the plain understandings of the people of Kent, what would be the situation of England if again called upon to go to war, or quietly submit to a curtailment of her power. I made use of these words: "The figure of eight and the eight noughts say to the King of England, 'You never shall go to war again while we are in existence.'" Then I put to them: "Would you be content to see the French come and demand possession of Dover castle; then come up the Medway and take possession of URNOR castle, to say nothing of the dock-yards and the arsenals? No: so far from being content with this, your blood boils at having the questions put to you. Ask yourselves, then, how such aggressions are to be prevented, except by being prepared for war? And then, again, ask yourselves how the nation is to move one step in the way of preparing for war, with this mill-stone of debt about its neck?"

Much about the time I am now speaking of, or soon afterwards, the man who is now the Lord High Chancellor said, in the House of Commons, "that he thanked God, that the nation was BOUND TO KEEP THE PEACE in a bond of eight hundred millions!" There was quite enough besides this to make me shudder at the idea of that man's possessing any political power in my country; but, if he had never uttered anything else to have displeased me, that one sentence would have been sufficient. It argued (and it argued conclusively) that he was either wholly destitute of judgment, destitute of knowledge, or destitute of love of country, and of all feeling for its honour and its safety. Beyond all doubt it was one of the two former; but, no matter which of the three, each equally dis-

qualifying him for the possession of political power.

What! rejoice, a man rejoice, that *his country is unable to go to war*: and that man a *statesman*, too; and that man now a servant of the King of England, and the keeper of his conscience with regard to high matters of state and government! It is very true that the nation is bound to keep the peace, in a bond of eight hundred millions; but is this a thing to rejoice at, except by the bitterest enemies of England? It is very true that the bond exists; but is it so binding that the nation must lose its power, and be sunk in everlasting disgrace, rather than break the bond? No individual can bind himself to suffer death, whether from sword or from want. The loss of power to defend itself is death to a nation; therefore, to that point a nation cannot be bound. Upon the occasion of the petition from Kent, the same man said, that there could be "no such thing as a *just* reduction of the interest of the debt." Put the two assertions together, and state them thus: "That it is subject of joy "that the nation is bound in a bond of "eight hundred millions not to go to "war; and that, the amount of this "bond cannot be diminished." Put these two together: and then you have the assertion of the man who is now Lord Chancellor, that the nation can never go to war again, and that he is glad of it; and then you have, I think, a pretty sufficient reason for the Americans grasping the *FLORIDAS*, and invading, and squatting down in the *Texas*; for the French invading Spain and disposing of her government at its pleasure; and for the conquest of *TURKEY* by *RUSSIA*.

The *Times* newspaper of to-day says: "If an enemy *believe* that we are afraid to strike, he will do so for us." Believe! He must be hard of belief, indeed, if he reject belief on the fact that we are bound to keep the peace in a bond of eight hundred millions, and when he is told so by the man who is now Lord Chancellor; and that, as Sir *ROBERT PEELE*, in his memorable *rating* of me, rather more than hinted that a

man must be a rogue who could propose, or assent to, a diminution of the amount of this bond. After these things, is it not farcical in the *Times* newspaper to talk in this way, and to put an "if" respecting an enemy's belief of our being afraid to go to war? Why, we are afraid to go to war; with all our thundering navy and thundering army, we are afraid to pronounce the word *WAR*. We know that we cannot go to war without breaking the bond in one way or another; we cannot break the bond without subjecting ourselves to be called "*rogues*;" and we are justly *afraid* of being called "*rogues*." So, here we are, literally bound not to strike, though we have a fleet and army, which, God knows, ought to be ready, and though we have already received blow after blow, and we are now receiving a blow greater than all the rest. It is just thirty years since I went to a play. The last time I went I saw *WALDRON* in the character of *GEORGE DOWNRIGHT*, giving *FAWCETT* a "*hiding*" (with an ash-stick) in the character of *BOBADIL*, who had a long swaggering sword by his side. "Draw! draw! draw your spit," exclaimed the former. "Tall gentleman! Tall gentleman! I protest."
"Oh! damn your protesting! Draw your sword!" which the other took good care not to do; but being well provided with sheepskins under his dress, quietly took a wallop that made the whole theatre resound; and, afterwards, when questioned as to the *cause*, lifted up his hands and turned up the whites of his eyes, exclaiming: "It was the stars; certainly, the stars." "Certainly not, captain," answered young *WELLBORN*, "it was the *stick*: it certainly was the stick, captain, and not the stars."

Aye, and it is not the stars now that withhold our hands; neither will it be sufficient for us to plead the bond; the world is too penetrating and too just not to ascribe our want of resentment to the true cause; or, rather, our want of the act of showing our resentment; for, all our efforts to disguise from the world that we feel resentment will fail of success. The true cause is, a change in the character of the governing

powers of England, whose great principle was, for ages and ages, the maintenance of the greatness and the honour of the country, cost what it might; to think nothing worth a straw that was not calculated to endure for ages; to despise wealth and ease and show, when put in competition with the bold assertion of the rights of the country abroad, and of its genuine, solid, untinselled liberties at home. This great principle has departed from those who rule us: a huckstering, counting-house, usurious, discounting, bill-broking principle has succeeded; and here we are, ready to faint at the idea of a "shock to PUBLIC CREDIT," while we affect not to perceive that the whole fabric of this kingly Government is rocking backwards and forwards and ready to come tumbling on the heads of those who ought to be its upholders.

"If an enemy believe that we are afraid"! Believe it! Why, every nation knows it. Does this editor of the *Times* newspaper imagine, that my *Register* is not read in Russia, because it is not read by certain stupid men in England, who do not read, not because they think it contains falsehoods, but because they are told that it contains truth? It is absolutely impossible for any man regularly to read this *Register* without being certain that this kingdom cannot go to war without breaking the "bond"; and, the ears of the whole world have been filled with the ten-thousand-times-repeated declarations of the Ministers and the Parliament, that they will not break that bond; Ministers, Parliaments, and three successive Kings, have declared that they would preserve what they call "NATIONAL FAITH;" which is as much as to declare, that the nation shall never draw the sword again, though an enemy capture the Isle of Wight, or come and demand possession of the Tower of London.

In the meanwhile, what a figure do we exhibit in the eyes of the world! Here we are with a greater naval force; a naval force costing more money than the navy of England cost, when England was at war with France, Spain, and Holland, all at the same time, hav-

ing the American rebels to fight into the bargain. Here we are with an army of a hundred thousand men, helmeted, their breasts covered with brass plates, their horses as big as elephants, each carrying half a ton of fat: we have foot and horse grenadiers, light infantry, dragoons, lancers, horse guards, and all the "finest troops in the world:" improvement upon improvement in the dress, in the arms, in the discipline and manœuvres; the drum and trumpet's everlasting sound half stuns us, unless we get away to the mountains of Scotland or of Wales. And what is all this FOR? What is it FOR? I have asked that question a thousand times, and never yet got a satisfactory answer. Here we are with 170 admirals, 1,684 captains of the navy, 110 of which admirals have been made since the peace, and 413 captains have been made since the peace. Here we are with about 200 generals, and 16,000 military officers of different descriptions. And here we are, with all these upon our hands, and not daring to pronounce the word WAR. What, then, is this navy and this army for? Why do they cost us fourteen millions, eight hundred and sixty-nine thousand six hundred and eleven pounds a year? All appears to be naval and military, except that there is no fight: a commander in chief with a levee like that of a king; and a staff, like that of a sovereign prince at the head of his army: eternal parades and musterings and reviewings and mountings of guards; marchings and counter-marchings, and shiftings of quarters, a "MAJOR STRUCKER" at every corner of the street: footmen and grooms and porters and lackeys, with bits of round leather glued up to the sides of their hats, indicating the profession of their gallant masters; but not even a footman to pronounce the word WAR: military and naval academies: young gentlemen in troops to be the nation's defenders; epaulets at right angles, and cocked-hats as fierce as the arrows of Death themselves: club-houses, and panes of glass costing five pounds a-piece, and with waiters in silk stockings, TRAFALGAR SQUARES, WELLINGTON PLACES,

WATERLOO PLACES and WATERLOO BRIDGES; ACHILLES, the conquering ACHILLES, stuck up, stark naked, by the "ladies" of England, swinging back his shield, and holding his menacing fist up towards the bullet-proof windows. Temples and palaces decorated with standards won in the field and on the seas; galleries erected to exhibit them in; and a people creeping about, viewing the sights, listening to the rattling of the drum and the clamour of the trumpet, hearing that the Russians have taken possession of Turkey, and not daring to utter, even to one another, the terrific word, WAR.

This is our real state: this is the figure that we are making in the eyes of the world; and this is the light in which we are viewed from one end to the other of that world. What, then, is to be the end of this? For he is mightily deceived who supposes that our humiliations are to end with the execution of the projects of Russia with regard to Turkey. When I have finished this article, I shall insert a letter which I addressed to the "*Cobbettites*" some time after the battle of NAVARINO, from which the reader will see, that the present events are only mere fulfilment of what I then saw and predicted. That letter should be read with care from the beginning to the end; because the ultimate consequences are there very clearly pointed out and sufficiently dwelt upon. Those consequences, shortly described, being, a close union between Russia and the United States of America, and finally joined by France; and, of course, the complete humiliation and bowing down of England.

Referring the reader to that letter, for a more full statement of my opinion as to those matters, the question that will now be put to me is this: "*Would you, then, if you were prime minister, go to war?*" Yes, at once, or quit my place. At once, and my fleet should negotiate the Russians out of CONSTANTINOPLE and all the Turkish territories: the autocrat should hear England speak from the mouth of the cannon, and from no other mouth.

"Why, the funds would be down to

forty!" will exclaim some crucifying usurer. They might be down to one, if they would, but I would go to war. But how would I get the means? There are the thundering navy and army, ready made to my hand; and as for money, I should take that which now goes into the pockets of the usurers, and other tax-eating idlers. I might take, to be sure, the two hundred and thirteen pounds a year that go into the pocket of the REV. THOMAS PENROSE, who has had it for twenty-one years, for having been five months *Charge d'Affaires* at FLORENCE, having two church livings in England all the while. I might take this, or else the deuce is in it, and let him live upon tithes: aye, and I would find out some civil list or dead weight that should supply four or five other millions for fighting the Russians. "Come, come," I should say, "I am driven to straits, and can keep no cats that don't catch mice." Away would go the picture-galleries, and gate-ways, and the panes of glass costing five pounds a piece, and the waiters in silk stockings, and the horse-guards sweating under brass breast-plates; away would go the carriages in HYDE PARK, the sweet-scented and ogling pensioners, and the footmen in white stockings, and with ropes hanging down from their shoulders; and away would go the mowers, with a good swarth of grass, up *Regent-street*, and round about the base of the monument of the lover of the darling Mother CLARKE; and then the nation would begin to be in fighting order; and the Russian and the Prussian and the *Mynkeer* and the *Parlez-vous* and the damnable sly Yankee would all begin to get blows instead of long bits of writing, full of cant, of lies, and of *feelosophy*. In one word, I would undertake to beat the Russian bear and repeal the malt tax at the same time; and if I did not do both, I would agree to be the next annual victim for the Jews to crucify at Easter.

Very well, now; this is what you would do; but, *what do you think the Ministers will do?* Ah! That's a hard question: I can tell what it is likely

that any body else would do; I can tell generally, pretty nearly, what a cause, or a set of causes, will produce, when the actors are any other men than the Ministers of England; but, when it comes to them, I can never venture beyond a *guess*. If there be three things which they can do in a certain case, and I could ascertain which was the most absurd of the three, I should have a strong leaning towards that; but, it would be so entirely uncertain after all, that if my life depended upon it; if I were put to death if I did not choose one, and if I did not hit upon the right, I should put the three into a bag, give them a shake, say my prayers, and pull one out.

There is this much, however, of certain, in this case: one of two things they must do: they must keep peace or go to war. If they choose the former, we shall be told that Turkey is *very little to us*; that it is a great way off; that the trade is something, to be sure, but that going to war for trade is purchasing trade very dearly; that besides, we can have "*free trade*" with Turkey still; that there is nothing like the "*reciprocity system*"; that we are now under the "*march of intellect*," and that the barbarous notions of shedding human blood for the sake of trade, or for the maintenance of power, ought to be banished from the mind; and that Messrs. POULETT THOMSON and SPRING RICE have "*tables*" to prove, that we should *gain* instead of *lose* by the exchange of masters in Turkey; *tables* ruled with red ink upon paper with gilt edges and as stiff as a board, to be moved for by the "noble Lord," and laid before the House as incontestable evidence of the wisdom of refraining from going to war for Turkey. Lastly, will come a statement of the dangers which war would inevitably produce to "*PUBLIC CREDIT*." Slap we are all knocked down into silence at once: silent submission to the wise decision is painted on every face; and away we start home, our mouths as full as ever of phrases about this "great empire"; and, if we have a moment's leisure to chat, it may be about the "imperial"

bushel, and the "imperial" foot in length, ascertained by the beating of a pendulum in a heat of sixty degrees by FAHRENHEIT'S thermometer; or, perchance, about the number of square inches to which it is necessary to limit, *by law*, the size of a sheet of paper, in order to prevent it from containing "blasphemy" and "sedition."

This will be the course, or something like the course, that the Ministers will pursue, if they determine on turning their shoulders up and taking the *ash-stick*. But, *what will they do, if they go to war*? Why, they will make the devil of a splutter to begin with. They will protest more solemnly than ever in support of "*national faith*"; and they will do this at the very moment that they are adopting some measure to send out an inconvertible paper-money. Mr. BARING said, that they must do this before the second campaign, if ever they went to war again. I say that they must do it before the first campaign; or they must do as I would, deduct from the interest of the debt, money enough to carry on the war. This being the wise and just thing, it is about a thousand to one that they will not do it; and that, if they go to war, they will give us a real, thorough-paced paper-money, a tenth part of the consequences of which, no man can even guess at; but this much I can say, that, if it be really true that the Russians have actually taken possession of CONSTANTINOPLE and of the Turkish dominions, this country must go to war, or be sunk at once, visibly sunk, in the scale of nations; and will then have verified that which I have so frequently foretold; namely, that the victories of the last war were purchased; that we had not paid the purchase money; that other nations *would take them back*, one by one, and leave us still to pay the debt which we had contracted for the purpose of getting the victories.

To this state we are come, and only just come to it: we shall go on from bad to worse, unless we resolve at once to get rid of the cause; that is to say, the DEBT, which was contracted for the purpose of preventing those

changes at home, which changes will be effected by the debt itself, but in a manner much worse for those who urged on the nation into the war.

WM. COBBETT.

SPRING WHEAT.

I WANT eight bushels of this wheat, and I can hear of none in England. It is not what is called "*Talavera wheat*," a name which the bloated bull-frog farmers gave it, when they were selling wheat at 20s. a bushel, damning the "JACOBERS and LAVELLERS;" no, not the "*Talavera*," which came from *Barbary* to Hampshire, and of which I sowed the *second* field that was sowed in England; *not that*, but, the small and brownish grained *bearded* wheat, which is *sowed in the spring*, and which the French call "*Blé de Mars*," or *MARCH WHEAT*.

If any gentleman knows of any of this wheat, in England, I shall be much obliged to him to inform me of it, and of how I can get the above quantity, which I very much want.

I am afraid that it is not to be found here, though I always sowed some of it in Hampshire. But, if this should reach the eye of some friend in *France*, he will confer a great obligation on me by writing to me at Bolt-court, London, to tell me how I can get it from one of the French ports. Some friend in London, or Brighton, or Southampton, who *trades with France*, may be able to undertake to get this wheat for me, I obtaining (a thing which I will not doubt of) permission to land it. I shall be *very much obliged to any one* who will give me aid in this matter.

WM. COBBETT.

NATIONAL FAITH.

At the request of several gentlemen, and one in particular, I am republishing, in the form of a pamphlet, price two SHILLINGS, good paper and print, my letters to the Honourable JOHN STUART WORTLEY, of the cracked-skull county of York, in answer to his pamphlet, in

which he asserts, that we do not even now pay the fundholders quite enough. If we continue to pay them what we now pay them only a little while longer, it will be too late for us to dispute about the matter. The following is what I have prefixed to this publication.

TO THE MEMBERS OF THE TWO HOUSES OF PARLIAMENT.

London, 1 January, 1834.

MY LORDS AND GENTLEMEN,—So early as the year 1803 I urged upon you the necessity of reducing the interest of the then existing debt; in the year 1806, I proved most elaborately the justice of such reduction, and warned you against the consequences of deferring the adoption of such measures, until it should be too late. From that time to this, I have been endeavouring to prevail upon you to prevent that convulsive revolution which I always said must be the end, unless you condescended to listen to my advice upon this subject; you have listened to that advice, but have treated it with scorn, and not a few of you have answered it by personal calumnies heaped upon the author. Will you, now that you see the whole fabric of this ancient government absolutely shaking to pieces; when you see this all-devouring monster with the church half down its throat, having made the discovery at the end of a thousand years that tithes are an insupportable evil; will you, when you see the working millions all in a state of commotion, their habits of patient industry, and of cheerful and willing obedience rooted out of their minds by their unbearable wants; will you, when you see the once-happy homesteads of England blazing from the hostile hands of those whose labour had filled them at the harvest; will you, when nature itself seems to inspire every working man with a resolution no longer to bear the thought of his child in the cradle being doomed to be a slave, and to eke out his life upon potatoes and salt, that swarms of monopolists and usurers may wallow in luxury; will you, while you vote for the maintaining of a navy five times as expensive, and an army ten times as expensive, as the

navy and army were during the last peace, and at the same time behold a Russian fleet in the Mediterranean, and Russia master of Turkey, and behold that "old England," which was once justly compared to a ready-loaded cannon, not daring, even to pronounce the word WAR, except in a whisper; will you NOW still turn a deaf ear to this advice, and still call the adviser an "advocate for robbery"?

You may; and I dare say you will. But that shall not deter me from offering to your perusal facts and arguments to prove the justice of reducing the interest of the debt; and, having done this, while I shall most earnestly wish, that you may now be pleased to listen to me, I shall, at any rate, know that I have done my duty; and that, be the consequences what they may, no part of those consequences will lie upon the head of

Your most obedient
and most humble servant,
W^M. COBBETT.

FRIEND PEASE!

TO MR. O'CONNELL.

Bolt-court, 1. Jan., 1834.

DEAR SIR,—If you read this, you will find below it a reprint of your letter relative to "friend" PEASE; but, though I approve of every thing contained in that letter, as far as the letter itself goes, and without adverting to any of the transactions that it speaks of, I cannot let it pass through my hands, without reminding you, that I gave you due warning about the "friend," quite time enough to have put you upon your guard. When you came into the House and sat down, by me, and exclaimed in a sort of exulting liberality, you having been one of the committee that reported in favour of admitting the "friend:" "Well! we have seated the Quaker!" "Have you, by —," said I, "I would have sooner seated the devil;" and, when you gave me a gentle reproof for liberality, I said, "Mind, I tell you,

you will repent, of it." Now, you will recollect this; and you will now know that I was right. You say you would do the same again, if it were to do over again. I do hope that you would not. But, for our misfortune, the thing has not to be done over again. It was a perfect *miracle* to discover, at the end of two hundred years, that there was law for that for which there had never been law before; and of all the deeds of the last session, I lamented no one more than this. There appears to me to be a radical objection against admitting into Parliament, any person belonging to a sect, the members of which are, under all circumstances, bound by their sect, to oppose themselves to the making of war, even in self-defence. What! here is a man who is bound by the principles of the sect to which he belongs to oppose any measure, the object of which is, to cause fighting to take place. This alone would have been a sufficient objection with me; and, therefore, so far was I from joining in the cheers when the liberal announcement was made, that I muttered something between my teeth that it is not necessary that I should now put upon paper.

Give me leave to say, too, that your good nature misled you when you consented to smother the letter during the session; it ought at once to have been brought forward in some way or another, which, besides other good effects, would have prevented the speech ascribed to Mr. HILL, at HULL. Your religion, and mine, too, bid us to forgive; but it bids us, at the same time, to insist upon *atonement* previous to forgiveness. My religion would have bidden me insist upon his begging pardon openly; and yours would have bidden the priest to make him do penance by counting a bushel of clover-seed, or something of that sort, which would have been a very good application of his time. The slander is, I am convinced, as atrocious as any that ever was uttered in the world. The most zealous opponents of the red-coat bill were, yourself, your sons, the Messrs. GRATTAN, Mr. LALOR, Mr. SHEIL, Mr.

Tharpara Jankrishna Public Library

Accn. No. Date

O'CONNOR, MR. FINN, DR. BALDWIN, MR. RUTVEN : these are the gentlemen whom I recollect at present ; and, one would be sick of the world, or, at least, I should, if I could believe, that any one of you were insincere in your opposition. It is a most monstrous slander ; and I do trust, that you will not let it rest without bringing it before the House. The "*friend*" may accuse you of having forgiven him and spoke well of him ; amongst all my sins, I thank God that that cannot be laid to my charge.

I hear of another of the friends who is coming forward, generously to bestow his time in representing the people. We shall have enough of them, I'll warrant you : they have full a half of the paper-money ; and no small part of the wheat and the flour in their hands. However, I trust that events are at hand that will defeat all their scheming. I am glad to find that you are in such good health, and hope to see you here on the first day of the session. I intended to go to Ireland in the month of October, but I could not ; and I must beg my friends there, if I have any, to take the will for the deed.

I am

Your faithful
and most obedient servant,
WM. COBBETT.

TO CHARLES LARKIN, ESQ.,
NEWCASTLE.

(From the Newcastle Press, 28. Dec., 1833.)

Merrion-square, Dublin,
20. Dec. 1833.

SIR,—Somebody was kind enough to send me the *Newcastle Press* of the 14. inst., containing a letter from you to me, which sets out and comments upon one from Mr. Pease, member for South Durham, to Surgeon Kilburn. Your comments are very just and apposite, that is, taking for granted the statement made by Mr. Pease to be true, but they touch us not, because, since the world began, there never were so many falsehoods stuffed into so few lines as are contained in his letter. Indeed, he who could deliberately frame

such falsehoods, necessarily must be the most degraded of liars that the world ever produced.

Before I reply to your letter, let me tell you some facts of which you must be ignorant, relative to this curious epistle of friend Pease. I must, however, begin a little higher.

When Pease claimed his seat without being called upon to take the oath, he was naturally anxious to conciliate as many members of the committee, to whom his case was referred, as possible. I was a member of that committee ; and the liberal and almost radical Mr. Pease was introduced to me by Mr. Rippon. I told him at once that I had considered the case, and it gave me pleasure to add that my opinion was decidedly in his favour. He expressed more gratitude than any one could deserve for merely doing his duty. Such is the first fact in my acquaintance with Mr. Pease.

The second fact is of another description. It consists in the transmission to me of either the original letter to Surgeon Kilburn, or an accurate copy of it by some person at Newcastle, under a cover, containing some observations, but, as I recollect, no name. Judge of my surprise and indignation, when I found that a man, who declared himself grateful to me for my attention to his case ; who was in the habit of friendly communication with me in the House ; who often sat near me, and chatted with me, and was full of smiles and civility, and even of praise, had written such a tissue of falsehoods, adopting and enlarging the calumnies which, the various plunderers of your country and of mine, have invented against me, simply because I have uniformly refused to join either of their gangs, whether called Whigs or Tories, and have persisted in insisting that the people are entitled to a *radical* and not a *mock* reform of all existing abuses.

The third fact is this : I immediately showed the letter, in the state in which I received it, to Pease, and asked him if he had written such a letter. I never saw a man more confused in my life ; the large drops of perspiration ran down his forehead ; but at length he replied,

that "he could not say but that he had written such a letter; that it was not intended for publication, but was substantially correct."

The fourth fact is—that I told Pease I would bring the matter before the public, and have his atrocious charges contradicted. I accordingly brought the letter to the House the next day, or a few days after, but as I was waiting in the Vote Office on some business, I was accosted by Mr. Hutt, the colleague of Mr. Hill, the Member for Hull, who asked me to show him "the letter," as I recollect Mr. Rippon was in his company; I immediately gave Mr. Hutt the letter to read. When he had read it, he honestly and fairly expressed his indignation at its contents; but concluded by begging to know whether he could ask me for a favour. I told him at once that I knew Pease through the introduction of Mr. Rippon, who was himself as honest a voter as ever sat in the House; that he Mr. Hutt had also opposed the Coercion Bill in every stage; he had refused to join in the ministerial shout of domination over my unfortunate country; had shown sympathy for Ireland, and therefore, he had not merely a right to request a favour, but that such request should be a command. He then, after expressing in strong terms the unpleasant situation in which Pease would be placed, if the business were brought before the House, asked me at least to postpone that measure. I instantly tore the letter itself, and told Mr. Hutt that I would never bring it before the House, being happy to sacrifice my own feelings of just resentment, in order to show my gratitude to an honest Englishman, who voted in favour of wretched Ireland.

I may be ridiculed for the softness of my good nature, yet I never will regret having shown that mark of gratitude to Mr. Hutt. But your publication of the letter, the emphatic manner in which you properly condemn the treasons asserted in that letter, makes it impossible for me to continue silent, especially as there is nothing inconsistent with my promise to Mr. Hutt in my meeting the accusation thus re-

newed, without any participation of mine in such renewal.

I am also thus enabled to state that the copy of the letter which you have published is substantially correct, because it is in substance the same with the letter whose contents Mr. Pease avowed to me to be substantially accurate; we have, therefore, before the public, the genuine contents of a letter written by Pease: so far, at least, the case is made out against him.

Now, sir, for the matter of your letter and of that of Pease. I for the present take no notice of your observations on the atrocious calumny promulgated against the Irish anti-despotism members, by commissioner Hill, of Hull. All those who *could* be alluded to by him, with the exception of four, have already denied the charge. The four remaining are, Fitzstephen Ffrench, member for Roscommon county; James Gratian, member for Wicklow county; J. M. Galway, member for Waterford county; and J. N. Vigors, member for Carlow town. These gentlemen certainly can, and I hope will, publicly contradict Mr. Hill, and then we shall have him exposed to all the obloquy he so richly merits. There want but four contradictions more.

We now come to Pease's letter. As it has been given to the public, it becomes my duty to impeach him before his constituents of the grossest fabrications and falsehoods that ever yet disgraced a public man. It may be said, that this language is too harsh to be used before the public. The fastidious critics who may say so, ought to look to their friend Pease's letter, and see whether it does not contain terms which infinitely exceed mine in virulence and strength of expression. In fact, it would be impossible to reply in other language to the foul and mean, and malignant accusations which he has, assassin-like, when he thought himself cloaked, used towards the Irish members, and particularly towards me, with whom he was at the very time on terms of intimacy—at least of something more than casual civility. He said he owed me an obligation: I certainly owed him none.

I make now deliberately the charge against him of having foully and falsely calumniated me and other public men, who are at all events his equals. I make this charge against him before and to his constituents, respectfully submitting to them, that they will not be free in the eyes of the public, from being stained with some of the guilt of his calumnies, unless they publicly repudiate both him and them.

Before I go any farther, let me propose a tribunal to decide between us. I am content to have the subject matter of Mr. Pease's letter submitted, as arbitrators, to any two independent English members of Parliament. Now writing from recollection, I offer Mr. Pease his choice of any two of the following gentlemen: Mr. Hume, Mr. Warburton, Mr. Wilks, Mr. Buckingham, Mr. Lytton Bulwer, Mr. Parrott, member for Totness, Mr. Rippon, Mr. Hutt, either of those highly independent men, Mr. Kemmis Tyntis, Major Faucourt, Major Beauclerc, Mr. Gillon; or, in short, any two honest members of the House, excluding, of course, regular Whigs and regular Tories, in neither of whom have I any confidence.

Let Mr. Pease choose his own tribunal out of such men as I have thus alluded to. Let us get them to sit in the first week of the ensuing session. Mr. Pease having admitted the writing of the letter, I arraign him of the following falsehoods. It is the business of his constituents to make him answer my charges.

FIRST: Of gross and wilful falsehood, in asserting that "he had written to every part of Ireland to ascertain the wishes of the thinking part of the public on the subject of the Coercion Bill;" and that all his answers expressed anxiety for the bill in its original shape."

It is possible that he may have written to some Quakers in Ireland, and obtained from some of them replies favourable to the bill; *that is possible*, because although there are in this country some highly worthy and respectable Quakers, yet it unfortunately happens that the far greater portion of the Irish Quakers

are the most bigoted and depraved politicians; the most friendly to tyranny and oppression, speculation and monopoly, of any set of men in the known world. He may have had some letters from Quakers of that class; but if he wanted to learn the truth, he should not have written to such men at all, and besides, which is really decisive, their letters cannot possibly answer the description of letters from all parts of Ireland.

SECONDLY: Of gross and wilful falsehood, in asserting "That almost all the respectable members from Ireland were in favour of the bill."

Here we shall discover what Mr. Pease means by a *respectable* man. It is quite true, and he is entitled to the benefit of the fact, that there was a majority of the Irish members favourable to the Coercion Bill, because there were, *first*, the inveterate Orange Tories, who would vote for the most excruciating tyranny over their countrymen; and, *secondly*, the Irish Whigs, a worse, because a more mean and inconsistent class. These combined, the one from an innate hatred of liberty, and even of their native country, the other from natural Whig depravity, heightened by interested motives of a very base kind, gave Pease and the Ministers a majority. My second charge, therefore, turns upon the meaning of the word *respectable*, when used by a Quaker. I understand that it *should* mean honest, independent, disinterested, and intrepid assertors of the *practical* exhibition of the pure principles of civil and religious liberty.

THIRDLY: Of gross and wilful falsehood, in asserting that many of the Irish members told him "*English members ought to vote for this bill; we dare not, as our families would be murdered, our houses pulled down at the instigation of the agitators.*"

Now, honest men of South Durham, will you tolerate as your representative, a man who could sit down coolly, and deliberately invent so gross, so foul, so malignant a falsehood; a falsehood so atrocious as to be incapable of being described even in the most vituperative language. It is an atrocious calumny

of malignant falsehood, three times dyed in malignity. *First*, against the Irish anti-despotism members, not one of whom ever did or ever could dream of saying such a thing. *Second*, against the persons called agitators, who in the place of instigating to Whitefeet outrages and murders, have ever been the most active, zealous, and sincere, in discountenancing and reprobating every outrage and crime of that description, and indeed, of every description whatsoever. And *thirdly*, even against the wretched people of Ireland, who have been engaged in agrarian crimes, because there is not one single instance of such crimes being committed for any political offence, real or imaginary. The worst politicians have been and are as safe in the agrarian disturbances, as the very best, and accordingly not one of the men who voted for the Coercion Bill has been injured or offended on that account, or at all, although some of them were guilty of very base treachery to their constituents, in voting for the Ministry against Ireland.

FOURTHLY: Of gross and wilful falsehood in asserting, that "the most hostile to the bill in the House laughed and joked out of the House; how much money they had got, how much law business by becoming agitators! and only deplored the bill ruining the most shameless of trades."

This most shameless of deliberate lies is aimed principally at me. I only say that it is untrue in all and every one of its parts. It is untrue that any such thing was ever said to Pease, and it would be of the last and foulest untruth in its assertions had any body said so to him.

FIFTHLY: Of gross and wretched ignorance and invention in asserting, "that the Irish are an ignorant and passionate people, and that a fiery orator, free himself from harm, brings them into severe punishment by irritating them about their real grievances."

I am of course the fiery orator alluded to; the allusion is most unhappy, not only as untrue in point of fact, but unfounded in point of law. The "fiery orator" would not in the supposed case

be free from harm. He could be indicted for exciting or provoking to crime, or for sedition, in the use of language tending to bring the Government into contempt. The Irish Government has hitherto been able to name its own juries, save when it prosecutes Orangemen. Why then has the "fiery orator" been hitherto safe? simply because he never was guilty of what friend Pease attributes to him, and for no other reason whatsoever.

I have thus met your letter to me; I have converted all its principal allegations into charges of falsehood and calumny against friend Pease. I have suggested a tribunal before which he could easily prove his purity and truth if his assertions were true. Should he decline that tribunal let him suggest any other, before which he could more easily bring proofs of the foul allegations in matters against the Irish members in general, and against me in particular, and if he be not exceedingly unreasonable I will consent to such tribunal; but unless he comes forward to prove his charges, as I distinctly assert that he cannot prove them, let him either make his "*amende honorable*" to men, whom he has unjustly calumniated, or shrink back to the obscurity of private life for the rest of his days.

I now dismiss Mr. Pease. He assailed me who was ready to befriend him when he wanted supporters; actively to assist him, not merely to give a vote according to my opinion. The Irish anti-despotism members were ready to take the same course, many of them were Catholics. They all would have voted for the admission of a sectarian the most adverse in religious opinions to theirs. Had there been a division on his claim, and especially had the Ministry voted against him, those he supported and praised would have voted against his claim. Those whom he calumniates would have voted for it, and would do so again to-morrow, because we act upon principle.

You justly say that if Pease's charges be true, the Union should be repealed to preserve England from Irish depravity. I admit it at once—but they are false,

grossly false. Alas, for poor Ireland! what shall protect her from English depravity?

Aye, or Scotch either? I speak not of Scotch vile writers, although amongst them can be found the vilest of the vile. But I come to Scotch members. There, for example, is Mr. Oliphant, member for Perth; he is reported to have told his constituents that he would sooner die than consent to a Coercion Bill for Scotland; but that there was so much, and such persuasive *evidence* of the necessity for the measure in Ireland laid before Parliament, that it carried his vote. Alas, alas! again for wretched Ireland! Why, the entire evidence consisted of a red box placed on the table, from which letters were taken, or rather alleged copies of alleged letters were drawn out, and extracts read without mentioning the place where written, and above all, without giving the name of the alleged writer!!! And this Mr. Oliphant is simple enough to call evidence. Oh, what shall save Ireland from Scotch *simplicity*.

Again, at Aberdeen, Mr. Bannerman harangues his constituents—tells them that he voted for the Coercion Bill. Why? because it was petitioned against as a brutal, bloody, and atrocious bill; and mark—"that he had seen letters "from some of those very petitioners "stating, that though they had been "induced to petition against the measure, yet they prayed it might pass "into a law as the only means of putting "a stop to murder and the worst of "crimes."

I will take for granted that Mr. Bannerman was *shown* letters, which he *was told* were from such petitioners, as he asserts he saw them. But what a contemptuous opinion of his intellect must the person have had, who told him so. Why, here is a worthy stout-built Scotch gentleman, full six feet high, believing a tale which a nursery babe would repudiate. Alas! who will protect poor Ireland from Scotch *credulity*?

English depravity; Scotch simplicity; Scotch credulity; this Coercion Bill and Mr. Commissioner Hill, all to reconcile Ireland to the Union: and all

this under the "most sapient of Ministers, who have done nothing, and are disposed to do nothing, to alleviate the distresses or lessen the burdens of the people of England.

In conclusion I appeal to you, sir, and to every other honest Radical in Great Britain, from the false and calumnious charges of Hill and Pease, and of all their militators and supporters. Look to the acts of the Irish popular members. Look to our votes, have we not maintained the principles of genuine Radicalism in every act and vote of ours against every tax—in favour of every reduction of expense—for every extension of human liberty against every infliction of cruelty or tyranny? These are our claims; these are my claims on this point, men of Great Britain, for sympathy and support; and whilst we have such acts and votes upon record, I care little for the atrocious calumnies and silly excuses of pretended friends to the people, but unaffected friends of themselves.

I have the honour to be

Your obedient servant,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

TO

THE COBBETTITES:

On the Subjugation of Turkey by Russia.

Barn-Elm Farm, 28. October, 1829.

MY FRIENDS,

It is now about five years since "the Greek cause" began to be a subject of empty speeches with the fools, and a source of swindling with the bond-knaves, of this country; and from that very day I began to warn the Government *against favouring that cause*; seeing, that if that cause flourished, if that cause succeeded, the *Russian power* would be *brought into the Mediterranean*; and that, therefore, it was the duty of the English Government to uphold the unbroken power of the Turks. And what did the Government do? precisely the reverse of this. The fools and knaves supplied the Greeks *with money*, which they and their country have lost; and the Government, though inactive for a while, soon

began to take a part most mischievous to England. This very Duke of Wellington was (by the silly Canning) sent to Russia to have a *talk* about Greece. Next, this same CANNING made a *treaty* with Russia and France in July, 1826, which they call the *Treaty of London*; and by which treaty the three powers entered into that compact, which led to the *battle of Navarino*.

By this battle we assisted Russia and France to *cripple the Turkish power*. This was, as will presently appear, directly *contrary to our interest*; but we did it because we could not go to war. Russia and France were resolved (for the reasons to be stated by-and-by) to sever Greece from the rest of Turkey; and we consented to aid them in this, in the hope that they would STOP THERE, and not proceed to make general war upon Turkey. We knew their *wishes*; we knew that they had a design to break up the Turkish power; *in order to open a way to India*, but more especially in order to bring the *naval power of Russia into the Mediterranean, as a check to that of England*. Our Government knew all this very well: they hated the "*Greek cause*," cursed the Greek cause, and wished the Turks to crush it completely; but, *not able to go to war*, they dissembled, and consented (by very nearly force) to assist Russia and France in crippling our old friend, and ally, the Turk; thinking, that, for some years, at least, this would pacify the Russians and the French; and that, by the end of those years, we should be able to go to war and defend the Turk.

Russia and France *knew our situation*; they had not been looking at our paper-money, poor-rates, distresses, and panics for nothing. Besides, my friends, the statesmen of those countries had read *all that you had read*; and they had not, like our pretty fellows, read it for the purpose of finding out some shuffle whereby to make the world believe it to be false and foolish. They had read the *Register* attentively; they had seen its predictions verified; they saw, in it the facts and reasoning, which convinced them, as the same facts and arguments

had convinced you, that this country could never go to war again as long as the *debt existed*; that is to say, until a species of revolution should take place; and this they well knew that the Government would not run the risk of, be the disgrace or the national loss what it might.

These two powers knew all well; and, therefore, they did NOT STOP with the *Battle of Navarino*: they did not stop with the liberation of the Greeks: the "*Greek cause*," was now clearly a mere pretence with them; for the battle was hardly over, the shoutings in London for the "*glorious achievement*" were hardly succeeded by silence, when Russia, who had already prepared her armies for the purpose, *declared war against Turkey*, not on account of the "*Greek cause*," not as a joint affair with England and France; but on *her own account*; on her own *private account*; and on pretences so false, so manifestly groundless, that those of the wolf, in the fable, in his war against the lamb, were no longer fabulous.

The part which our Government now acted was quite worthy of the rest of its conduct for years past. Its advocates of the *press* pretended that this war was a matter with which *we* had nothing to do; that Russia had a *right* to go to war, if she pleased; that we were not bound by any *treaty* to defend Turkey from invasion or even from conquest. These papers, however, let out the secret wishes of our poor puny Government; they rejoiced always when the Russians met with a defeat, or a check; they cried up the valour and obstinacy of the Turks; and, when the Russians retreated at the end of the first campaign, I was afraid that these scribes of our Government would go mad with exultation! "*There!*" said they, "*see how wise it was in our Majesty's Ministers to let the thing alone!*" "*They know better than to plunge us into a war for nothing!*" "*They know that the Turks would do the thing themselves.*"

Such was their language until a few months ago. And now what do they say? Why, that the Turks were a

people destined to fall; but that the terms, granted by the Russians, are, really, not so very hard; and that, at any rate, the insult will *not be injurious to England!* This last is the *main thing*; and it shall now be my business to show you, in as plain a manner as I can, that there never was an event in the world, since this country has been called England, so *injurious and so disgraceful to her*; an event that so clearly marked her want of power; an event that so unequivocally proclaimed to the world her fallen and degraded state.

There are certain facts which you all know, namely, that Turkey contains about twenty-five millions of inhabitants; that its dominions are partly in Europe and partly in Asia, with a small addition in Africa; that these dominions lie for the far greater part at the *eastern end* of the Mediterranean sea; that the capital of this empire is Constantinople; that Europe is here divided from Asia by a very **NARROW CHANNEL**, called *the channel of Constantinople*; that there is, about a hundred miles to the west of that, another narrow pass, called *the Dardanelles*; and that both of these (bounded by Turkish land on each side) have, for many centuries, been kept, as it were, *locked* by the Turks, against all ships except such as they chose to suffer to pass along them; these passes being completely guarded by forts, batteries, castles, and other means of destruction to those who might attempt to pass without leave.

Beyond Constantinople, but nearly close to it comes in a SEA, called the **BLACK SEA**, which, in extent of surface, is much about equal to *that of the islands of Great Britain and Ireland, both put together*; but, into this sea, from the Mediterranean, there is no passage except that of *the narrow channels of Constantinople*, and that of *the Dardanelles*. Now, mark. The territories round the **Black Sea** have, in great part, long been under the power of Russia. They are fertile in all the most valuable products of the earth, lying, as they do, between 45 and 40 degrees of north latitude, and, of course, on an average, in the latitude of the

south of France; and they abound in the growth of all the materials for building and fitting out ships. There are the timber, the hemp, the iron, the pitch, and, indeed, every thing in super-abundance.

The Russian power has long been increasing *on the land*. She has, too, long had a great fleet of men-of-war, which she has always shown a strong desire to employ for the purpose of checking the power of England. But, shut up in the *Baltic* so many months in the year by the ice; not daring to come out, and stay out for any length of time, we have always been able to laugh at the envy and malice, visible in the several *conventions and confederacies and armed neutralities*, which she has, at various times, set on foot against us, and of which she has always been the animating soul. We always knew her *wishes*; we always knew what she was aiming at; we always knew that she wished to destroy our *maritime dominion*; we knew also that the French, and other maritime powers, but particularly the French, wished to act with her in the enterprise; but, completely held in check by the frosts *in the north*, and by our friend, *the Turk*, in the south, we always laughed at the naval menaces and demonstrations of Russia. But shall we laugh NOW?

To answer this question we must look well at the "*treaty*," as it is called, but, "*capitulation*," as it ought to be called; for here are the *Dardanelles* and the *Channel of Constantinople unlocked* to Russia; and here is the sure and certain beginning of the demolition of the naval dominion of England, unless maintained by war, and war, too, to be begun very soon, and crowned with success at any sacrifice. In the last *Register* I inserted whole of the "*treaty*." I shall insert the **SEVENTH** article again; and if you read it with attention, you will find that it puts Russia into real command of the whole of the Turkish empire by land as well as by sea; that it is *conquest* under the name of immunities to be enjoyed; that the *real sovereignty* is in the hands of Russia; and that the **SULTAN** (as the Turkish sovereign is called) is

no more than a *degraded Viceroy* of Russia; and not even that with regard to the most important functions of sovereignty.

"ART. 7. Russian subjects shall enjoy throughout the whole extent of the Ottoman Empire, as well by land as by sea, the full and entire liberty of commerce secured to them by the former Treaties concluded between the two High Contracting Powers. No infringement of that liberty of commerce shall be committed; neither shall it be permitted to be checked in any case, nor under any pretence, by a prohibition or any restriction whatever; nor in consequence of any regulation or measure, whether it be one of internal administration, or one of internal legislation. Russian subjects, vessels, and merchandise, shall be secure against all violence and all chicanery. The former shall live under the exclusive jurisdiction and police of the Ministers and the Consuls of Russia. The Russian vessels shall not be subjected to any visit on board whatever on the part of the Ottoman authorities, neither out at sea nor in any of the ports or roadsteads belonging to the dominions of the Sublime Porte; and all merchandise and commodities belonging to a Russian subject, after having paid the custom-house duties required by the tariffs, shall be freely conveyed, deposited on land, in the warehouses of the proprietor, or of his consignee, or be transferred to the vessels of any other nation whatever, without the Russian subjects being required to give notice to the local authorities, and still less to ask their permission. It is expressly agreed upon, that all grain proceeding from Russia shall enjoy the same privileges, and that its free transit shall never experience, under any pretence, any difficulty or impediment. The Sublime Porte engages, besides, to watch carefully that the commerce and navigation of the Black Sea shall not experience the slightest obstruction of any nature whatever. For this purpose the Sublime Porte recognises and declares the passage of the Canal of Constantinople, and the

Strait of the Dardanelles, entirely free and open to Russian ships under merchant flags, laden or in ballast, whether they come from the Black Sea to go into the Mediterranean, or whether, returning from the Mediterranean they wish to re-enter the Black Sea. These vessels, provided they be merchantmen, of whatever size or tonnage they may be, shall not be exposed to any impediment or vexation whatever, as it has been stipulated above. The two Courts shall come to an understanding with respect to the best means for preventing all delay in the delivery of the necessary clearances. In virtue of the same principle, the passage of the Canal of Constantinople, and of the Strait of the Dardanelles, is declared free and open for all the merchant vessels of the Powers at peace with the Sublime Porte, whether bound to the Russian ports of the Black Sea, or returning from them, whether laden or in ballast, upon the same conditions as those stipulated for the vessels under the Russian flag. In fine, the Sublime Porte, acknowledging the right of the Imperial Court of Russia to obtain guarantee of this full liberty of commerce and navigation in the Black Sea, solemnly declares that she will never, under any pretence whatever, throw the least obstacle in its way. She promises, above all, never to permit herself in future to stop or detain vessels, laden or in ballast, whether Russian or belonging to nations with which the Ottoman empire shall not be in a state of declared war, passing through the Strait of Constantinople and the Strait of the Dardanelles, to repair from the Black Sea into the Mediterranean, or from the Mediterranean to the Russian ports of the Black Sea. And if, which God forbid! any of the stipulations contained in the present article should be infringed, and the reclamation of the Russian Minister on that subject should not obtain a full and prompt satisfaction, the Sublime Porte recognises, before-hand, the right in the Imperial Court of Russia to consider such an infraction an act of hostility, and imme-

"diately to retaliate on the Ottoman empire."

It is impossible to read this article without perceiving, that here is a complete surrender of the power of Turkey; of the rights of sovereignty in that empire; a complete subjugation, all but the mere name; and the name would have been, just at present, inconvenient to Russia. The Whigs, who appear to have a very strong desire to get from the Duke of Wellington some small part of the public money, are everywhere endeavouring to cause it to be believed that this is not so very disgraceful an affair, after all; that the Turks have not been so very harshly dealt with by Russia; and that as to *England*, she has nothing to do with the matter at any rate; that the injury and disgrace, if there be any, is none of hers! This is what the Whigs are at, all over the country; and Lord Grosvenor, who, by-the-by, was one of the most desperate supporters of Pitt, until the hour of that bawling fellow's death; this Lord Grosvenor is now the leader of the Whig club in Cheshire; at a meeting of which he said the other day, that things were going on extremely well; that our prospects were very fair; and that, for his part, he saw no reason to be alarmed at the aggrandisement of Russia! In the same vineyard are labouring the miserable *Morning Chronicle*, the *Scotsman*, and every thing belonging to the Whig crew. The Irish Catholic papers sing the same tune, as far as I have perceived. In short, all those who wish to support the present Ministry, are endeavouring to maintain these two propositions:

1. That the Treaty between Russia and Turkey contains nothing very humiliating to Turkey.

2. That, at any rate, the Treaty, if acted upon, can produce no harm to England.

As to the first of these, Russia secures a concurrent jurisdiction and allegiance throughout a large part of the Turkish empire; she secures the jurisdiction over the waters, as well as over the land, in Europe and in Asia, as far as relates to all matters of commerce. By that part of the Treaty, which stipulates

for the payment of sums of money by Turkey to Russia, she secures a right to the military occupation of Turkey in Europe for at least ten years to come; she secures, in short, the real sovereignty in the Turkish empire by land and by sea, under various appellations and pretences. It is impossible, however, adequately to describe the fallen and subjugated state of Turkey, without resorting to a mode of illustration which shall bring the matter home to ourselves; which shall make the case our own; and, if we go on at this rate, *God Almighty* only knows how soon the case may be our own.

Let us suppose, then, a war between England and France: let us suppose the French, after landing in Scotland, and overrunning that country, marching on towards London, overrunning Northumberland, Durham and Cumberland, and penetrating as far as Derby; let us suppose the English negotiators to set off to Derby, and there to agree, if the French will not march on to London, that the King of England will bind himself to the following conditions:

1. That Scotland and the three northern counties of England shall be exempted from the fiscal power of the English Government; that they shall owe a joint allegiance to the French King and to the King of England; that the English Government shall pass no laws affecting Scotland and those counties, without the consent of the French Government; and that the King of England acknowledges the right of France to do whatever may be necessary to protect the people of these counties against the power of the King of England.

2. That as to the waters surrounding this island, including the Straits of Dover, St. George's Channel, the passage north about between Ireland and Scotland, and even the narrow Straits, called the Needles, between the Hampshire main and the Isle of Wight; that, as to all these, the King of England shall no longer have a right of dominion of any description; that he shall have

no right of search, even in case he shall be at war; that he shall not bring any neutral vessel to; that he shall not stop her to search for enemy's goods, or even for things contraband of war; that, supposing him to be at war with Holland, for instance, he shall not have the power to prevent France, Russia, America, or any other power from going to and from Holland with their ships, carrying the goods of the Dutch, carrying powder and ball to them, and muskets, and cannons, and shall not prevent them from carrying even *troops* to assist the Dutch; that, finally, if the King of England make any attempt to violate this bargain, he *acknowledges beforehand* that the King of France has a right to make war upon him for such attempt.

3. As if this were not enough; as if all this were not sufficient to convince the world of the vassal state of England, suppose the King of England to agree that Frenchmen shall bring in French goods into any of our ports at their pleasure, paying only duties according to the present tariffs; that they shall remove them about on land or water throughout the whole kingdom at their pleasure; that they shall be subject to no excise, shall require no permits, shall be under no control of any office or authority whatsoever, that they shall sell them here if they please to foreign nations, and re-ship them in ships of other nations from our ports; that, for instance, a Frenchman shall bring in a cargo of wine, in a French or other foreign ship; that he shall land it at his pleasure; that having paid the duty according to the present tariff, he shall move it at his pleasure to any part of the kingdom without any further permission, and without any inspection or control on the part of any body; and that, if he please, he shall send it out of the country again without paying any duty at all, and in any foreign ship that he may please.

4. Still, however, this is not the worst;

for the King of England agrees that Frenchmen shall come into England in any number; that they shall come here as matter of right; that they shall carry on any commerce or business that they please in England; that they shall quit one business, and go to another when they like; that they shall have all the privileges and rights of Englishmen; and (which surpasses any thing ever heard of in the world before) they shall be exempted from the effects of all the criminal laws in England! That no constable, no policeman, not even Mr. Peel's famous police-men; no sheriff, no justice of the peace, no judge, no jury, no jailer, no hangman, shall dare to touch a hair of the head of a Frenchman, let the Monsieur do what he may! That Frenchmen in England shall be totally exempt from the English laws and authorities; that no internal regulation or legislation shall affect them; that they shall be subject to nothing in the way of control, but the regulations and police established by the French ambassador and consuls, that if a Frenchman knock an Englishman down or rob him; if he commit a murder upon an Englishman, nay, if he conspire against or kill the King, the English law shall take no cognizance of his conduct.

Let me now put it to you, who are real Englishmen; let me ask you whether you would affect to regard England as any thing but a conquered country, if the King of England were to submit to terms like these? Besides bargaining to pay a tribute, which it is known never can be paid; and leaving all the strong holds of the country in the hands of the King of France, as a guarantee for the payment of the tribute. And yet these base Whigs, these desperate and greedy hunters after place, power, and emolument, and who hope to get them by currying favour with the Duke of Wellington, this wretched and worthless faction are trying to persuade the country, that Russia has been moderate in her terms,

and that the Turks have really not much to complain of!

With regard to the second proposition, namely, *that at any rate the Treaty, if acted upon, can produce no harm to England*, I have observed at the beginning of this letter, that this Treaty brings Russia into the Mediterranean from the Black Sea. This is the greatest change that has taken place in the affairs of Europe for more than a hundred years. It creates a new great naval power, and opens all the seas to that power. We had a monopoly of the trade of Turkey. We are to have that no longer. France had no maritime ally in Europe: now she will have one great and powerful, and of endless resources. Russia will be the great naval power at one end of the Mediterranean, where the Greeks will be a colony of Russia instead of a colony of Turkey. It is not folly, but downright base hypocrisy to affect to believe that we shall be able to keep the Seven Islands and Malta, or either of them, for any length of time; and where is the man stupid enough to believe that we shall be able to keep Gibraltar for ten years? "*Ten years!*" exclaims the Scotch philosopher, "*why, ten years is a lecture eternity, mon!*" Very true, for our policy for many years past, has been a sort of weekly or monthly policy.

The French and Russians have had a common interest in this war against Turkey. The French wanted us out of the Mediterranean; she wanted Russia to be closer upon the flank of Austria; she wanted a great Russian fleet in the Mediterranean; she wanted her way open to Egypt; and now she has got it all. Not only shall we never dare show our faces in the Mediterranean again; not only shall we be totally ejected from that sea, and from the trade of Turkey and Italy; but there will be an enormous maritime power, always ready to come out into the Atlantic to join the Americans; and in a very short time, speaking of the affairs of nations, England, unless she instantly buckle on her armour, will be broken down as a maritime power; and as she has no other power, and never can have, she will be

stripped bit by bit of all her foreign possessions; and will finally realize the prophecy of the Abbé Raynal, who predicted that her false and showy wealth would at last make her the scorn, instead of being the envy, of the world.

And, my friends, what has been the cause of all this? Every one knows that a fleet of thirty ships of the line, with suitable smaller companions, would have prevented the Russians from ever setting a hostile foot on Turkish ground. A squadron of only three ships would have desolated the whole of the coast of the Black Sea. A Russian ship would not have been afloat upon the ocean; the Russian ports in the Baltic would have been demolished. And, *why not do this?* Why not put a stop to the growth of this giant? Because we have not yet paid for the "*victories*" which we purchased so dearly some years ago, and about which we made such a boasting and bragging.

Of all the mean things that have disgraced the nations of this world, the meanest was our attempt to *get the French on our side*, in an endeavour to persuade the Russians to stop: but mean as it was, it was more foolish than it was mean. France has a direct and clear interest in the success of Russia; and the truth is, *that it was fear of France*, that very France that we "*twice conquered*" so short a time ago; that very France *whose museums were stripped*; it was fear of that very France that made us stand still while the Russian conqueror was proceeding. We had no ability to go to war, even with Russia alone; but, a mere demonstration would have been enough for Russia; with France, however, looking us hard in the face, we dared not stir hand or foot. We had no means of setting Austria on upon France: we had no money to give to her to enable her to march upon the Rhine and into Alsace. To have gone to war with Russia and France, would have demanded fifty millions a year of additional taxes, or, rather, would have blown up this whole system from its very foundations. We had laid out all our money in the purchasing of Waterloo, and other victories:

the French stood ready for us: they did not want war if it could be done without: it was done without: the Russians came into the Mediterranean! Turkey fell; and the newspapers, from one end to the other of the continent of Europe, phinally, openly, and in so many words, exult in this great achievement, over what they call "the tyrant of the seas."

How it must amuse the laughing part of the politicians of Europe: how it must delight the surviving friends of Marshal Ney: how must it fill with ecstasy those who cursed the pillagers of the museums: how it must convulse with laughter those Frenchmen who have heard of Waterloo-bridge, of the great Achilles, and of the triumphal arches of Hyde-park Corner: though these latter have not (from pure modesty in the papers) yet received the *baptismal ceremony*: how it must delight all these people to look at the miserable shifts to which we are driven in order to disguise our shame. Amongst these shifts I will cite one from the *Old Times* newspaper, which exhibits, I think, the most complete instance of folly, of childishness, of miserable, miserable weakness, that the eyes of man ever beheld, or that ever met a human ear. I beg you to read it with great attention; for that will save me the trouble of a long commentary upon it.

"In this affair of Turkey, neither England nor Europe has been fairly dealt by. A large portion of the French press, and, as its exertions proceeded, a great body of the nation under its influence, ran wild upon the Turkish question. First, the independence of Greece, which was a separate and smaller question, was put forward, as that to which alone the minds of Frenchmen ought to be directed. Had a vigorous and long-sighted part been taken by England and France together, it would perhaps have been this:—We (the Allies) will force Turkey to acquiesce in the independence of Greece: but on the other hand, we will compel the Emperor Nicholas to respect the integrity and independence of Turkey. This, we say, ought to have been done, if it had

been practicable. But was it practicable? Perhaps not: perhaps the French press and the French public would not support the Government of King Charles in fulfilling its duty to Europe. Instead of following the direct path of French policy, and taking steps to restrain any dangerous movement by Russia, certain papers, such as the *Constitutionnel* and the *Journal des Debats*, got up again the old Bonaparte hostility to England, and actually turned the popular feeling of the French upon a false scent, deterring them from all opposition to the views of Russia, because in resisting her, they would have to co-operate with this country! This was the extreme of folly in the public, who were duped; it was the extreme of baseness in the press and its auxiliaries, who duped them. And why was this anti-national course adopted by papers which called themselves liberal? There is a Corsican in Paris, who once received a pension from the British Government, and who, ever since the year 1815, has held the post of Russian Minister at the French Court. This gentleman is reputed to be the most dexterous intriguer in Europe. The invasion of Spain, in 1822, is said to have been chiefly his work. A large portion of the press of France is his instrument. The *Constitutionnel* is believed to be under his absolute control; and we are sorry to say, that there is nothing in the later history of another popular journal to repel the imputation of its being secretly influenced by Pozzo. The game, then, of this diplomatist, is clear: viz. to divert from Russia against Great Britain the whole power of that French feeling, which, if governed by common sense, would have united with the Duke of Wellington for a great European object; and to interpose the phantoms of English maritime tyranny, the obsolete topics of Bonaparte's trades against this country, between the gigantic schemes of Russia and the mystified imagination of the French people. This plan was followed up by perpetual attacks

"upon Prince Polignac and his administration, on the despicable pretext of his being helped into office by the Duke of Wellington; but for no real reason whatever, except that the Prince was known by Pozzo di Borgo to see, like most enlightened men, some danger in the Russian policy. Such has been, as is shrewdly hinted, the state of things behind the scenes; the stage-manager of the Parisian drama, has been Pozzo; the briber of the French press, has been Pozzo; the conscious calumniator of England, is the same Pozzo, once the pensioner of England. He is, however, an efficient servant of his present master. But we repeat most distinctly, that while the French mind was so diseased upon this great question of permanent interest to Europe, no English Minister could have discreetly ventured to break ground in the East."

This surpasses all that I ever read, even in this very stupid paper. The substance of it is this, that Pozzo di Borgo has a complete control over the French press; that the French press has a complete control over the French mind; that the French mind has a complete control over the French King; that the Duke of Wellington could not stop the Russians without the consent of the French King; and that, as Pozzo di Borgo was the agent of the Emperor of Russia, he made the French press work upon the French mind, to prevent the French King from giving his consent to the Duke of Wellington to stop the Russians? Thus it is only by means of the few golden louis, that Pozzo di Borgo was able to give to the French press, that England was compelled to stand still and see a giant navy enter the Mediterranean to join the French and Americans in any future war, and to eject England for ever from the Mediterranean Sea, unless she put on her armour and begin to fight immediately, before this baby giant attain his manhood.

But this childish creature; this worse than poor, miserable chit-chat, tea-table politician; this creature does not perceive, then, that the whole of the French nation were heart and soul with Russia,

that they had a deep interest in the success of Russia; that it was the great blow of France as much as for Russia herself; and that the success of Russia has now raised France many degrees in the scale of power, as compared with England. This poor, childish creature does not perceive this; it can see nothing for its part, but the influence of the French press. The creature knows how its paragraphs twist the stock-jobbers about; and it thinks that the whole of a great and powerful nation, is to be twisted about by similar means. It knows that it can make its readers believe a great many things which idiots would reject; and it naturally thinks that the French nation is to be duped in the same way. But, if Pozzo di Borgo could bribe the French press, is bribery wholly unknown on this side of the water? For many years the French talked of nothing but the gold of Pitt; and surely we could have spared a little when "money is so plentiful in the city!"

However, this is childishness: too childish to occupy a moment of our time: the French nation exults, and well it may, at the success of Russia, which is, indeed, its own success; and this success it owes to our debt and dead-weight, contracted for the purpose of destroying the germs of freedom in France, lest that freedom should shame the English people into exertions for recovering their rights, and effecting a reform in the Commons House of Parliament. Here is the true and only cause of all the effects, present and future, described in the former part of this letter; and to this I shall only add that these effects would, as you well know, all have been avoided, if the Government and Parliament had not despised the advice and the repeated warnings of

Your faithful friend
and most obedient servant,

WM. COBBETT.

"HEDDEKASHUN."

Sir, — A reply to Mr. Morrison's letter on this subject involves one in two awkward difficulties; at the outset one

has to encounter the authority of a great name, and a fallacy not easily obviated, though in common use in argument, and equivalent to giving a dog a bad name as an excuse for hanging him.

You declare that Mr. Morrison's letter is "complete." With deference I differ from you, if by complete is meant a full view of the question, with every deducible fact and argument brought to bear upon it, and leading to the irrefragable conclusion that education is bad. The instances brought forward, however, relate to a part only of the question, material certainly, but being partial it seems illogical to deduce the general consequence of unsoundness as completely demonstrated, not only of the mode of teaching but also of the thing taught.

The quotations taken from certain compilations used in the Scotch system of education, no doubt, prove a hellish intention of enslaving the mind at a tender age, the more easily to bend the man to the designs of the craft of priests or of statesmen. Taking this for granted, and as there is no denying it, I indeed admit to the fullest extent, though it may be, and I think is, proof of moral worthlessness in the writer, and moreover of a dangerous defect in the selection of books; that is, of books inculcating insidiously the worst things, not indeed vice under the garb of virtue, but quite as bad, principles inimical to freedom under colour of moral precepts; yet I contend that this amounts to no more than proof of defect, and that in a part only of the Scotch system of education.

Allow me to think it is a duty to express my detestation of the writers of such books as are written for children with no other view than instilling into their minds, if they are poor, that the only chance of conciliating, and thereby obtaining assistance from the rich, is by the meanest kind of submission a human being (whether right or wrong is not said) can be guilty of, namely, that which is made to the rich because they are rich. At the same time I take leave to express my abhorrence of all writings inculcating ideas of the Deity

at variance with the chief and highest attributes of his nature, and totally and alike destructive of the best of qualities, loving-kindness, goodness, and mercy, in creator and in creature.

That he may be rich and powerful, the statesman insinuates when he cannot dictate slavish submission to the working many, and priestcraft joins in the delusion, that it may be clothed in purple and fine linen, and fare sumptuously every day. In the words church and state, we have a lively idea presented to us of these two crafts, of their union and its objects, the worst pests with which God for their sins has visited mankind; I presume it is a just work to drive them from off the face of the earth, and that there is no more effectual means than by exposure; if so, and education is to be excluded, I see but this alternative, that as hitherto the people have been, so they must continue to be, the victims of these pestilences.

Whenever books of the kind of demoralizing tendency spoken of, are to be met with in schools, there is evidence of a vicious defect in the system of education pursued; nay, I will go farther; if education consisted of nothing else than the information conveyed by such means, then I would justly and truly say, education was so radically bad, we could not be too soon rid of a thing so mischievously wicked as that which must render man as debased as depraved.

I acknowledge that the present is a much-mistaken system of education. But instead of saying on this account that education is bad, I conclude means should be taken to make it useful to the extent I am convinced, under an improved system, it is capable of being made, by rendering men rational in their thoughts, words, and actions, and knowing in, and observant of, their duties to themselves and their neighbours. Besides it is defective, inasmuch as body-work is not taught with mind-work. My meaning is, that whilst a child is learning the means to acquire food for the mind, which is knowledge, his hands should be taught some trade to provide him a living. An improved system of

education, of training both mind and body simultaneously, would easily admit of this being done; and when done, that it may not then be faulty I do not say. Be that as it may, the faultiness I apprehend would not be proof of the badness of education, but if of anything of the imperfect means of conveying it.

I will give a personal instance of the kind of double training I speak of. I have not been brought up in the lap of luxury, nor yet in the other extreme. When a child, and learning my little lessons, if well, I was praised, or allowed some trifling indulgence; if otherwise, discountenanced; but before I was allowed to have my lunchion of bread and cheese, I was taught by my father to do something for it, as weeding or digging in the garden, or clearing away rubbish or stones, the little plot allotted to me was not to be touched, or the gardener suffered to help me, till I had done something useful. The habit of hand-working has insensibly grown up with me from my childhood, and though my trade (the law) has been headwork, if to-morrow, a necessity existed for it, I believe I could earn my living as a farm labourer, or should that fail, I think I should have a resource in the joiner's trade, in learning which for amusement, I have spent some of the happiest hours of my life. In the woods, I can handle an axe, and knowing something of the planting and rearing of trees, I might perhaps be able to get occupation in that line, and for which I would have to thank you for your admirable treatise on "Woodlands."

I am fully aware of the egotism in self-allusion, but I mention these things to show the possibility and utility of joining the training of mind and body together. If I am asked for authority, one may be given, which no just and sensible Englishman can treat with irreverence, without lowering himself, I give that of John Milton, who planned a system of education on the principle of training mind and body as the proper way of bringing up youth.

Mr. Morrison says, "The torture of mind and body to which the child is

"subjected during the heddekashun process, is extreme."

I believe restraint is inseparable from all kinds of training; that it is irksome to all children, and a torture to most, especially the lively tempered ones. Whatever we learn, be it reading or digging, necessarily imposes restraint, and in that sense to a certain degree torture. Few children I have seen would learn without restraint; necessity therefore compels recourse to it, if either art is to be taught. Whatever then is learned by causing restraint, implies, as I said, a certain degree of torture.

If, however, by torture, your correspondent means bodily punishment, I hope he is mistaken in referring to the present, what was the rule when he or myself was at school, where, after the wisdom, not of a Solomon, he was taught to spoil the child who spared the rod. That there are brutes of schoolmasters I do not deny, but the humanizing spirit which is abroad, has made them few in number, and rare exceptions.

Since the time I speak of great changes have been made in the nature of punishment; bodily punishment is nearly exploded, especially in schools for the people. Were it otherwise, it is unreasonable to conclude that education must be bad, because the system of correction is bad.

A word as to the fallacy. Every-body knows ridicule is no test of truth, of thin-skinnedness it is, but not of want of information, and as little of having the worst of an argument. Bad jokes, nicknames of persons or things, do but inflame the minds of disputants against each other, and when they are used, there is an end of fair discussion. The wit or argument of spelling education in a ridiculous way, I am at a loss to see, and except in creating prejudice, it can answer no end, which has truth in view, and as that is my object, I have taken leave to spell it, not as it has been metamorphosed, but after the old and orthodox fashion, e-d-u-c-a-t-i-o-n.

Though I have endeavoured to show

that your correspondent's argument is not so complete as you say it is, I trust it has been done with fairness and temper. Enough, I think has been said, to raise a presumption at least, that however defective the system of training may be, that the things taught, that that which goes by the name of education is not the bad thing you deem it to be, nor yet bad for the labouring classes, unless it is bad for the rich also, whilst, as I think, it is good for all.

The term "*Cobbettite*" as a reproach conveying the extreme of opprobrium, has more or less been cast upon me. It is doing me too much honour, for I never enrolled myself in the category of politicians calling themselves your disciples. I possess many volumes of your *Register*, and nearly all your miscellaneous works; and it is true, I have derived much instruction and great pleasure from your writings; obligations I am always glad of an opportunity of acknowledging. Yet I cannot call myself a disciple, although in some things holding your opinions, for in others I totally dissent from your views, and in none, more than on the subject of education, of which, in regard to moral and political instruction, I am, it may be but an inefficient, a sincere advocate.

With sincerity and pleasure I subscribe myself,

Sir,

Your obedient servant,

G. WHEATLEY.

25, December, 1832.

To Mr. Cobbett, M. P.

SEEDS.

ITALIAN CLOVER.

I HAVE received an account from Mr. HAYLEY, of LIVERPOOL, enabling me to state the price of the Italian clover seed; and I have come to this determination with regard to the price, which will be as follows:—

For a single pound	1s. 6d.
For ten pounds	12s. 6d.
For twenty pounds	22s. 6d.
For thirty pounds or upwards, 1s. per pound.	

SWEDISH TURNIP SEED.—Any quantity under 10lbs. 9d. a pound; and any quantity above 10lbs. and under 50lbs. 8d. a pound; any quantity above 50lbs. 7d. a pound; above 100lbs. 6d. A parcel of seed may be sent to any part of the kingdom; I will find proper bags, will send it to any coach or van or wagon, and have it booked at my expense; but *the money must be paid at my shop before the seed be sent away*; in consideration of which I have made due allowance in the price. If the quantity be small, any friend can call and get it for a friend in the country; if the quantity be large, it may be sent by me.

MANGEL-WURZEL SEED.—Any quantity under 10lbs. 9d. a pound; any quantity above 10lbs. and under 50lbs. 8d. a pound; any quantity above 50lbs. 7d. a pound; any quantity above 100lbs. 6d. a pound.

GARDEN SEEDS.

There will be two sizes of bags, one for a *large* garden and one for a *small* one; the latter will contain half the quantity of the former. The price of the former, 25s.; the price of the latter, 12s. 6d.; always *ready money*. It is impossible for any man to raise such an assortment of *true* seeds in any *one* garden; and, if he *could* do it, the doing of it would cost him *six times the sum* that I sell these seeds at.

Any person who purchases *ten* bags, will pay the price of *eight*, and, if twenty bags, will pay the price of *fifteen*; and if 100, pay for 60. The bags will be so strongly done up that they can be sent with safety to any part of the kingdom or of the world, and each bag will have on it, or in it, a *card*, with these words, in *fac-simile* of my hand-writing: "GARDEN SEEDS, RAISED, in 1833, BY WM. COBBETT, M. P. FOR OLDHAM." And my constituents will remember, that *La charrue, l'épée et la plume ne dérogent pas*.

The following is the list of my seeds, which contains the **KNIGHT-PEA**, not contained in my list of last year. The **EARLY-FRAME** pea is the very quickest in coming that I ever saw in my life; and

I think I can defy all the world for cabbage seed, though I have not got it, even yet, into that state of perfection that I shall have it next year.

KITCHEN-GARDEN SEEDS.

- No.
1. Asparagus.
 2. Bean—Broad, or Windsor.
 3. Long Pod.
 4. Early Masagan,
 5. Kidney (or French). Scarlet Runners.
 6. White Runners.
 7. Bean—Black Dwarf.
 8. Dun Dwarf.
 9. Robin-Egg.
 10. Speckled.
 11. Beet—Red.
 12. Brocoli—White.
 13. Purple.
 14. .. Cape
 15. Cabbage—Early Battersea.
 16. Early York.
 17. Savoy.
 18. Cabbage—Curled—Scotch.
 19. Carrot.
 20. Cauliflower.
 21. Celery.
 22. Chervil.
 23. Cress.
 24. Cucumber, early frame.
 25. Corn (Cobbett's).
 26. Endive.
 27. Leek.
 28. Lettuce—White Coss.
 29. Brown Dutch.
 30. Mustard—White.
 31. Nasturtium—Dwarf.
 32. Onion.
 33. Parsnip.
 34. Parsley—Curled.
 35. Knight-Pea.
 36. Pea—Early-frame.
 37. Tall Marrowfat.
 38. Dwarf Marrowfat.
 39. Radish—Early Scarlet.
 40. White Turnip.
 41. Spinage.
 42. Squash (from America, great variety).
 43. Turnip—Early Garden.

FLOWER SEEDS.

44. Canterbury Bells.
45. Catch Fly.

46. China-asters.
47. Convolvulus—Dwarf.
48. Indian Pink.
49. Larkspur—Dwarf Rocket.
50. Lupins—Dwarf Yellow.
51. Poppy—Carnation.
52. French.
53. Stock, Scarlet, ten-week.
54. Mignonette.
55. Sweetwilliam.
56. Sweet Pea.
57. Venus's Looking-glass.
58. Virginia Stock.
59. Wall-flower.

THE PRESIDENT'S MESSAGE.

I SHALL remark on the whole of this Message next week.

(From the New York Gazette.)

New York, Dec. 4.

[The express arrived at Jersey one minute after four o'clock this morning, and reached our office at half-past four. The accompanying letter does not mention the proceedings previous to the delivery of the Message, nor does it mention who was elected Speaker. There is no doubt, however, that Stevenson has been re-elected.]

Fellow Citizens of the Senate and House of Representatives.

On your assembling to perform the high trust which the people of the United States have confided to you, of legislating for their common welfare, it gives me pleasure to congratulate you upon the happy condition of our beloved country. By the favour of Divine Providence, health is again restored to us—peace reigns within our borders—abundance crowns the labours of our fields—commerce and domestic industry flourish and increase—and individual happiness rewards the private virtue and enterprise of our citizens. Our condition abroad is no less honourable than it is prosperous at home. Seeking nothing that is not right, and determined to submit to nothing that is wrong, but desiring honest friendships and liberal intercourse with all nations,

the United States have gained throughout the world the confidence and respect which are due to the character of the American people, and to a policy so just and so congenial to the spirit of their institutions.

In bringing to your notice the particular state of our foreign affairs, it affords me high gratification to inform you that they are in a condition which promises the continuance of friendship with all nations.

With Great Britain the interesting question of our north-eastern boundary remains still undecided. A negotiation, however, upon that subject has been renewed since the close of the last Congress, and a proposition has been submitted to the British Government with the view of establishing, in conformity with the resolution of the Senate, the line designated by the treaty of 1783. Though no definitive answer has been received, it may be daily looked for, and I entertain a hope that the overture may ultimately lead to a satisfactory adjustment of this important matter.

I have the satisfaction to inform you that a negotiation which, by desire of the House of Representatives, was opened some years ago with the British Government for the erection of light-houses on the Bahamas, has been successful. These works, when completed, together with some which the United States have constructed on the western side of the Gulf of Florida, will contribute essentially to the safety of the navigation in that sea. This joint participation in establishments interesting to humanity, and beneficial to commerce, is worthy of two enlightened nations, and indicates feelings which cannot fail to have a happy influence upon their political relations. It is gratifying to the friends of both to perceive that the intercourse between the two people is becoming daily more extensive, and that sentiments of mutual good have grown up befitting their common origin, justifying the hope that, by wise counsels on each side, not only unsettled questions may be satisfactorily terminated, but new causes of misunderstanding prevented.

Notwithstanding that I continue to receive the most amicable assurances from the Government of France, and that in all other respects the most friendly relations exist between the United States and that Government, it is to be regretted that the stipulations of the convention concluded on 4. July, 1831, remain in some important parts unfulfilled.

By the second article of that convention, it was stipulated that the sum payable to the United States should be paid at Paris, in six annual instalments, into the hands of such person or persons as should be authorised by the Government of the United States to receive it; and by the same article the first instalment was payable on the 2. day of February, 1833. By the act of Congress of the 13. of July, 1832, it was made the duty of the Secretary of the Treasury to cause the several instalments, with the interest thereon, to be received from the French Government, and transferred to the United States, in such manner as he may deem best; and by the same act of Congress, the stipulations on the part of the United States in the convention were in all respects fulfilled. Not doubting that a treaty thus made and ratified by the two Governments, and faithfully executed by the United States, would be promptly complied with by the other party, and desiring to avoid the risk and expense of intermediate agencies, the Secretary of the Treasury deemed it advisable to receive and transfer the first instalment by means of a draft upon the French Minister of Finance. A draft for this purpose was accordingly drawn in favour of the cashier of the Bank of the United States, for the amount accruing to the United States out of the first instalment and interest payable with it. This bill was not drawn at Washington until five days after the instalment was payable at Paris, and was accompanied by a special authority from the President, authorising the cashier, or his assigns, to receive the amount. The mode thus adopted of receiving the instalment was officially made known to the French Government by the American

Charge d'Affaires at Paris, pursuant to instructions from the Department of State. The bill, however, though not presented for payment until the 23. day of March, was not paid, and for the reason assigned by the French Minister of Finance—that no appropriation had been made by the French Chambers. It is not known to me that, up to that period, any appropriation had been required of the Chambers; and although a communication was subsequently made to the Chambers, by direction of the King, recommending that the necessary provision should be made for carrying the convention into effect, it was at an advanced period of the session, and the subject was finally postponed until the next meeting of the Chambers.

Notwithstanding it has been supposed by the French Ministry that the financial stipulations of the treaty cannot be carried into effect without an appropriation by the Chambers, it appears to me to be not only consistent with the charter of France, but due to the character of both Governments, as well as to the rights of our citizens, to treat the convention made and ratified in proper form, as pledging the good faith of the French Government for its execution, and as imposing upon each department an obligation to fulfil it; and I have received assurances through our Charge d'Affaires at Paris, and the French Minister Plenipotentiary at Washington, and more recently through the Minister of the United States at Paris, that the delay has not proceeded from any indisposition on the part of the King and his Ministers to fulfil the treaty, and that measures will be presented at the next meeting of the Chambers, and with a reasonable hope of success, to obtain the necessary appropriation.

It is necessary to state, however, that the documents, except certain lists of vessels captured, condemned, or burnt at sea, proper to facilitate the examination and liquidation of the reclamations comprised in the stipulations of the convention, and which, by the 6th article, France engaged to communicate to the United States by the intermediary of the Legation, though repeatedly ap-

plied for by the American Charge d'Affaires, under instructions from this Government, have not yet been communicated; and this delay, it is apprehended, will necessarily prevent the completion of the duties assigned to the Commissioners within the time at present prescribed by law.

The reasons for delaying to communicate these documents have not been explicitly stated, and this is the more to be regretted, as it is not understood that the interposition of the Chambers is in any manner required for the delivery of those names.

Under these circumstances, in a case so important to the interest of our citizens and to the character of our country, and under disappointments so unexpected, I deemed it my duty, however I might respect the general assurances to which I have adverted, no longer to delay the appointment of a Minister Plenipotentiary to Paris, but to dispatch him in season to communicate the result of his application to the French Government at an early period of your session. I accordingly appointed a distinguished citizen for this purpose, who proceeded on his mission in August last, and was presented to the King early in the month of October. He is particularly instructed as to all matters connected with the present posture of affairs, and I indulge the hope that, with the representations he is instructed to make, and from the dispositions manifested by the King and his Ministers in their recent assurance to our Minister at Paris, the subject will be early considered and satisfactorily disposed of at the meeting of the Chambers.

As this subject involves important interests, and has attracted a considerable share of the public attention, I have deemed it proper to make this explicit statement of its actual condition; and, should I be disappointed in the hope now entertained, the subject will be again brought to the notice of Congress in such manner as the occasion may require.

The friendly relations which have always been maintained between the United States and Russia, have been

further extended and strengthened by the treaty of navigation and commerce concluded on the 6. of December last, and sanctioned by the Senate before the close of the last session. The ratification having been since exchanged, the liberal provisions of the treaty are now in full force; and, under the encouragement which they have received, a flourishing and increasing commerce, yielding its benefits to the enterprise of both nations, affords to each the just recompense of wise measures, and adds new motives for that mutual friendship which the two countries have hitherto cherished towards each other.

It affords me peculiar satisfaction to state that the Government of Spain has at length yielded to the justice of the claims which have been so long urged in behalf of our citizens, and has expressed a willingness to provide an indemnification, as soon as the proper amount can be agreed upon. Upon this latter point it is probable an understanding had taken place between the Minister of the United States and the Spanish Government before the decease of the late King of Spain; and unless that event may have delayed its completion, there is reason to hope that it may be in my power to announce to you early in your present session the conclusion of a convention upon terms not less favourable than those entered into for similar objects with other nations. That act of justice would well accord with the character of Spain, and is due to the United States from their ancient friend. It could not fail to strengthen the sentiments of amity and goodwill between the two nations, which it is so much the wish of the United States to cherish and so truly the interest of both to maintain.

By the first section of an act of Congress passed on the 13. July, 1832, the tonnage duty on Spanish ships arriving from the ports of Spain was limited to the duty payable on American vessels in the ports of Spain previous to the 20. October, 1817, being five cents per ton. The act was intended to give effect, on our side, to an arrangement made with the Spanish Government, by which dis-

criminating duties of tonnage were to be abolished in the ports of the United States and Spain on the vessels of the two nations. Pursuant to that arrangement, which was carried into effect, on the part of Spain, on the 20. of May, 1832, by a royal order, dated the 29. of April, 1832, American vessels in the ports of Spain have paid five cents per ton, which rate of duty is also paid in those ports by Spanish vessels; but as American vessels pay no tonnage duty in the ports of the United States, the duty of five cents payable in our ports by Spanish vessels, under the act above-mentioned, is really a discriminating duty, operating to the disadvantage of Spain. Though no complaint has yet been made on the part of Spain, we are not the less bound by the obligations of good faith to remove the discrimination, and I recommend that the act be amended accordingly. As the royal order above alluded to includes the ports of the Balearic and Canary Islands, as well as those of Spain, it would seem that the provisions of the act of Congress should be equally extensive; and that for the repayment of such duties as may have been improperly received, an addition should be made to the sum appropriated at the last session of Congress for refunding discriminating duties.

As the arrangement referred to, however, did not embrace the islands of Cuba and Porto Rico, discriminating duties to the prejudice of American shipping continue to be levied there. From the extent of the commerce carried on between the United States and these islands, particularly the former, this discrimination causes serious injury to one of those great national interests which it has not been considered an essential part of our policy to cherish, and has given rise to complaints on the part of our merchants. Under instructions given to our Minister at Madrid, earnest representations have been made by him to the Spanish Government upon this subject, and there is reason to expect, from the friendly disposition which is entertained towards this country, that a beneficial change will be produced. The disadvantage, however, to which

our shipping is subjected by the operation of these discriminating duties, requires that they be met with suitable countervailing duties during your present session; power being at the same time vested in the President to modify or discontinue them as the discriminating duties on American vessels or their cargoes may be modified or discontinued at those islands. Intimations have been given to the Spanish Government that the United States may be obliged to resort to such measures as are of necessary self-defence; and there is no reason to apprehend that they would be unfavourably received. The proposed proceeding, if adopted, would not be permitted, however, in any degree to induce a relaxation in the efforts of our Minister to effect a repeal of this irregularity by friendly negotiation; and it might serve to give force to his representations, by showing the dangers to which that valuable trade is exposed by the obstructions and burdens which a system of discriminating and countervailing duties necessarily produces.

The selection and preparation of the Florida archives, for the purpose of being delivered over to the United States, in conformity with the royal order, as mentioned in my last annual message, though in progress, has not yet been completed. This delay has been produced, partly by causes which were unavoidable, particularly the prevalence of cholera at the Havannah; but measures have been taken which it is believed will expedite the delivery of these important records.

Congress was informed, at the opening of the last session, that "owing, as was alleged, to embarrassments in the finances of Portugal, consequent upon the civil war in which that nation was engaged," payment had been made of only one instalment of the amount which the Portuguese Government had stipulated to pay for indemnifying our citizens for property illegally captured in the blockade of Perceira. Since that time a postponement for two years, with interest of the two remaining instalments, was requested by the Portuguese Government; and as a con-

sideration it offered to stipulate that rice of the United States should be admitted into Portugal at the same duties as Brazilian rice. Being satisfied that no better arrangement could be made, my consent was given, and a royal order of the King of Portugal was accordingly issued on the 4. of February last for the reduction of the duty on rice of the United States. It would give me great pleasure if, in speaking of that country, in whose prosperity the United States are so much interested, and with whom a long subsisting, extensive, and mutually advantageous commercial intercourse has strengthened the relations of friendship, I could announce to you the restoration of its internal tranquillity.

Subsequently to the commencement of the last session of Congress the final instalment payable by Denmark under the convention of the 28. day of March, 1830, was received. The commissioners for the examining of the claims have since terminated their labours, and their awards have been paid at the Treasury as they have been called for. The justice rendered to our citizens by that Government is thus completed, and a pledge is thereby afforded for the maintenance of that friendly intercourse becoming the relations that the two nations mutually bear to each other.

It is satisfactory to inform you that the Danish Government have recently issued an ordinance by which the commerce with the island of St. Croix is placed on a more liberal footing than heretofore. This change cannot fail to prove beneficial to the trade between the United States and that colony; and the advantages likely to flow from it may lead to greater relaxations in the colonial systems of other nations.

The ratifications of the convention with the King of the Two Sicilies have been duly exchanged, and the commissioners appointed for examining the claims under it have entered upon the duties assigned to them by law. The friendship that the two nations require of them being now established, it may be hoped that each will enjoy the bene-

fits which a liberal commerce should yield to both.

A treaty of amity and commerce between the United States and Belgium was concluded during the last winter, and received the sanction of the Senate; but the exchange of the ratifications has been hitherto delayed, in consequence, in the first instance, of some delay in the reception of the treaty at Brussels, and, subsequently, of the absence of the Belgian Minister of Foreign Affairs at the important conferences in which his Government is engaged at London.

(To be continued.)

From the LONDON GAZETTE,

FRIDAY, DECEMBER 27, 1833.

BANKRUPTS.

BRADLEY, J. B., Beyton, Suffolk, grocer.
DRINKWATER, S., Liverpool, coal-merchant.
LEECH, J., Fleet-street, tavern-keeper.
LIVESEY, S., Manchester, victualler.
WISEMAN, A., Ulster-place, Regent's-park, and Quadrant, Regent-street, druggist.

TUESDAY, JAN. 3, 1834.

INSOLVENTS.

HAMILTON, D., Nicholas-lane, tailor.
HODSOLL, T., Garnault-place, Spa-fields, and Brussels, picture-dealer.

BANKRUPTS.

BARKER, B., Bridlington, Yorkshire, grocer.
DUNKLEY, W. J., West Haddon, Northamptonshire, cattle-dealer.
ELLIS, S., Fleet-street, victualler.
HALL, W., Plymouth, silversmith.
LINTHORNE, R. R., Poole, victualler.
LEATHER, P., Newton-in-the-Willows and Manchester, fustian-manufacturer.
MASON, J., West Butterwick, Lincolnshire, brick-maker.
MEW, J., Coventry, riband-manufacturer.
NURSEY, P., Melton, Suffolk, architect.
PEARS, L., Manchester, fustian-manufacturer.
SPURR, J. J., Maltby, Yorkshire, paper-maker.
TAYLOR, J., Bradford, Wiltshire, grocer.
WALLDEN, W., Reading, Berkshire, slop-seller.

WRIGHT, J., jun., Cross-lane, St. Mary-at-hill, coal-factor.

WYMER, F., Star-street, Wapping-wall, victualler.

LONDON MARKETS.

MARK-LANE, CORN-EXCHANGE, Dec. 30.—The arrivals of Wheat and Barley from the home counties, have been liberal since Friday, though the supplies fresh up this morning were moderate. The samples still exhibited the effect of the damp weather, and many handled cold and rough. Fine dry parcels were taken by the millers at the terms of this day se'night, but to have made any progress in the sales of secondary and ordinary parcels, lower prices must have been submitted to. A little inquiry existed for bonded Wheat at low prices for export.

Barley came freely to hand, and though selected malting samples maintained their previous rates, yet all secondary, as well as distilling and grinding sorts, hung heavily on hand, and might have been bought the turn cheaper. The distillers having lowered the price of gin, has caused them to become unwilling purchasers, unless at reduced quotations. Malt of good quality sustained no variation in price, but country qualities realized 56s., Hertfordshire 60s.

Oats were in good supply, but the article experienced a slow dragging sale at last Monday's quotations.

Beaus, both old and new, were dull and rather cheaper.

White Peas maintained with difficulty their former rates, while Grey and Maple were 1s. lower.

The Flour trade was steady, with a fair demand for ship marks.

Wheat	50s. to 59s.
Rye	—s. to —s.
Barley	25s. to 27s.
— fine	30s. to 32s.
Peas, White	—s. to —s.
— Boilers	40s. to —s.
— Grey	33s. to 37s.
Beaus, Small	34s. to 39s.
— Tick	30s. to 34s.
Oats, Potato	24s. to 26s.
— Feed	19s. to 21s.
Flour, per sack	48s. to 50s.

PROVISIONS.

Pork, India, new	90s. to 95s.
— Mess, new ...	56s. to 62s. per barl.
Butter, Belfast ...	80s. to 82s. per cwt.
— Carlow	60s. to 64s.
— Cork	70s. to 71s.
— Limerick ..	69s. to 71s.
— Waterford ..	70s. to 75s.
— Dublin	66s. to 68s.

SMITHFIELD, December 30.

This day's supply, which embraced a considerable number of highly fed Beasts, was, of each kind of fat stock, rather limited, but of fair average quality, and, apparently, fully equal to the demand. With each kind of prime meat trade was, however, somewhat brisk; say with prime Beef, Mutton, and Pork, at an advance of 2d. prime Veal at an advance of 4d. per stone, with the middling and inferior kinds of Beef, Mutton, Veal, and Pork, trade was dull at Friday's quotations.

Full four-fifths of the beasts appeared to consist of about equal numbers of Herefords, Devons, short-horns and Welsh runts; the remaining fifth of about equal numbers of Scots and Irish beasts, about fifty Sussex beasts, as many Town's-end Cows, a few Staffords, &c. About 1,100 of the beasts, chiefly Herefords, Devons, short-horns, and Welsh runts, with a few of the Scots and Irish beasts, were from Leicestershire, Lincolnshire, Northamptonshire, and the rest of our northern grazing districts; about 100, chiefly Herefords and Devons, from our western and midland districts; about 300, mostly Scots, from Norfolk, Suffolk, Essex, and Cambridge-shire; about sixty, chiefly Sussex steers and oxen, from Kent, Sussex, and Surrey; and most of the Town's-end Cows, from the cow-keepers, stall-feeders, &c., in the neighbourhood of London.

About three-fifths of the Sheep appeared to be new Leicesters, of the South-down and white-faced crosses, in the proportion of about three of the former to five of the latter; about a fifth South-downs; and the remaining fifth about equal numbers of old Leicesters, Kents, and Kentish half-breds. A few pens of old Lincolns, horned and polled Norfolks, horned and polled Scotch and Welsh Sheep, &c.

MARK-LANE.—Friday, Jan. 3.

The arrivals this week are short. The prices full as dear as on Monday.

COBBETT-LIBRARY.

New Edition.

COBBETT'S Spelling-Book (Price 2s.)

Containing, besides all the usual matter of such a book, a clear and concise

INTRODUCTION TO ENGLISH GRAMMAR.

This I have written by way of

A Stepping-Stone to my own Grammar;

such a thing having been frequently suggested to me by Teachers as necessary.

1. ENGLISH GRAMMAR.—Of this work sixty thousand copies have now been published. This is a duodecimo volume, and the price is 3s. bound in boards.

2. TULL'S HORSE-HOEING HUSBANDRY; or, a Treatise on the Principles of Tillage and Vegetation. With an Introduction, by WM. COBBETT. 8vo. Price 15s.

3. THE EMIGRANT'S GUIDE. Just now Published, under this Title, a little Volume, containing Ten Letters, addressed to English Tax-payers. A new edition, with a Postscript, containing an account of the Prices of Houses and Land, recently obtained from America by Mr. Cobbett. Price 2s. 6d. in bds.

4. THE WOODLANDS; or, a Treatise on the preparing of the ground for planting; on the planting, on the cultivating, on the pruning, and on the cutting down, of Forest Trees and Underwoods. Price 14s. bound in boards.

5. YEAR'S RESIDENCE IN AMERICA.—The Price of this book, in good print and on fine paper, is 5s.

6. FRENCH GRAMMAR; or, Plain Instructions for the Learning of French. Price, bound in boards, 5s.

7. COTTAGE ECONOMY.—I wrote this Work professedly for the use of the labouring and middling classes of the English nation. I made myself acquainted with the best and simplest modes of making beer and bread, and these I made it as plain as, I believe, words could make it. Also of the keeping of Cows, Pigs, Bees, and Poultry, matters which I understood as well as any body could, and in all their details. It includes my writing, also on the Straw Plait. A Duodecimo Volume. Price 2s. 6d.

12. MARTENS'S LAW OF NATIONS.—This is the Book which was the foundation of all the knowledge that I have ever possessed relative to public law. The Price is 17s., and the manner of its execution is I think, such as to make it fit for the Library of any Gentleman.

13. MR. JAMES PAUL COBBETT'S RIDE OF EIGHT HUNDRED MILES IN FRANCE. Second Edition, Price 2s. 6d.

14. A TREATISE ON COBBETT'S CORN; containing Instructions for Propagating and Cultivating the Plant, and for Harvesting and Preserving the Crop; and also an account of the several uses to which the Produce is applied. Price 5s.

15. LETTERS FROM FRANCE; containing Observations made in that Country during a Residence of Two Months in the South, and Three Months at Paris. By JOHN M. COBBETT. Price 4s. in boards.

16. SERMONS.—There are twelve of these, in one volume, on the following subjects: 1. Hypocrisy and Cruelty; 2. Drunkenness; 3. Bribery; 4. Oppression; 5. Unjust Judges; 6. The Sluggard; 7. The Murderer; 8. The Gamester; 9. Public Robbery; 10. The Unnatural Mother; 11. The Sin of Forbidding Marriage; 12. On the Duties of Parsons, and on the Institution and Object of Tithes. Price 3s. 6d. bound in boards.

A Thirteenth Sermon, entitled, "GOOD FRIDAY; or, The Murder of Jesus Christ by the Jews. Price 6d.

17. AN ITALIAN GRAMMAR, by Mr. JAMES PAUL COBBETT.—Being a Plain and Compendious Introduction to the Study of Italian. Price 6s.

18. PROTESTANT "REFORMATION" in England and Ireland, showing how that event has impoverished and degraded the main body of the people in those countries. Two volumes, bound in boards. The Price of the first volume is 4s. 6d. The Price of the second volume 3s. 6d.

Price 12s.

A GEOGRAPHICAL DICTIONARY OF ENGLAND AND WALES;

CONTAINING

The names, in Alphabetical Order, of all the Counties, with their several Subdivisions, into Hundreds, Lathes, Rapes, Wapentakes, Wards, or Divisions; and an Account of the Distribution of the Counties into Circuits, Dioceses, and Parliamentary Divisions.

ALSO,

The names (under that of each County respectively), in Alphabetical Order, of all the Cities, Boroughs, Market Towns, Villages, Hamlets, and Tithings, with the Distance of each from London, or from the nearest Market Town, and with the Population, and other interesting particulars relating to each; besides which there are

MAPS;

First, one of the whole country, showing the local situation of the Counties relatively to each other; and, then, each County is also preceded by a Map, showing, in the same manner, the local situation of the Cities, Boroughs, and Market Towns.

FOUR TABLES

Are added; first, a Statistical Table of all the Counties, and then three Tables, showing the new Divisions and Distributions enacted by the Reform-Law of 4th June, 1832.

JOURNAL OF A TOUR IN ITALY,

AND ALSO IN PART OF

FRANCE AND SWITZERLAND;

The route being

From Paris, through Lyons, to Marseilles, and thence, to Nice, Genoa, Pisa, Florence, Rome, Naples, and Mount Vesuvius;

AND

By Rome, Terni, Perugia, Arezzo, Florence, Bologna, Ferrara, Padua, Venice, Verona, Milan, over the Alps by Mount St. Bernard, Geneva, and the Jura, back into France;

The space of time being, From October 1828, to September 1829.

CONTAINING

A description of the country, of the principal cities and their most striking curiosities; of the climate, soil, agriculture, horticulture, and products; of the prices of provisions and labour; and of the dresses and conditions of the people;

AND ALSO

An account of the laws and customs, civil and religious, and of the morals and demeanour of the inhabitants, in the several States.

By JAMES P. COBBETT.

Price 6s. a new edition of the **ENGLISH GARDENER,**

OR,

A TREATISE

On the Situation, Soil, Enclosing and Laying-Out of Kitchen Gardens; on the Making and Managing of Hot-beds and Green-Houses; and on the Propagation and Cultivation of all sorts of Kitchen-Garden Plants, and of Fruit-Trees whether of the Garden or the Orchard.

AND ALSO;

On the Formation of Shrubberies and Flower-Gardens; and on the Propagation and Cultivation of the several sorts of Shrubs and Flowers;

CONCLUDING WITH

A KALENDAR,

Giving instructions relative to the Sowings, Plantings, Prunings, and other labours, to be performed in the Gardens, in each Month of the Year.

By WILLIAM COBBETT.

Printed by William Cobbett, Johnson's-court; and published by him, at 11, Bolt-court, Fleet-street.

COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

Vol. 83.—No. 2]

LONDON, SATURDAY, JANUARY 11TH, 1834.

[Price 1s. 2d.]



AMERICAN PRESIDENT'S MESSAGE TO THE CONGRESS.

A PART of this Message was inserted in the last Register, and the present Register contains the remainder of it. The London newspapers have viewed it and its contents as an evidence of the wisdom and excellence of the American Government; because it tells the world that the DEBT of that country will actually be paid off in a very short space of time. This is nothing so wonderful: it can be no matter of surprise with me, who, more than twenty years ago, expressed my opinion that it would be paid off sooner than this. So long ago as 1803 I recommended an equitable adjustment of the English debt, and a paying off of what was really due in the same sort of way that the Americans were paying off their debt. For having given this recommendation, I was represented as both fool and rogue: rogue, because I recommended payment upon a just scale; and fool, because I insisted that our Sinking Fund was no paying off at all.

Whoever looks back to the Register of 1803, 4, and 5, will find that I laboured like a horse to convince people that our Sinking Fund did not, and never could, diminish the amount of the debt one single farthing; that all the cost of managing it was just so much addition to the taxes; that it was "a splendid humbug," crammed by figure-men into the head of PITT; and kept up by him, partly through folly, and partly from a desire to delude, cajole, and deceive the people. All this has now been proved to be true: as the Sinking Fund went on increasing, so the debt went on getting heavier and

heavier, until, at last, in that very House of Commons which had enacted it and caused it to be, it was thrown aside and called a humbug, while the members who so called it, all cordially agreed in endeavouring (vainly endeavouring) to keep down the man who had just given it the name of "humbug."

The American mode of paying off was *real*. They bought or paid for a certain portion of the thing called stock, or evidence of debt; and then they took that portion and burned it, as a man would burn a mortgage deed when he had paid off a mortgage. Ours was a borrowing with one hand and a paying with the other; it was taking money out of the waistcoat pocket, and putting it into the breeches pocket; and, it is curious enough, that Lord GLENVILLE, at the end of about fifty years, made this discovery, and communicated his discovery to the world in a pamphlet, with his noble name at the head of it. This man's history is the history of the fall of England, and of the cause of the revolution that is now going on. He was a relation of PITT; a dull and haughty man; but silent, generally reserved, and possessing the other of those qualities which give a man the mastership over men of ten thousand times his sense, who have not the same reserve, and the same imposing haughtiness. It was said of him that he would not suffer a tailor to touch his person in measuring him, but made him proceed upon principles of perspective and geometry; a great exaggeration, no doubt; but a true caricature. He was successively Member of Parliament, Speaker of the House of Commons, and Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, and, finally, he was First Lord of the Treasury for the short period of the Whig administration in 1806 and 1807. At a very early period of his political life, Pitt gave him the sinecure-place of Auditor of the Exchequer, yielding him a clear four thousand pounds a year,

from that day to this, if he be still alive, a fact upon which I am not certain, of so very little consequence has this once-great actor already become.

This man, at the end of about fifty years being Auditor of the Exchequer, after having been one of the inventors of the Sinking Fund; after having assisted to uphold it for between forty and fifty years, published a pamphlet to show that it had been a deception from its very beginning; that it was a thing "*essentially mischievous*"; that it had cost the country eighty millions of money; that it had added these eighty millions to the national debt, and that it had never paid off one single farthing. For my part, I was not shocked at this statement. I, myself, was not at all shocked at seeing this come from the pen of a man who had, in one way or other, received more than a million and a half of the public money, and upholding this very Sinking Fund all the time; but, the nation was shocked, and well it might be, at this monstrous declaration on the part of such a man: the surprising specimen of human impudence and of disregard of the opinions and the feelings of the people from whose earnings he had drained sums so immense.

It was impossible for me not to advert to this, when I had to speak of my efforts with regard to this Sinking Fund in the years 1804 and 5. This has been, not only the most oppressed, but beyond all measure the most insulted nation that the world ever saw. The pamphlet of this Grenville showed clearly that he looked upon the people as having no spirit left; and, to say the truth, they had very little left: the race who had been men during the war, had become real slaves, in mind as well as in body.

The American debt had a "sinking fund," too: it consisted of so much of the taxes set apart for the purpose of *buying up and burning* so much stock every year; and thus the debt has been paid off in reality, and the people are to be taxed no more, on account of that debt. This takes away some of the greatest and most powerful enemies of American freedom. It extinguishes the

swarms of usurers who would see nine-tenths of the people burned to ashes, rather than see any struggle for liberty successful. It puts an end to the bands of foreign usurers, who had it in their power to embarrass the operations of the Government in America. We have recently heard the President complain of the intrigues between the Bank there and the Bank here, to embarrass the Government there, and influence the elections. A great part of the interest of the American debt was payable in London, and, of course, depended on the Bank here for their punctuality. The Bank there intrigued with the Bank here, to prevent the punctual payment, and thereby to blast the credit of the Government of the United States. This puts an end to the possibility of such intrigues being carried on for the future: no combination of villains of this description can now embarrass that Government. We see, in this present Message, that the bank in America is even yet struggling with the President to nullify his power; but this puts an end to the power of all banks over the Government. Panics and bankruptcies may come when they like, and the Government is still safe; the Government has its own legitimate resources at its own perfect command, and it is no longer the slave of the worst, most sordid, most unfeeling of all mankind, who are, essentially and at all times, and under all circumstances, the enemies of the rights of the people.

It is worth while for us to look at the cause which has enabled the American Government to pay off its debt, while we have not been able to pay off one single farthing of ours, and while our Government, in compliment to the crack-skulled county of York, and at the crafty suggestion of the Scotch bankers who have mortgages on the West India estates, have, in the first session of the first reformed Parliament, added to our debt thirty times as much as the Americans have now to pay. What is the cause of this difference? "Oh!" exclaims some tax-devourer, who ought to drop down dead with an indigestion: "*the Americans have had*

"no war for these eighteen years past ;
 "and that is a very long peace, you know, Cobbett ; they must have saved a good deal of money, you know, in that time, to pay off their debt with."
 "—Well, but thou bloated beast, have not we had eighteen years of peace, too?"—"Aye, that's true ; but, then, you know, we have such an army and navy!"—"Ah, beast ! and what have we them FOR ; while the Lord Chancellor thanks God that we are bound to keep the peace in a bond of eight hundred millions ! What have we them FOR, beast, while the wise Lord Chancellor thanks God that we cannot go to war again?"

Will it be said that the Americans have no need of an army or navy in time of peace, while we have ? If it be, let it be said for what reason. The Americans have been building newships of war during the whole of this peace ; and have been making every provision for future war, in case of necessity. They have fourteen hundred miles of sea-board, requiring ten times the quantity of land-fortresses that these islands require ; and all these they keep constantly in good order and in a state of efficiency for defence. They have more than fourteen hundred miles of land-board, skirted by New Brunswickers, Canadians, tribe after tribe of hostile Indians, and, finally, by Spaniards ; and they take care to provide fortresses and soldiers to ensure the protection of that immense length of line ; while we are surrounded by the waters, which are our complete protection against all sudden attack ; and yet we have a fleet and an army kept up, costing more in a fortnight, taking into view all its trappings and all their dependents and hangers-on ; costing more, I say, in a fortnight, than the fleet and army of America cost in a whole year.

What, then, will the crammed tax-eater say ? How will he get rid of facts like these ? The Americans have paid off a debt contracted for war purposes, and for the *purchase of territory*, observe ; so that, after that is paid, they have the thing, to get which they laid out the money ; they have paid off this debt

by savings in the time of peace ; and we have not paid off any of ours, because we have made no savings. Our army and navy cost, during the last peace, speaking in round numbers, including half-pay allowances and every thing, *four millions a year*. There seemed to require less now, seeing how secure the peace was, and seeing that we had been informed by the King every year of the eighteen, that he had the strongest assurances from all powers, of the disposition to maintain peace. What prevented us, then, from coming down to the standard of 1792 ? See what would have been the effect if we had done that, as we ought to have done. The army, navy, and their trappings, hangers-on, and one contingency or another, have, take the whole of the time together, and including the military and naval squanderings in the Colonies, cost us eighteen millions a year, during the eighteen years of peace. Therefore, we have expended in army and navy, during the peace, two hundred and fifty-three millions, or thereabouts, more than would have been expended, if we had had a peace like the last. Without, therefore, estimating the monstrous advantage to the people of applying these two hundred and fifty-three millions to the paying off of the debt ; to avoid the intricacy of calculations and estimates upon this important point, we should now if this peace had been like the last peace, have owed at this day a debt of *five hundred and forty seven millions* instead of *eight hundred millions* ; and, if an equitable adjustment had taken place, as it ought to have taken place, in the year 1815, the debt would now have been reduced to about two hundred and eighty or three hundred millions, at the utmost farthing ; and a sale of the church and corporation property and other public property called crown-lands, would have paid it off smack smooth, and we should have been as ready for war as the Americans are, and as they tell us they are.

TAX-EATER. Well, but Cobbett, would you pay off the whole of the debt, then, if you could ?

COBBETT. Yes, to be sure I would. Are we not all congratulating the Americans, in being able to pay off their debt?

TAX-EATER. Do you think it would be safe; for, don't you recollect, that Mr. JUSTICE BAYLEY, in his charge to the Grand Jury at York in 1819, told them that a national debt was necessary to the safety of the country, and, in fact, a national blessing; and...

COBBETT. Yes, yes, I know he did; and I, not forgetting at the same time that he was one of my *four*, laid on upon him pretty decently for it; bade him mind his law, and let politics alone. We congratulate the Americans on their debt being paid off; we look at them with envy; why, then, should we think it unsafe to pay off our own debt, and is it not the fault of our Government who have squandered the money on peace as much as they did on war, that this debt is not now nearly paid off?

TAX-EATER. Cobbett, you have no bowels in you; you are so unfeeling! now, if the two hundred and fifty millions had been saved, as you say they might, to pay off the debt with, what was to have become of all the beautiful gentlemen that are walking about Regent-street, Waterloo-square, and round the lofty pillar of the lovely Mary Ann Clarke? They, lady-killing creatures, would have been cracking stones by the side of the road, instead of being dressed in black-breasted shirts, having whiskers to hide their lips as far as convenient, lolling in the club-houses, looking through panes of glass costing five pounds a-piece, and crying, "*Take away!*" to a gentleman in silk stockings, whom they call the waiter! Now, would you have set these beautiful gentlemen to cracking stones?

COBBETT. No; but I would have sent them to make shoes and coats and tables and doors and walls, and to lay on the tiles, or to make bricks and tiles; and to hold the plough and turn the spade, and hoe the gardens and the fields, and help in with harvest, and then to help eat and drink the produce.

TAX-EATER. Well, but the widows, the wives, the children! Would you have set all these to work, too?

COBBETT. Every soul of them, unless their own, or their relations had fortunes wherewith to keep them. We praise the American Government because it has paid off its debt; and it has been enabled to pay it off, because it has done that which I say I would have done, and which I would yet do, if I had the power; and yet you object to this being done here, which we are all praising the American Government for having done.

TAX-EATER. Ah, Cobbett! You reflect, but you do not reflect far enough. You do not consider that the army is necessary here, to keep the people in order; and that...

COBBETT. Oh, oh! it is come out, is it; the army is not to fight an enemy with, then; but...

TAX-EATER. Yes, yes, it is! and it is the bravest army, the best disciplined, the best officered, and the best appointed of any in the...

COBBETT. It is to fight with an enemy is it? When it begins to fight with an enemy, I shall be ready to say that it is possible that it may be necessary; but you said something about being necessary to keep the people in order. I might ask you here, what it is that makes the people out of order, and whether it would not be a better way to remove the cause of their being out of order, than to keep up such a thundering army for the purpose of keeping them in order? I might do this; but let me ask you, why a mere handful of an army was sufficient for all the purposes of the nation during the last peace?

TAX-EATER. Oh, Cobbett, Cobbett, I thought that you were a sensible man: don't you know the difference between this peace and the last peace? Don't you know that the long war changed men's minds and habits, and made a great standing army necessary to our security in future; and...

COBBETT. Oh, oh, oh, oh! that is the devil to be sure! Why, the taxes have filled your head with mud, or you

would have recollected, that for the whole twenty-two years of war, this wretched people were promised by the successive Ministers such a peace as should give them INDEMNITY FOR THE PAST AND SECURITY FOR THE FUTURE; and now, behold, when the people complain of the enormous cost of the peace, which takes from them the fruit of all their earnings, and gives them not a glimpse at future security, that wretched people are told, that these are the natural consequences of the long war which they are taxed to carry on! And, oh God! We...

TAX-EATER. You are in a passion, Cobbett: your passion deprives you of the power of reasoning coolly, and now.....

COBBETT. Coolly; it is for you to be cool, who are going to pocket, this afternoon, that which I have given to the tax-gatherer this morning: it is for your sleek and shoulder-corded footman to be cool, who takes the bacon and bread from my labourers, and would leave them to potatoes and salt.

TAX-EATER. Well, but, not to talk any more about matters which appear so to irritate you, whom do you blame, after all, for this, that you call the squandering of the people's money? You can't blame us, who take the money and live upon it; for.....

COBBETT. Yes, I do blame you: you know that you have no right to it; small as may be your powers of reflection, you must know that you give, and that you do nothing in return for that which you receive; you must know that your fine clothes and rich fare come out of the labour of the half-starved and ragged people. You must know these things, and, therefore, you are unjust in receiving that which you receive.

TAX-EATER. There may be different opinions about that; but, at any rate, that which we receive, we receive lawfully.

COBBETT. Aye, aye, I know you do: you are not guilty of any sort of felony; you are not guilty of highway robbery, burglary, theft, embezzlement, or even of misdemeanour, in the eye of the law; but, the receiver, in the eye of

the law, is as bad as the thief; and though here is no theft and no breach of law, there is an unjust application of the people's earnings; and in the eye of morality and religion, you are the receiver of that which you ought not to receive.

TAX-EATER. But, you seem to forget, all this while, that the people themselves, whose earnings you say we unjustly take away, give their free consent to our taking them, through the means of their representatives in Parliament, whom they have chosen, of their own free will, and, doubtless, for the purpose of voting us the money that we receive, as well as for other purposes.

COBBETT. Oh, this is the salve for your sin, is it! Well, then, see who it is that chooses this Parliament; look well at the Parliament and at the mode of electing it; and.....

TAX-EATER. Oh fie, oh fie! Why, this is a reformed Parliament; and, now.....

COBBETT. Yes, yes: a reformed Parliament; but, if you please, chosen by a greater number of tax-eaters, as I verily believe, than of persons who get their living by their labour. What! do you not know that a dead-weight man, able to rent a house of ten pounds a year, has a vote; while the half dozen artisans who live close by him, and also pay the taxes upon which he lives, have no vote at all? Does there need any thing more than that, in answer to your allegation that the people themselves give you what you have?

TAX-EATER. What! you are for universal suffrage, annual Parliaments, and vote by ballot, then?

COBBETT. Hold your slang: I am for no nick-names nor nonsense; I am for these things, if they be necessary; and they seem to be absolutely necessary to give to those who pay the taxes, the choosing of those who are to have the voting of the taxes; and, if this had been the case at the end of the last war, we should have been as nearly out of debt as the Americans are.

TAX-EATER. Why, what in all the world has voting at elections to do

with paying off the national debt, Cobbett?

COBBETT. It has *every thing* to do with it. When those who pay the taxes choose those who are to expend the taxes, they take care to choose such men as will not waste the taxes and give them to persons like you: and, now mark me: the Americans had the wisdom to provide in their constitution, and in all their constitutions, that the persons who were to make the laws, and of course, to impose, raise, and distribute the taxes, should not, on any account whatever, *share in the pocketing of those taxes*. They took care to provide, that no member of either House of Congress should, during the time that he was a member, fill any office whatsoever, or receive the public money in any shape whatsoever; and they further took care to provide that he should not fill any office, during three years after he ceased to be a member of the Congress, if that office had been created while he was a member of the Congress; and that he should, during the same three years, not receive any emolument of any description whatsoever, arising out of sums voted or provisions made, while he was a member of the Congress; mark this, *tax-eater*; and then cease to wonder, and let the people of England cease to wonder, that the American debt is paid off!

TAX-EATER. What, then, would you shut the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and all the Ministers, out of the House of Commons; and all Generals and Admirals and COMMISSIONERS, and....

COBBETT. Aye, would I, and out of the House of Lords, too, if their lordships were suffered to have any thing to do with the voting of taxes.

TAX-EATER. Why, then, Cobbett, you would make a revolution?

COBBETT. Yes, I would, if that be revolution; and, recollect, that that was the revolution; that it made part of the glorious revolution of 1688, of which the bamboozled people of this country are everlastingly bragging, and about which they know so very little.

TAX-EATER. What! was that done at the Whig revolution?

COBBETT. No: not DONE; for the Whigs never did any thing good, since the devil created them; but it was most solemnly *promised*, and promised by an Act of Parliament, too, which Act of Parliament now stands in the statute book an evidence against the Whigs to the latest generations.

TAX-EATER. What Act of Parliament is that?

COBBETT. An act passed in the reign of King William and Queen Mary. At that time, there was a confident expectation that this present family must be brought to the throne. In case of these foreigners coming, the people were anxious that their rights and liberties should be secure, after they did come; and by this act, which is commonly called the Act of "SETTLEMENT," but which is entitled "An act for limiting the crown, and for securing the rights and liberties of the people;" it was (in case the family of Hanover should come to the throne) provided that no other than native-born subjects of the King should, after the accession of such family to the throne, be a member of either House of Parliament, or hold any office of trust or emolument, civil or military, under the crown; and the act further provided for the security of the rights and liberties of the people, that *no man holding any office of trust, or place, or emolument, civil or military, under the crown, should be a member of the House of Commons*.

TAX-EATER. Why is that act not enforced then, if it be law?

COBBETT. Why, the act was repealed, and the people left to have pensioned and sinecure and military and naval members, just the same as if the act had never been passed.

TAX-EATER. Oh, if it was repealed, then that was right, you know. It was the representatives of the people that repealed it, and, doubtless, all was right; for it would be horrible, indeed, if the *Parliament had not the power of repealing its acts when it liked*.

COBBETT. Good! and then you will not deny, I suppose, that it has a right

to repeal all those acts that enable you and the rest of the swarm to live upon the labour of the people; for, surely, a Parliament can repeal an act of this sort, quite as easily as it could repeal the main part of the Act of Settlement; and then,

TAX-EATER. Oh, no, there is a

COBBETT. No! What the devil! Do you find any thing particularly sacred in the acts that fill your bowels at the expense of others?

TAX-EATER. There is a difference, there is a *difference*, Cobbett: the cases are not alike.

COBBETT. I know they are not alike; because, in the former case, the repeal was unjust: it was indecent, it was outrageously insolent: it was the repeal of the main part of an act, entitled An Act to secure the Rights and Liberties of the People; whereas, to repeal the acts, heaping the people's earnings on you, would be an act of justice, and calculated to secure the happiness of the honest and laborious part of the nation.

TAX-EATER. We are wandering, and you are getting angry. We were talking, or rather, you were endeavouring to show that this exclusion of placemen from the House of the Congress, was a good thing for the Americans.

COBBETT. I was not endeavouring to show any thing about the matter: I mentioned the thing to you as a self-evident good, which the Americans enjoy from their constitution. Our House of Commons has pensioners, placemen, dead-weight people, commissioners, some hundreds; and it has been said in the public prints (for I have not actually examined the return) who are in the receipt of the public money: the Americans had a debt at the peace, and we also had a debt at the peace: the Americans have paid their debt off, and we have not paid off a shilling of our debt. The Americans, if need be, are ready to go to war with hard money in their treasure: we, though insulted, threatened, and in imminent danger by the loss of our power by sea, dare not talk of war; because we cannot go to war without assignats and convulsive revolution. These are the facts; there is

the experience of eighteen years of peace; the conclusion is easily to be drawn by any one whose brains are not rendered muddy by the fumes of the taxes.

TAX-EATER (*sighing*). Well, Mr. Cobbett, but you will allow that *we have been saved from revolution*, the ruin of our ancient institutions, and from all the horrors endured by the French.

COBBETT. I will "*allow*" no such thing; and I beg you not to put allowances of any sort into my mouth.

TAX-EATER. But, you cannot deny that we have escaped revolution by war, costly as it was; and that the cost was, as that dear good old man, GEORGE ROSE, used to say in his pamphlets, to be looked upon as *SALVAGE* paid by the people for the security of the cargo; in which cargo he reckoned as a main item, "*the blessed comforts of our holy religion*, and as inculcated by the "*clergy of our invaluable and venerable church*."

COBBETT. I do "*deny*" it, though. I say, in the first place, that the salvage of George Rose was a most abominable piece of cheaterly; I say that neither the property nor the religion of England stood in need of the war; I say that the war, and the peace produced by the war of which I have just been speaking, have not saved England from revolution; that we have *not escaped* from revolution; and that as to the blessed comforts of our holy religion as taught by the clergy of our venerable church, I will presently read to you a passage from the *Morning Chronicle* of Monday last, and then you will be able to judge whether that church has "*escaped* revolution."

TAX-EATER. Pray, Mr. Cobbett, don't talk so loud: my wife is in t'other room, and her brother is a parson, and she will be frightened to death.

COBBETT. Frightened, indeed! if that frighten her, it would be well to prepare her by due degrees to what she will have to hear before this day twelve-month. But, I will now read you the article from the *Chronicle*: and then leave you "to go to breakfast with

what appetite you may"; begging you to pay attention to the words upon which I lay a particular emphasis, and which, if I were writing, I should distinguish by *italic* letters.

CONNATT (reading). "We seldom notice the misrepresentations of our views by our contemporaries, because, to our readers, it would be any thing but edifying to occupy them with what perhaps is only important in our own eyes. On that principle we allowed the *Examiner* of Sunday week, in a long and able article, to convey to his readers a very erroneous impression of what we had advanced when pointing out the unfair liberties taken by Mr. O'CONNELL with Mr. POULETT THOMSON's speech at Manchester, without our endeavouring to set our contemporary right. As, however, he yesterday returned to the subject, and continues the misrepresentation, it may be as well to set him right. In the *Chronicle* of Friday week, we had observed that an unfair advantage had been taken by Mr. O'CONNELL of the words of Mr. POULETT THOMSON, that the Dissenters call aloud for relief from practical grievances; from the necessity of contributing to an establishment to which they do not belong. *That appears a fair and just demand: that Mr. O'CONNELL knew very well that Mr. POULETT THOMSON meant, by the Dissenters not contributing to a church to which they do not belong, the exemption from church-rates alone. Among the many grievances of which the English Dissenters complain, church-rate has always occupied a prominent place; and of late they have successfully resisted the payment of this burden in many places. But Mr. O'CONNELL has, for the sake of effect in Ireland, given an Irish interpretation to the words of the Vice-President of the Board of Trade; for in Ireland the not contributing to a Church to which the people do not belong means the non-payment of tithes. In England tithes are very unpopular, but not with the Dissenters more than others;*

"and the ground of their dislike is not their being paid to a church to which people do not belong, but because they are *deemed an obstacle to improvement, and a source of constant dispute between the holders of them and the owners and occupiers of the soil. No Dissenter in England dreams of extinguishing tithes in any other way than by commuting them on a fair principle.*

"We expressly said that of the many grievances of which the Dissenters complain, the church-rate has always occupied a prominent place, in order to guard against its being supposed that we could mean that the Dissenters require nothing more than the exemption from church-rates. The *Examiner* of Sunday week, however, attributed this meaning to us.

"Whatever may have been the meaning of Mr. Thomson, we are quite sure that 'The Chronicle' is wrong in stating that the Dissenters require nothing more than the exemption from church-rates. We believe that they require the severance of church from state; and that the people of every religious denomination shall support their own ministers, and no others. There are ways of coming to such an arrangement without any infringement of the rights of present incumbents or lay impropriators. The Dissenters cannot but dislike *aiding in the support of a church which they deem in error, and, in the shape of a commutation, they would continue to contribute. If the public, through the legislature, resume church property, it may preserve all rights, prevent any misappropriation, and all wrongs. There is no disposition in any quarter to invade the rights of present incumbents.*

"Now we not only never stated, in the article so commented on, that the Dissenters required nothing more than the exemption from church-rates, but on the following day (Saturday), the day preceding the publication of 'The

"Examiner," we had expressed ourselves in a way to leave no doubt of our sentiments.

"We do not wish to prejudge the question; but this we will say, that it will surprise us very much if the nation long continue inclined to allow so large an amount of public property to be applied merely to maintain gentlemen in black coats throughout the country. Where it can be shown that efficient service is performed, there will be no reluctance, on the part of the people, to reward it properly; but the most efficient service rendered by the clergy (we except the working clergy) is, perhaps, the administering justice. We are quite satisfied that without the aid of parsons, the unpaid system must have broken down in many places long ago; but it would be much cheaper to pay directly for the administration of justice than to pay indirectly for it in the shape of ecclesiastical sinecures.

"It is a great source of gratification (we observed) to know that there remains to the people of this country so large an amount of property applicable to public purposes as that which the church still possesses. Making every allowance for moduses and for appropriations, the value of the tithes in the possession of the clergy must still be enormous, to say nothing of the glebe lands held by them. In Switzerland, before the Revolution, the tithes were not only equal to the maintenance of the clergy (a working clergy) and schools, but sufficed also for the charges of the different governments. The Canton of Berne, from this source, not only defrayed the expense of civil and ecclesiastical services, but contrived besides to save some millions sterling as a fund for extraordinary occasions.

"It is quite clear from the above language, that we considered the tithes national property, applicable to national purposes. Whether or not it would be advisable for the state to take one sect under its protection, and to pay its teachers, is a

question for grave consideration. It is, however, a national question, and not merely a question for the consideration of the Dissenters. In all the publications of the Dissenters which we have seen, they admit tithes to be national property; but as they renounce all claim to any share of it for their own teachers, they object to the state paying out of a fund belonging to all, the teachers of one particular sect. Whether the state will one day adopt their views, is a question we are not now called on to answer. There are, it is admitted, difficulties in the way of an immediate application of the principle contended for by the Dissenters. In the mean time, as the Dissenters admit tithes to be public property, they do not claim to be on a different footing with regard to them than their Episcopalian brethren; and this is all that we could possibly have meant when we contended that in England tithes are very unpopular, but not with the Dissenters more than others; and the ground of dislike is not their being paid to a church to which people do not belong, but because they are deemed an obstacle to improvement. The objection of the Churchman and the Dissenter to tithes is one and the same. The Dissenter does not wish to see the land-owners take possession of a fund which belongs not to them, but to the nation.

"The Examiner of yesterday, returns to the subject, and observes, 'The Chronicle, which, the week before last, stated that the Dissenters required nothing more than exemption from church-rates, has soon discovered its error.' The error, as we have shown, is of the making of our contemporary. We have always taken the same view of tithes which the Dissenters take; and though we doubt the expediency of withdrawing all support from the public to the clergy of the established sect, at least, for the present, this does not militate against the principles of the Dissenters, abstractedly considered. An old country may be compared to an

"old house—in an old house we must make the best shift we can with many inconveniences which in building a new house we should avoid, because we may not be able in the old house to get rid of the inconveniences altogether without causing still greater."

TAX-EATER. (*Wiping his eyes with his white handkerchief*). Oh Lord, oh Lord! Don't read any more, Mr. Cobbett! Oh the wicked, oh the revolutionary villains! the hard-hearted villains! What is my poor brother-in-law with his wife and fourteen children to do? I declare to God, Mr. Cobbett, his whole income, glebe and all, is not worth more than fifteen hundred a year: only a hundred pounds a head, and that only for his life!

COBBETT. Well, well: but a body may make shift to do with less than a hundred a year. You know that a Dorsetshire parson, who, as a magistrate, laid before the House of Commons the scale of allowance for labourers and their families, amounting to about three-pence a day for each person, for food, clothing, rent, and fuel. Three-pence a day is four pounds eleven shillings and three-pence a year. The report states that the parson did not say that this was too little; and, if four pounds eleven shillings and three-pence were not too little, man, woman, and child included, nay, candles, and all necessaries, a hundred pounds for one must be a great deal too much.

TAX-EATER. But pray consider, Mr. Cobbett, the great difference in the "education," the habits, and the wants of the parties: the crumbs from my brother-in-law's table would have sufficed for and satisfied the children of a poor labourer.

COBBETT. Ah! the crumbs from Dives's table sufficed for poor Lazarus. Let that be your answer: let that be the answer to the parson.

TAX-EATER. But, oh my God! what revolutionary language have you been reading! Even Mr. POULETT THOMSON saying that it is a grievance for Dissenters to contribute towards the church; Doctor Black, the very tool of the Whig Ministry, telling us that tithes are

national property, applicable to national purposes; telling us that they do not belong to the land-owners, neither, but belong to the whole nation; sneering at the clergy of our venerable "church," as George Rose called it, calling them gentlemen in black coats, and representing their most efficient service to consist, at present, of beggar-whipping; congratulating the country on its having that immense mass of public property which the clergy now hold, in tithes and glebe lands, to be disposed of for the general purposes of Government; and, at last, to represent the church, our venerable church, as "an old house," with which we must make the best shift we can, until we can build a new one: what will be said of this by dear Mr. Stanley, who started in his brilliant parliamentary career by asserting that tithes and other church property were as sacred from the touch of Parliament as any gentleman's freehold estate, and who was therein backed by Lord Plunkett. Ah, Mr. Cobbett, it was thus that the bloody French Revolution began!

COBBETT. Well, then, we have not yet, at any rate, got safe from revolution; we have not escaped from revolution: according to your own account we are in it, we are beginning one; and, my friend, be you assured that, that which now so alarms you is the fruit of that glorious war which produced the debt, and which debt has not been diminished, because the peace has been made even more expensive than the war; and you may be further assured, that even the comparatively small portion of the taxes that you yourself have devoured, have helped to produce all those notions relative to the church, which have just been laid before you in the writings of Doctor Black; and, as you have given up all thought of breaking this day, before I bid you good night, let me give you this one remark to take to your pillow, that the war was undertaken in order to preserve the tithes and the unjust power of the aristocracy; that the clergy were the forwardest of all to call for that war; that the debt was contracted for the purpose

of carrying it on; and that it is that debt, and not any crotchets in the mind of Mr. Poulett Thomson and Doctor Black and the Editor of the *Examiner*, which is now about to abolish the tithes and afterwards to abolish the church itself, as a prelude, and a mere prelude, to its further and ultimate prodigious effects.

This is a droll way of commenting on a Message of an American President; but, the only question with me is, as to the manner of doing the thing, which manner is likely to be most efficient for my object. I will not pretend that I may not have succeeded in making myself understood, knowing well that I have so succeeded.

I will add a remark or two upon these queer notions of Doctor Black. He endeavours to explain the words of Mr. Poulett Thomson in such a way as to make the interpretation of Mr. O'Connell appear to be unjust. For my part, knowing as I do, pretty well, the real meaning of words, I am utterly unable to give Mr. Thomson's words any other interpretation than that given to them by Mr. O'Connell; and so much for that.

The Doctor would fain have us believe that the objection to the rendering of tithes in England is, "that they are deemed an obstacle to improvement." What does the Doctor mean by "improvement"? Does he mean better cultivation? does he mean additional manuring of the land? If he do, he does not know, perhaps, that there are no lands in the city of London and other great cities. Besides, as to lands, no notion ever was more erroneous. I will not call it *false*, because the Doctor knows no more of the matter than the man in the moon. However, the complete answer to every pretended objection of this sort, is this; that whatever is taken off from the out-goings of a farm in tithe, will and must, be added in rent: and that, if tithes be a bar to improvement, rent to the same amount, or greater amount, must be equally such bar. But, how comes this objection to have been raised *at the end of a thousand years*? I will engage that there were not ten men to be found in

all England, Quakers excepted, who would not have deemed it a sort of insanity to complain of tithes, only fifty years ago; while it is notorious to every man who knows any thing about the matter, that it is far better for the farmer to have to deal with a parson than with a layman, respecting his tithes. Nor is there any objection to the church on the score of its *religion*, merely. We are in a state in which all is disturbed by the pressure of the debt and the monstrous establishments: every one, except he live upon the taxes or the tithes, sighs for *some great change*: every one sees that some great branch of expense must give way; and, casting their eyes around them, the tithes and the glebes present themselves as the *first* victims. What is to follow next, no man can tell; but, every man in his senses must see that that DEBT, that monster of all monsters, which was created for the purpose of carrying on the twenty-two years of war, is now going to produce, in full tale and full measure, the very events which the war was intended to prevent: and, whenever these events come, whatever may be their character, whatever the sufferings that they may occasion, I trust that my countrymen will bear in mind, and that a part of them, at least, will have the justice to acknowledge, that that suffering would have been prevented, if the Government and Parliament had listened to the advice of

WM. COBBETT.

HISTORY OF GEORGE THE FOURTH.

ALL authors have one common prayer, that all the world will read that which they write and publish. It is, therefore, not at all extraordinary if I pray that all the people of England, at least, will read this history of mine; but, extraordinary or extraordinary not, I do most earnestly so pray; and especially that they will read the *twelfth* number of it, which is just published, and in which I have brought before the young men of the present day, the transactions relative

to the stripping of the museums at Paris in 1815, and relative to the sacrificing of the life of Marshal Ney, and the part which Wellington therein acted; and this has led me to speak incidentally of the foul and bloody transaction of the Bay of Naples, and of the part therein acted by Nelson and his associates. I do pray that the young men of England will read this number of this history at any rate; and this is the way to write history, which ought to come from independent pens; and to come, too, while the actors are, some of them, at least, alive to answer for themselves. The great uses of history are; to enable us to profit from experience of the past; and to implant in the minds of the present and of future generations, a just opinion of those who have acted in past events. How are either of these to be accomplished by writing so long after the events as to make the facts so many points in dispute; and how is it to be done at all: of what use is it, if the writing proceed from the pen of a pensioner, or sinecure-placeman, or miserable dependent on the great, as in the case of HUMPHREY, ROBERTSON, SMOLLETT, ADAM SMITH, and indeed, of almost every one who have written what they call histories of England? We ought to be so near to the events themselves, as to be able at once to refer to the documents where we proceed on documents: we ought to be so near to the events as for some of the actors to be living, to contradict us if they can. What squabbling would there be, fifty years hence, about the killing of Ney and the stripping of the museums; and how nicely would some fat court-knave, half choking with turtle and venison, and wrapped up in silks and furs, furnished by the sweat of the rugged people; how nicely he would dish up the affairs of Queen CAROLINE; and how nicely he would plaster over the monstrous mischiefs inflicted on this nation by the borough-bought Parliaments! What pretty light such a fat knave would throw upon the nature and effects of Peel's Bill; what advantage our children would derive from his record of this immense matter! If history be

deferred until long after the times to which it refers, it must fall into mercenary hands; it must fall into the hands of men who write for their bread, and for nothing else. In short, there is every reason in the world for writing the history of a king's reign, as soon, at least, as the reign is over; and, at any rate, I am determined, God giving me life and health, that the true history of this reign; all its squanderings; all its new and severe laws; all its sufferings inflicted on the people; all its humiliations brought upon the country, and which are now beginning to be visible, even to careless persons; I am determined that they shall all be upon paper, and in indelible print, God being pleased to continue me life and health, in *eight months* from the day in which I am now writing. It is not my object, either private or public, to draw out this publication to a great length. I wish it to be in the hands of numerous young men; in order that they, on whom it must depend whether we shall sink into degradation as to foreign states, and into vile slavery at home, or, whether this country shall be what it was in the time of their grandfathers. I wish this book to be in the hands of great numbers of them; and, therefore, I will make the size and the price accord with that wish. Let Corruption rub the words out again, if she can. The more she attempt in this way the worse it will be for her. I lived through the regency and reign of this man; along with millions of others I suffered from it; and I will put upon record the real causes of these sufferings. Before I conclude, I will do what the hireling historians have taken very good care not to do; namely, show how the people have been beggared and rendered immoral and criminal by the wicked extravagance of the Government, and how it is that they have been made to hate and detest institutions which were objects of love and veneration with their forefathers.

We are in the midst of a revolution at this moment, or, at least, that revolution has begun. It has, which existed for a thousand years, without any man

ever taking it into his head that they were not proper things, and, indeed, that they did not make a part and parcel of the just Government of England, have now been discovered to be something, the existence of which is wholly incompatible with the existence and happiness of the kingdom. And, they are really become so, and rendered so by the events and transactions of the reigns of George the Third and George the Fourth. All the relationships between master and man; that is to say, the whole mass of the creative powers of the country; the cement of its peace, the foundation of its greatness, and the sure guarantee of its honour, are in a state of disturbance; all disjointed, and without leaving it in the power of the most enlightened of mankind to foresee what shall be the result. Here we are, with a fleet and army, greater than England ever had to maintain in time of war, previous to the contest with France: here we are, with these immense forces kept up at the end of eighteen years of peace, and we have a Lord Chancellor who expresses his joy, that we are bound to the peace in a bond of eight hundred millions. After fifty years of struggle, there is a "reformed Parliament," preceded by something very nearly approaching to a general convulsion: before that reformed Parliament, the owners and occupiers of the land come and complain of distress which is no longer to be borne: the reformed Parliament could appoint a committee consisting of thirty-seven noblemen and gentlemen of great estate, to inquire into the cause of this distress, and to point out the remedy that ought to be adopted. This committee, after three months of sittings, come back to the House and say that they can offer *no opinion* as to the causes of the distress; and that they think it would be wise in the House to abstain from talking of a remedy! But, they at the same time, lay before the House the minutes of the evidence which they have taken. From that evidence it clearly appears that the land has fallen out of cultivation to an amazing extent, for the want of suffi-

ent labour bestowed upon it; and that, there are, at the same time, immense numbers of labourers out of employment! And yet, this committee of thirty-seven noblemen and gentlemen dare to offer no opinion as to the cause of the distress, and seem to shrink from hinting at a remedy, as if there were daggers and poison in the word.

Why, there must have been something; some extraordinary cause; some deadly cause, to bring such a country as this into such a state as this; there must have been something or other done by some body to cause it to be unsafe to go to sleep in a farm-house, having stacks standing round it and horses tied up in the farm stable; there must have been something done by some body to turn a nation of spirited labourers into a nation of paupers, and to render it necessary that justice of the peace, headborough, tithing-man, and constable, should all be thrust aside, and supplanted by a Bourbon police and gendarmerie. Yes, and there has been something done, to produce all these effects: there has been a plenty done, and the effects are the natural consequence of that doing. A very large part of the doings took place during the regency and reign of this king. I was a living actor during that regency and reign; and it is for me to tell the young men, now coming forward on the stage, *what* were the things which were done, *when* they were done, and *who* were the men by whom they were done: and these, and not the detailing of court and parliamentary and party squabbles, are the objects of this history. These objects, I trust, I shall speedily have accomplished.

N.B. Those gentlemen who have taken the numbers and have them not complete, had better complete them while they can be completed.

NATIONAL REGENERATION SOCIETY.

MR. FITTON TO MR. FIELDEN.

ROSTER, Dec. 11, 1833.

MR. DEAR SIR,—In a conversation which I had about ten days ago with

Mr. Milne and Mr. W. Taylor, I promised them to submit to you my opinions in writing on the subject of the national-regeneration scheme in which you are now engaged. A variety of circumstances, the detail of which could be of no possible interest to you, have hitherto prevented me fulfilling that promise. I am rather the more particular in stating this, as I observe that some of the Manchester papers are attacking your project, and I wish you distinctly to understand, that as my opinions were formed before, they cannot at all have been influenced by these attacks.

From this you will infer that I have a feeling against your project. I feel desirous, however, that you should know that I am as anxious as even you can be, to see some such arrangement as that contemplated by you carried into effect; but so strong, so decided is my opinion, of its utter impracticability in the present, or perhaps in any other condition of society, that I must candidly, but with the highest possible degree of respect, confess to you that I would rather not have seen your name connected with it.

In my mind the project is founded altogether on an erroneous idea of the great principles of human action. As far as my humble powers of observation have ever enabled me to form a judgment, the great incitements to exertion have been, primarily, the fear of want, and secondarily, the hope of reward. These two motives, I take it, operating on every individual to a less or greater extent, produce that active spirit of competition so universally diffused through society. This is nothing but what you of course know quite as well as I, and perhaps you may tell me that the evils of this universal spirit of competition being so clear, it is your object, by means of this new arrangement, to check it. Your design in so doing would be laudable, that I readily grant, but I am also as fully satisfied of the entire inadequacy of your means to your proposed end. In order to effect that object, it would be necessary to get rid of individual selfishness, or to con-

vince every individual that no advantage was to be obtained by it. One requires a much higher elevation of moral sentiment, and the other a much greater degree of understanding, than either now does, ever did, or, as I think, ever will, exist in the world. I am the more warranted in this opinion because your present project, although new in name and form, is not so in principle. It has been attempted, on a pretty large scale, in ancient times, and in other countries, and partially, in more modern times, even in our own country. The agrarian law of the Romans, the laws of Lycurgus, and some others, might be mentioned as instances of the former. The Utopia of Sir Thomas More, the Oceana of Harrington, and the attempted Millennium in the time of the Commonwealth, by at that time a powerful party in the state, may be cited as so many instances of the latter. All these furnish so many proofs of the positive inefficacy of any effort to subdue the spirit of individual selfishness, by arbitrary regulations, however plausibly devised, or by whatever authority supported. As to the idea of mankind becoming wiser, and consequently more liberal and disinterested, however agreeable it may be to the wild vagaries of the well-meaning, benevolent, but, as I think, mistaken Robert Owen, it is in my humble judgment one of those opinions which daily and hourly experience contradicts. You will see, therefore, that I have not the slightest hope of the cause in which you are engaged being successful.

You will perhaps say, that my opposition to your scheme is not very gracious, unless I could submit something better in its stead. I have nothing to submit but this: the party to which you and I may be said to belong, have generally contended, that in proportion, as taxation has increased, the distress of the labouring classes has been augmented; from which position we have necessarily adopted the conclusion that a great reduction of taxation was necessary, in order to effect their relief; hence our consistency in favour of Reform as a means of reducing taxation.

Now, my dear sir, I wish to submit to you whether the wisest course would not have been that of unitedly and steadily persevering to effect this object, instead of a part of our strength being wasted on a project which I cannot but believe, that you yourself regard as being of very questionable practicability. If, after having effected this object, any arbitrary regulations for the restraint of human labour should appear to be necessary, the subject could then be considered more freed from complexity, and with much less prejudice than it can be now. Though even in that case, if any thing was to be done, what it might be, is a question surrounded with so many matters for consideration, arising from the amount of population, the demand for labour, the quantity and kind of money in circulation, &c. &c., that at present it is quite impossible rationally to discuss it.

I have now taken the liberty of freely and candidly stating to you my opinions on this subject. Had I not known that your mind was so well and liberally constituted as it is, I might not, in all probability, have been quite so unreserved; I do know, however, that you would at all times much rather any person who differs in opinion with you, would frankly state that difference, than keep it concealed; and I know, therefore, that I shall not suffer in your estimation in consequence of the plainness with which I have now expressed myself. If, in the course of the foregoing remarks, any expression should have dropped from me at all calculated to hurt your feelings, I sincerely beg you to ascribe it to inadvertence and not to intention; for I can truly assure you, although I differ so decidedly with you on this particular subject, that no one has a higher opinion of your judgment in general, nor of the universal feeling of benevolence which actuates the whole of your conduct. Believe me to be, my dear Sir, most respectfully,

W. FITTON.

MR. FIELDEN'S ANSWER.

MY DEAR SIR,—Your excellent letter

of the 11. I received on the 14. instant, and I embrace the first opportunity I have since had of replying to it.

Knowing that it is not your practice to adopt opinions on trust, nor to sanction proceedings emanating from any quarter, without being first thoroughly convinced of the truth of the one, and of the propriety and practicability of the other, I feel no surprise that the measures recommended by the National Regeneration Society, of which I am proud to be a member, should have called forth the objections so ably set forth in your letter.

The proposal submitted to the productive classes, recommending them to lessen their productions, in some articles one-third, in order that they may improve their condition, is so novel and unprecedented in its character, and at first appears so much opposed to accomplish its end, that I should have felt some astonishment if it had not called forth the opposition of thinking men, who are not in possession of the facts which demonstrate the necessity there is for the productive classes to adopt such a course; so far, therefore, from feeling any uneasiness at your conduct in condemning the proposed plan of eight hours' work for the present full day's wages, I feel grateful for the opportunity you have given me of defending the measure, and answering your objections.

You denounce the plan as utterly impracticable, it being founded on an erroneous idea of the great principles of human action; which principles, you say, cause incitements to exertion—primarily, from the *fear of want*, and, secondarily, from the *hope of reward*. These two motives operating on every individual, produce competition, so universally diffused through society. You admit the design to check competition to be laudable, but the means proposed are inadequate to the end; to effect it, you say it is necessary to get rid of individual selfishness, or to convince every individual that no advantage is to be obtained by it; that to do one requires a higher degree of moral sentiment, and the other a much greater degree of un-

derstanding, than either does, or ever will, exist in the world.

Now, my dear sir, I infer, that the prevalence of this fear of want, of this hope of reward, and of this individual selfishness, constitute in your mind the great obstacles to the practicability of the plan of "eight hours' work for the present full day's wages;" and if I can show, that the fear of want would be abated, the hope of reward strengthened, and individual selfishness gratified by the general adoption of the plan among the productive classes, your reasons for assuming it to be impracticable will lose their force. By this course, too, we shall avoid going to the question, whether projects similar in principle have been before tried and failed, either in ancient or modern times; and which question, I think, may with propriety be dismissed, because no such attempts have ever been made by any people having the powers of production which this country possesses; and we are in many other respects very differently circumstanced, so much so, that the times when such failures took place, bear no analogy to the present times, and consequently this reasoning, applicable in one case, would be altogether inapplicable in the other.

I agree with you that a reduction of taxation to the extent the people are justly entitled to, would be a cure for the sufferings under which they groan. Since, however, the Reformed Parliament has disappointed the productive classes of the hopes they cherished, that such a reduction would be made, the safety of society requires that they should, by a plan of mutual protection, upon the principle recommended by the National Regeneration Society, endeavour to lessen its pressure on those who produce, and thereby cause it to fall with greater weight on those who do not produce. And such a course would, in my opinion, not divide the people in their efforts to get a reduction of taxes, but its tendency would be in exactly the opposite direction.

Having thus briefly adverted to the principal points in your letter, I will now endeavour to show, that the regu-

lation of "eight hours' work for the present full day's wages," proposed for adoption by the National Regeneration Society, would be advantageous to the productive classes, both masters and workmen, and that they possess the power of legally and peaceably carrying it into effect.

In agricultural labour, in the dock-yards, and the public works, and I believe in many other branches of manual labour, the average time of work, the year round, does not now exceed forty-eight hours per week; and, therefore, no alteration of the time of labour for those so employed is suggested. It is in our manufacturing establishments, where the time for labour is fixed and determined by the master, in opposition to the wishes of the work-people, that the grievance arising from long confinement and excessive toil, is the most loudly complained of, and if a corrective be applied to this, it will soon extend its beneficial influence to all other trades and occupations; the persons engaged in which will, for their own protection, adopt such regulations as the alterations of the time of work in our manufactories may render necessary. For the sake of distinctness, and without any departure from the principle, "that eight hours' labour per day is enough for any human being," I will confine my observations to the bearing the plan would have on those engaged in the manufacture of wool, of silk, of cotton, and of flax—the four branches of industry embraced in the Factory Bill of last session; all which branches have undergone a similar increase per cent. or nearly so, since 1815, the close of the war; and as a natural consequence, the employers and employed, in these branches of manufacture, taking a series of years, must have been in a similar position as respects profits and wages. From official returns now before me I find that in cotton imported, and entered for home consumption, and on which duty was paid, there was in the six years, beginning with 1826 and ending with 1831, an increase of 42 per cent., as compared with the six years, beginning with 1820 and ending with 1825. In flax for the

same periods, the increase was $38\frac{8}{10}$ per cent.; and in silk for the like periods, the increase was $34\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. Wool, used in manufacture, being in part an article of home production, its consumption cannot be obtained with the same accuracy: but the import of wool, entered for home consumption for the same periods, shows an increase of 30 per cent.: and as the pressure arising from increased taxation in *things* must have operated pretty nearly equally on all these branches of industry, urging on those engaged in them to a corresponding increase of production, there can be no rational doubt as to their being relatively circumstanced, taking a series of years with regard to profits and wages.

Believing this to be true, I shall now show what have been the effects of this increase of production on those engaged in the cotton trade, the business with which I am conversant, and in articles

which are a fair criterion of the state of the trade, and of which I have been a manufacturer myself; and I shall show that the effects of the increase of production have not been such as to abate the fear of want; encourage the hope of reward, or gratify *laudable* individual selfishness, but to increase the fear, disappoint the hope, and prevent the gratification; and that the manufacturers, if they would secure for themselves and their work-people better profits and better wages, better education and more enjoyment, must retrace their steps, lessen the supply of their productions, and adopt the regulation proposed.

To illustrate the truth of what I have advanced, by figures and facts which I know to be correct, or as nearly so as the case admits of being made out, I beg, sir, to call your attention to the following tables:

TABLE No. II.

72s Calico made by Power Loom.

Year.	1 lbs. of cotton for one piece.	2 Price of cotton per lb.	3 Cost of cotton for one piece.	4 Value of one piece.	5 Sum for labour, expens. & profit.	6 Less per cent. than in 1815.	7 More per cent. in 1815.	Sum for labour, expenses, and profit, when 50 per cent. is added to the sum received in 1832.	Sum for labour, expenses, and profit in 1824, when one-third less was done than in 1832.	Gain to the manufacturer by working 8 hours in- stead of 12 hours per day.
1815	5 $\frac{1}{2}$	d. 19 $\frac{1}{2}$	s. d. 8 8	s. d. 27 0	s. d. 18 4					Per piece
1824	5 $\frac{1}{4}$	8 $\frac{1}{2}$	3 9	13 6	9 9	46 $\frac{1}{2}$	89			1s. 7 $\frac{1}{2}$ d.,
1831	5 $\frac{1}{4}$	5 $\frac{1}{2}$	2 6	8 3	5 9	68 $\frac{1}{2}$	218	s. d. 8 1 $\frac{1}{2}$	s. d. 9 9	or per
1832	5 $\frac{1}{2}$	6 $\frac{1}{2}$	2 10	8 3	5 5	70 $\frac{1}{2}$	238			cent. 20.

HALF-ELL VELVETEENS—20 lbs. Weight.

		d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.						
1815	21 $\frac{1}{2}$	19 $\frac{1}{2}$	34 8	100 0	65 4							Per piece
1824	21 $\frac{1}{2}$	8 $\frac{1}{2}$	15 7	51 8	36 1	44 $\frac{1}{2}$	81					8s. 1d.,
1831	21 $\frac{1}{2}$	5 $\frac{1}{2}$	10 0	33 4	23 4	63	180	s. d. 28 0	s. d. 36 1			or per
1832	21 $\frac{1}{2}$	6 $\frac{1}{2}$	11 4	30 0	18 8	71 $\frac{1}{2}$	250					cent. 28 $\frac{1}{2}$

30 HANKS WATER TWIST.

	Cotton required for lb. twist.	Price of cotton per lb.	Cost of cotton for lb. twist.	Value of lb. of twist.	Sum for labour, expens. & profit.	Less per cent. than in 1815.	More per cent. in 1815.			
1815	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	d. 19 $\frac{1}{2}$	s. d. 1 10 $\frac{1}{2}$	s. d. 3 3	s. d. 1 4 $\frac{1}{2}$					Per lb.
1824	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	8 $\frac{1}{2}$	0 9 $\frac{1}{2}$	1 8	0 10 $\frac{1}{2}$	38 $\frac{1}{2}$	65			2 $\frac{1}{2}$, or
1831	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	5 $\frac{1}{2}$	0 6 $\frac{1}{2}$	1 0	0 5 $\frac{1}{2}$	67	204	s. d. 0 7 $\frac{1}{2}$	s. d. 0 10 $\frac{1}{2}$	per cent.
1832	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	6 $\frac{1}{2}$	0 7 $\frac{1}{2}$	1 0 $\frac{1}{2}$	0 5 $\frac{1}{2}$	68 $\frac{1}{2}$	219			30

TABLE No. III.

An account of the number of Bags of Cotton (of 300lbs. each) consumed per week in the years 1815, 1824, 1831, and 1832, and the sum per annum the manufacturer had for labour, expenses, and profit, supposing the whole of the Cotton consumed in each year respectively had been worked up into any of the four leading articles of manufacture in the Cotton trade, referred to in this account, and the sum he would have had for working up the whole of the Cotton consumed, into these four leading articles in equal proportions.

Four Leading Articles of Cotton Manufacture.	6500 Bags per week in 1815	11,500 Bags per week in 1824.	16,300 Bags per week in 1831	17,300 Bags per week in 1832.
Third 74s Calico	13,070,700	12,483,250	11,098,262	10,542,188
Power Loom 72s Calico	17,334,540	16,250,650	13,619,873	13,612,073
Half-ell Velveteen	15,439,500	15,273,916	13,817,645	11,722,913
Water Twist, 30 hanks per lb.....	6,186,375	6,727,500	5,165,062	5,130,531
4)	52,031,115	50,735,316	43,700,842	41,007,705
Average of the four articles worked up in equal proportions.....	13,007,778	12,683,829	10,925,210	10,251,926
Sum for working up 6500 Bags in each year.....	13,007,778	7,169,120	4,356,678	3,851,301
Decline per Cent. from 1815		44	66	70½
Sum per Cent. more in 1815 than in each succeeding year referred to..		81	196	237
Sum which would have been received for the quantities worked up at the rate paid in 1815	13,007,778	23,013,761	32,311,812	34,620,701

TABLE No. IV.

Account of the number of pounds of cotton that would be required to make one piece of the three first articles, and one pound weight of the last, of these four leading articles in the cotton trade; the price of cotton per lb. duty paid, the cost of cotton for one of each article; the sum the manufacturer would require for labour, expenses, and profit, on each article, for producing one-third less, to obtain the same sum of money he did in 1832; the value of each article when such sum is allowed, and the number of each articles (say the same as the last eighteen years) that the cotton-grower would get for 300lbs. of upland cotton, cotton and goods being at the prices in the Table.

	lbs of cotton for one article	Piece of cotton per lb. duty paid	Cost of cotton for one of each article	Sum for labour, ex- penses, and profit.	Value of each article	Number of any of these articles the cotton grower would get for 300lbs. of upland cotton.
Third seventy-four calico.....	4½	7½	s. d. 2 8½	s. d. 4 9½	s. d. 7 6	24
Power-loom seventy-two calico ..	5½	7½	3 4	8 1½	11 5½	15½
Half-ell velveteen 20lbs. weight ..	21½	7½	13 4	28 0½	41 4	4½
Water-twist 30 hanks per lb.	1½	7½	0 8½	0 7½	1 4½	131

These tables present a history of the works of those engaged in the cotton trade, for the eighteen years ending 1832; and I have no hesitation in saying, that history presents no parallel to a like increase of production, or to a like increase in the taking away from the producers, for the use of those who do not produce. Industry is deprived of its just reward, and in the midst of unexampled plenty, those who labour and toil, and that more effectually than any other people, are not allowed to have what is necessary to supply their wants. The fear of want increases, the hope of reward is blighted, and laudable individual selfishness is disappointed, amongst those who toil in more than the ratio of increase of production; in fact, the harder they labour, the more they produce, the less they have.

Whether we look to the products of manual labour, as instanced in the case of the hand-loom weaver, or of manual labour aided by the most improved machinery employed in the cotton trade, we find that, for a nearly three-fold quantity produced in 1832, the manufacturers and their work-people had a much less command over the first necessities of life, than they had in 1815, for little more than one-third of the quantity. Truly, it may be said, we labour for that which is not bread, and spend our strength for nought; while those who tax us, and those who live on fixed-money incomes, get an additional increase of the fruits of our labour, more than correspondent with the increase of our production, and for which we receive no equivalent whatever. And can this course of proceeding continue? No, it cannot. The manufacturers cannot go on in this course much further, however disposed they might be to do so; seventy parts out of one hundred, constituting the whole for labour, expenses, and profits, have departed, between 1815 and 1832, both years inclusive, and many parts more will be found to have fled in 1833; and there is no possibility of preventing the mass engaged in this business from being involved in one common ruin, unless they retrace their steps. They are con-

tending against nature. Providence designed that the gifts she has bestowed on man, for increasing his supply of the necessities and comforts of life (by the invention and aid of machinery, or otherwise), should not be abused; and so surely as we take *improperly* from those who labour, and give it to those who do not labour, so surely will a day of retribution and vengeance overtake the oppressors.

The evils of our manufacturing system have long been complained of, and remedies proposed, which have, however, been disregarded by the manufacturers. Since I commenced writing this letter, I have received one from a respectable gentleman in Manchester, Mr. David Holt, who has been engaged in the trade upwards of forty years. His account of the misery and dissatisfaction existing in the minds of the work-people, effects of the unkind and improper conduct of many of the masters, is not, I believe, at all overcharged. I annex you a copy of his letter,* and I sincerely wish with him that the manufacturers would change their course, and observe the golden rule of doing unto others as they would like to be done unto; and, instead of making further reductions in wages, as I hear some have already done, and others intend doing, that they would shorten the time of labour, lessen their production, which would give better prices and better profits, and enable them to continue, at least, the present wages, and to restore satisfaction and contentment to their work-people.

If any arguments were wanting to show the necessity for, and the advantages to be derived from, the adoption of the regulation of "eight hours' work for the present full day's wages," the tables I have given indisputably furnish them.

In these tables, the cotton manufactured into the four leading articles referred to, is assumed to be American uplands, and the bags to weigh 300 lbs. each; and although there are many other sorts of cotton, the price of which,

* See Appendix, No. I.

and the weight of the bags of which, differ from what is here stated, and also many descriptions of cotton goods manufactured, besides the four sorts mentioned in the tables; yet, as those not mentioned bear a relative value to those there mentioned, the argument to be deduced from these tables is not affected by the difference in these respects, of weight, of price, or of manufacture.

The number of bags of cotton consumed per week, is taken from the annual statements of the cotton-brokers, and the prices of cotton are the average prices I and my partners have paid for American uplands in each year. In reference to columns No. 5, tables 1 and 2, you will see, that in 1815, when the consumption of cotton was 6,500 bags per week, the manufacturer had for labour, expenses, and profit, 11s., 18s. 4d., 65s. 4d., and 1s. 4½d. for each article respectively; in 1824, when the consumption was 11,500 bags per week, he had 6s., 9s. 9d., 36s., and 10½d.; and in 1832, when the consumption was 17,300 bags per week, he had only 3s. 2½d., 5s. 5d., 18s. 8d. and 5½d., for labour, expenses, and profits, on each of the said articles respectively. And table No. 3 shows, that taking the average of the four articles, and supposing the whole quantity of cotton consumed in the respective years to have been worked up into these four leading articles in the cotton trade, in equal proportions, the manufacturer had 44 per cent. less in 1824, and 70½ per cent. less in 1832, for the manufacturing of four of these articles than he had in 1815; and that for the whole quantity the cotton would make that was consumed in 1815, say 6,500 bags per week, he had 13,007,778l., whereas, in 1832, when the consumption of cotton was 17,000 bags per week, he had only 10,251,926l., although the latter quantity, if it had been paid for at the rate the manufacturer was paid in 1815, would have commanded 34,620,701l., that is, 237 per cent. more than the manufacturer got in 1832!

When nearly three times the quantity manufactured in 1832, was paid for with less money by two millions three quarters at thirteen millions, than little more

than one third of the quantity commanded in 1815, and to manufacture which increased quantity in 1832, more than double the number of persons were employed, can you wonder, sir, at the strange anomaly of increased production being accompanied by increased and increasing distress among the manufacturers and their workmen? I am sure you cannot. No: let those who conduct the Whig press make good their assertions so often repeated, if they can, viz., that the productive classes in Lancashire have a greater command over the necessaries and comforts of life now, than they ever had at any former period. I should like to know in what they make the necessaries and comforts of life to consist; if they say, in cotton goods, and in cotton goods only, then they are right; for never, at any former period, could the workman buy so many of these articles with the wages he received as he can now; even the poor hand-loom weaver, whose destitute condition is admitted by all, could buy a greater proportion of the third 74s calico he wove up in 1832, than he could in 1815, although his wages were, as shown in column 14, table No. 1, 4s. 6d. per piece in 1815, and only 1s. 6d. in 1832.

But let us see what corn these manufacturers and their work-people could get in return for their labour. To show this, I have, from official returns, given in table No. 1, the average prices of wheat and oats in every year from 1815 to 1831, both years inclusive; and from the Mark-lane corn letter, the average prices of 1832. If you take the average of the first nine years, you will find the quarter of wheat to be 67s. 2d., and of oats, 24s. 2d.; and the average of the last nine years, you will find wheat to be 62s. 2d., and oats 24s. 7d.; while the average price the manufacturer had for labour, expenses, and profit, was 8s. 3d. per piece, in the first nine years, and only 4s. 3d. in the last nine years to which the table refers. The manufacturer, therefore, has had to make, during the latter nine years, very nearly two pieces for the same quantity of wheat, and more than

two pieces for the same quantity of oats, that the manufacture of one piece would procure for him in the first nine years to which the table refers; and if we take the two first years, 1815 and 1816, and the two last years, 1831 and 1832, we find the price of wheat to have been nearly as high, and the price of oats full as high, in the latter two years as in the first two years; while the sum the manufacturers had for manufacturing one piece, the first two years, was 10s. 2d., and in the last two years, 1831 and 1832, only 3s. 6d.: so that in the last two years, the manufacturer had to make very nearly three pieces, for the same quantity of wheat that he could get for making one piece, in the first two years.

Look here, sir, what manifest injustice the manufacturers inflict upon themselves and their work-people, by deteriorating the value of their labour, through over-production, which has sunk its relative value nearly two-thirds in eighteen years, as compared with the first necessary of life, and in the purchase of which pretty nearly three-fourths of the working people's wages must be expended. And what folly it is to make our manufactures so cheap, that those who make them cannot live by their labour, but have, in thousands of instances, to submit to the degradation of seeking relief from the parish, and that, too, when they are in full employment.

I shall be told, sir, that this reasoning makes out a strong case for the repeal of the Corn Bill. I admit it; but such repeal ought to be preceded by a large reduction of taxes; and, if the landed interest will not cause such reduction of taxes to be made, they must have the Corn Bill wrested from them, and take the consequences. The taxes press so severely on those engaged in agriculture, that notwithstanding they get the little clothing they can purchase so much cheaper, all the evidence taken on the subject tends to show that they are in a condition which it is frightful to contemplate. They give at least three quarters of wheat for the same amount of taxes, that could be paid with two quarters during the war; and this, with

corn at the present price, I do not believe they can do much longer.

But how do the taxes affect the manufacturer, with his increase of production? This is shown in table No. 1, column 12, in which you will see, that all living upon fixed-money incomes, have experienced a progressive increase in the command a given sum of money has afforded them over manufactured articles since 1815; that 3/., at that period, would only buy 3½ pieces, whereas, in 1832, the same sum would purchase 10½ pieces, an increase of 220 per cent. drained out of the labour of the manufacturer. For though the cotton, to make these pieces of, was lower in money price in 1832 than in 1815, yet it did not cost the manufacturer less in reality; for, in 1815, he got 300 lbs. of cotton, exclusive of duty, for 24 pieces of calico, and that was just the average number of pieces paid for 300 lbs. of cotton, during the whole eighteen years, table No. 1 embraces, as shown in column No. 11: for the cotton, exclusive of duty, that would make 70 pieces of these calicoes, the manufacturer has, during the whole time, given an average of 24 pieces.

Now, sir, what has the owner of vested interests, as they are called, done to merit this increase of from 3½ pieces to 10½ pieces, for an annuity of three pounds; while there are hundreds of thousands of weavers in the kingdom, toiling and sweating all the day long, whose command over wheat and oats in return for their labour, has been reduced in the proportion of nearly 10 to 3? This is an important question, and one deserving of the attention of all who are interested in the security of property, and the safety and well-being of society. The owners of *fixed-money* incomes, however, could have no right to complain of the manufactures, if they reduced their manufactures two-thirds, instead of one-third, as is proposed by the Regenerating Society, and thus make their labour of the relative value it bore to money in 1815, the close of the war, and since which time no loans have been contracted by Government.

But the reduction of time of labour

to eight hours per day, would not place the owner of vested interests in a worse position than that in which he stood in 1824, with regard to his command over manufactures; that is, as you will see in table No. 1, column 11, year 1824, he would get at least $6\frac{2}{3}$ pieces, just double $3\frac{1}{3}$ pieces he had in 1815; and, on the supposition too, that the price of cotton should exceed 8d. per lb., and the sum for labour, expenses, and profit, for one piece, should be 6s., the same as both were in 1824. But as cotton, if the new regulation be adopted, would certainly fall to the prices of 1832, and may fall much lower, you will see, that with 2s. $8\frac{1}{2}$ d. for cotton (its price in 1832), for one piece, and 4s. $9\frac{1}{2}$ d. for labour, expenses, and profit, as put down in column 8, say 3s. $2\frac{1}{2}$ d., and half that sum (or 50 per cent. added, to give the same money for two-thirds, as is now obtained for the whole quantity produced), the price of the piece would then only be 7s. $1\frac{1}{2}$ d.; whereas, in 1824, it was 9s., and gave the manufacturer 6s., as shown in column 9, for labour, expenses, and profit. This 6s., when it is again obtained (and I have every reason to suppose it would be), would give the manufacturer 1s. $2\frac{1}{2}$ d. per piece, or $24\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., as put down in column 10, table No. 1, more than he now gets, besides the 50 per cent. for the increased cost of production, to give him the same money for making two-thirds of the quantity as he now has for making the whole; and the price of the calico would then be 8s. 3d. instead of 9s., as in 1824.

In like manner I have shown in table No. 2, that the manufacturer would get 1s. $7\frac{1}{2}$ d. per piece more, for 72s. calico made by power-looms; 8s. 1d. per piece more for half-ell velveteens; and $2\frac{1}{2}$ d. per lb. more for thirty hanks water

As the price of cotton, in 1832, would be too low to command twenty-four pieces for every 300lbs. of cotton, and which proportion it will ultimately command (although some years may be required to effect it, and during which time the manufacturer would have the advantage in his favour), I have shown in

table No. 4, what would be the price and cost of cotton for each article, the value of each article, and the sum for labour, expenses, and profit, to give the manufacturer the same sum of money for making two-thirds the quantity, as, in 1832 he had for the whole, and the cotton grower, the average number of articles of manufacture for 300 lbs. of cotton, he has had the last eighteen years, which, by lessening his supply (as has been before observed), he will get, and then the two parties will effect an exchange of their commodities, as beneficially as they have done before.

The table No. 4 shows the price of cotton at $7\frac{1}{2}$ d. per lb., which is about its present price, and the value of a third seventy-four calico at 7s. 6d., which leaves 4s. $9\frac{1}{2}$ d. for labour, expenses, and profit; but though $7\frac{1}{2}$ d., or perhaps a little more, is the present price of cotton, the present price of the calico is only about 6s. and consequently a rise of 25 per cent. would take place, as I have lately stated in a letter to Mr. Cobbett, which letter he published in the *Register*.

After 50 per cent. is added for labour, expenses, and profit, and with cotton at its present price, the manufacturer will get as much corn for the lesser quantity, as he did for the larger, and forty pieces of his own manufacture, where he now gets fifty-two pieces. But *three-fourths*, at least, of the *poor men's* earnings are laid out in food, and only one-fourth in clothing; and he would consequently get a relief from toil to the amount of one-third without suffering any material diminution in his comforts as regards his command over both food and clothing, and if he chooses to employ a part of the time he will thus have left for his own use, he may make himself more comfortable than it was possible for him to be before the change proposed. His productions are so excessive, that they are now too cheap compared with other things. The hand-loom weaver is in the destitute condition I have described; and the workman manufacturing by machinery is following close on the heels of the hand-loom weaver; his work has been

made much harder, and his wages have been considerably reduced, since 1815; and though he can now, with his present wages, get more of the articles he makes than he could in 1815; his wages will not buy him any where near so much wheat or oats, as his wages in 1815 would.

The fact is, the manufacturers in the cotton trade (and those in flax, silk, and woollen, if not as bad, yet must be approximating to this state), have made their manufactures so plentiful by the increase of machinery, and the additional labour which they exact from their hands by the increased speed of the machinery,* that their productions *stink* in the nostrils of all to whom they are offered; and though the manufacturers are, again and again, told by their customers, that their productions are too abundant to secure a good profit, and by the economists, that the distress they so often complain of, is the result of manufacturing too much, yet, strange to say, there is the greatest unwillingness to do less, or to make their business respectable, and their work-people comfortable, by making the supply of their manufactures so limited, as not to exceed the demand.

Nothing could be more easy than this, if a good understanding were cultivated between the employers and the employed; if the masters would agree, and act upon a plan of mutual protection, instead of playing against each other as "beggar my neighbour," and also agree that the wages of their workmen should be liberal, and their time of labour moderate, say not more than forty-eight hours per week, they would find themselves all the happier from pursuing this course, and, I will add (what most seek after), all the richer too. Then there would be no occasion for factory bills, inspectors, millwardens, relays of children, and all the degrading restraints which overworking, tyranny, and oppression engender, and which debase man, constituted lord over the creation, below the level of the brute.

What a contemptible figure do the

manufacturers cut, in the estimation of all thinking men! See them disputing with each other, what sort of a bill to restrict their liberties should be sanctioned by Parliament, and who best understands what number of hours, out of the twenty-four, is the proper number for their hands to work; and declaring that the hands (who certainly are the best judges of this matter) do not know any thing at all about it, nor what is for their good: moreover, every nation where manufacture is carried on is visited, and inquiries made, whether the hours of work are longer, or whether the screw is tightened more, in other countries, than it is in England, as if for the purpose of making the English the greatest slaves in the world.

(To be continued.)

THE PRESIDENT'S MESSAGE.

(From the New York Gazette.)

New York, Dec. 4.

(Concluded from page 60.)

That treaty does not embody those enlarged principles of friendly policy which, it is sincerely hoped, will always regulate the conduct of the two nations, having such strong motives to maintain amicable relations towards each other, and so sincerely desirous to cherish them.

With all the other European Powers with whom the United States have formed diplomatic relations, and with the Sublime Porte, the best understanding prevails. From all I continue to receive assurances of good will towards the United States; assurances which it gives me no less pleasure to reciprocate than to receive. With all, the engagements which have been entered into are fulfilled with good faith on both sides. Measures have also been taken to enlarge our friendly relations and extend our commercial intercourse with other states. The system we have pursued, of aiming at no exclusive advantages, of dealing with all on terms of fair and equal reciprocity, and of adhering scrupulously to all our engagements, is well calculated to give success to efforts intended to be mutually beneficial.

The wars of which the southern part of this continent was so long the theatre, and which were carried on, either by the mother country against the states which had formerly been her colonies, or by the states against each other, having terminated, and their civil dissensions having so far subsided as, with few exceptions, no longer to disturb the public tranquillity, it is earnestly hoped those states will be able to employ themselves without interruption in perfecting their institutions, cultivating the arts of peace, and promoting, by wise counsels and able exertions, the public and private prosperity which their patriotic struggles so well entitle them to enjoy.

With those states our relations have undergone but little change during the present year. No reunion having yet taken place between the states which composed the Republic of Colombia, our Chargé d'Affaires at Bogota has been accredited to the Government of New Granada, and we have therefore no diplomatic relations with Venezuela and the Equator, except as they may be included in those heretofore formed with the Colombian Republic. It is understood that representatives from the three states were about to assemble at Bogota to confer on the subject of their mutual interests, particularly that of their union; and if the result should render it necessary, measures will be taken on our part to preserve with each that friendship and those liberal commercial connexions which it has been the constant desire of the United States to cultivate with their sister republics of this hemisphere. Until the important question of reunion shall be settled, however, the different matters which have been under discussion between the United States and the Republic of Colombia, or either of the states which composed it, are not likely to be brought to a satisfactory issue.

In consequence of the illness of the Chargé d'Affaires appointed to Central America at the last session of Congress, he was prevented from proceeding on his mission until the month of October. It is hoped, however, that he is by this time at his post, and that the official

intercourse, unfortunately so long interrupted, has been thus renewed on the part of the two nations, so amicably and advantageously connected by engagements founded on the most enlarged principles of commercial reciprocity.

It is gratifying to state that since my last annual Message some of the most important claims of our fellow-citizens upon the Government of Brazil have been satisfactorily adjusted, and a reliance is placed on the friendly dispositions manifested by it that justice will also be done in others. No new causes of complaint have arisen, and the trade between the two countries flourishes under the encouragement secured to it by the liberal provisions of the treaty.

It is cause of regret, that, owing probably to the civil dissensions which have occupied the attention of the Mexican Government, the time fixed by the treaty of limits with the United States for the meeting of the commissioners to define the boundaries between the two nations, has been suffered to expire without the appointment of any commissioners on the part of that Government. While the true boundary remains in doubt by either party, it is difficult to give effect to those measures which are necessary to the protection and quiet of our numerous citizens residing near that frontier. The subject is one of great solicitude to the United States, and will not fail to receive my earnest attention.

The treaty concluded with Chili, and approved by the Senate at its last session, was also ratified by the Chilian Government, but with certain additional and explanatory articles, of a nature to have required it to be again submitted to the Senate. The time limited for the exchange of the ratifications, however, having since expired, the action of both Governments on the treaty will become necessary.

The negotiations commenced with the Argentine Republic, relative to the outrages committed on our vessels engaged in the fisheries at the Falkland Islands, by persons acting under the colour of its authority, as well as the other matters in controversy between

the two Governments, have been suspended by the departure of the Charge d'Affaires of the United States from Buenos Ayres. It is understood, however, that a minister was subsequently appointed by that Government to renew the negotiation in the United States; but, though daily expected, he has not yet arrived in this country.

With Peru no treaty has yet been formed, and with Bolivia no diplomatic intercourse has yet been established. It will be my endeavour to encourage those sentiments of amity and liberal commerce, which belong to the relations in which all the independent states of this continent stand towards each other.

I deem it proper to recommend to your notice the revision of our consular system. This has become an important branch of the public service, inasmuch as it is intimately connected with the preservation of our national character abroad, with the interest of our citizens in foreign countries, with the regulation and care of our commerce, and with the protection of our seamen. At the close of the last session of Congress I communicated a report from the Secretary of State upon the subject to which I now refer, as containing information which may be useful in any inquiries that Congress may see fit to institute with a view to a salutary reform of the system.

It gives me great pleasure to congratulate you upon the prosperous condition of the finances of the country, as will appear from the report which the Secretary of the Treasury will in due time lay before you. The receipts into the treasury during this year will amount to more than 32,000,000 dollars; the revenue derived from the customs will, it is believed, be more than 28,000,000, and the public lands will yield about 3,000,000. The expenditure within the year, for all objects, including 2,572,240 dollars 99 cents on account of the public debt, will not amount to 25,000,000, and a large balance will remain in the treasury after satisfying all the appropriations chargeable on the revenue for the present year.

The measures taken by the Secretary of the Treasury, will, probably, enable him to pay off, in the course of the present year, the residue of the exchanged four and a half per cent. stock, redeemable on the 1. of January next. It has, therefore, been included in the estimated expenditure of this year, and forms part of the sum above stated, to have been paid on account of the public debt. The payment of this stock will reduce the whole debt of the United States, funded and unfunded, to the sum of 4,760,082 dollars 8 cents; and as provision has already been made for the four and a half per cents. above-mentioned, and charged in the expenses of the present year, the sum last stated is all that now remains of the national debt; and the revenue of the coming year, together with the balance now in the Treasury, will be sufficient to discharge it, after meeting the current expenses of the Government. Under the power given to the Commissioners of the Sinking Fund, it will, I have no doubt, be purchased on favourable terms within the year.

From this view of the state of the finances, and the public engagements yet to be fulfilled, you will perceive that, if Providence permits me to meet you in another session, I shall have the high gratification of announcing to you that the national debt is extinguished. I cannot refrain from expressing the pleasure I feel at the near approach of that desirable event. The short period of time within which the public debt will have been discharged, is strong evidence of the abundant resources of the country, and of the prudence and economy with which the Government has heretofore been administered. We have waged two wars since we have become a nation, with one of the most powerful kingdoms in the world; both of them undertaken in defence of our dearest rights—both successfully prosecuted and honourably terminated; and many of those who partook in the first struggle, as well as the second, will have lived to see the last item of the debt incurred in these necessary but expensive conflicts, faithfully and honestly discharged; and we shall have the proud satisfaction of bequeathing to the public servants who follow us in the administration of the Government, the rare blessing of a revenue sufficiently abundant, raised without injustice or oppression to our citizens, and unencumbered with any burdens but what they themselves shall think proper to impose upon it.

The flourishing state of the finances ought not, however, to encourage us to indulge in a lavish expenditure of the public treasure. The receipts of the present year do not furnish the test by which we are to estimate the income of

the next. The changes made in our revenue system by the acts of Congress of 1832 and 1833, and more especially by the former, have swelled the receipts of the present year far beyond the amount to be expected in future years upon the reduced tariff of duties. The shortened credits on revenue bonds, and the cash duties on woollens, which were introduced by the act of 1832, and took effect on the 4. of last March, have brought large sums into the Treasury in 1833, which, according to the credits formerly given, would not have been payable until 1834, and would have formed a part of the income of that year. These causes would of themselves produce a great diminution of the receipts in the year 1834, as compared with the present one; and they will be still more diminished by the reduced rates of duties, which take place on the 1. of January next, on some of the most important and productive articles. Upon the best estimates that can be made, the receipts of the next year, with the aid of the unappropriated amount now in the Treasury, will not be much more than sufficient to meet the expenses of the year, and pay the small remnant of the national debt which yet remains unsatisfied. I cannot, therefore, recommend to you any alteration in the present tariff of duties. The rate as now fixed by law on the various articles, was adopted at the last session of Congress, as a matter of compromise with unusual unanimity, and unless it is found to produce more than the necessities of the Government call for, there would seem to be no reason at this time to justify a change.

But while I forbear to recommend any further reduction of the duties beyond that already provided for by the existing laws, I must earnestly and respectfully press upon the Congress the importance of abstaining from all appropriations which are not absolutely required for the public interests, and authorised by the powers already delegated to the United States. We are beginning a new era in our Government. The national debt, which has been so long a burden to the Treasury, will be finally discharged in the course of the ensuing year. No more money will afterwards be needed than what may be necessary to meet the ordinary expenses of the Government. Now, then, is the proper moment to fix our system of expenditure on firm and durable principles; and I cannot too strongly urge the necessity of a rigid economy, and an inflexible determination not to enlarge the income beyond the real necessities of the Government, and not to increase the wants of the Government by unnecessary and profuse expenditure. If a contrary course should be pursued, it may happen that the revenue of 1834 will fall short of the demands upon it; and, after reducing the tariff in order to lighten the burdens of the people, and providing for a still farther reduction to take effect hereafter, it would be much to be deplored, if, at the end of another year, we should find ourselves obliged to re-

trace our steps, and impose additional taxes to meet unnecessary expenditure.

It is my duty on this occasion to call your attention to the destruction of the public building occupied by the Treasury department, which happened since the last adjournment of Congress. A thorough inquiry into the causes of this loss was directed and made at the time, the result of which will be duly communicated to you. I take pleasure, however, in stating here, that by the laudable exertions of the officers of the department, and many of the citizens of the district, but few papers were lost, and none that will materially affect the public interest.

The public convenience requires that another building should be erected as soon as practicable; and in providing for it it will be advisable to enlarge in some manner the accommodations for the public officers of the several departments, and to authorise the erection of suitable depositories for the safe keeping of the public documents and records.

Since the last adjournment of Congress, the Secretary of the Treasury has directed the money of the United States to be deposited in certain state banks designated by him, and he will immediately lay before you his reasons for this direction. I concur with him entirely in the view he has taken of the subject, and some months before the removal I urged upon the department the propriety of taking that step. The near approach of the day on which the charter will expire, as well as the conduct of the Bank, appeared to me to call for this measure, upon the high considerations of public interest and public duty. The extent of its misconduct, however, although known to be great, was not at that time fully developed by proof. It was not until late in the month of August that I received from the Government directors an official report, establishing beyond question that this great and powerful institution had been actively engaged in attempting to influence the elections of the public officers by means of its money; and that, in violation of the express provisions of its charter, it had, by a formal resolution, placed its funds at the disposition of its president, to be employed in sustaining the political power of the Bank. A copy of this resolution is contained in the report of the Government directors before referred to; and, however the object may be disguised by cautious language, no one can doubt that this money was in truth intended for electioneering purposes, and the particular uses to which it was proved to be applied abundantly show that it was so understood. Not only was the evidence complete as to the past application of the money and power of the Bank to electioneering purposes, but that the resolution of the Board of Directors authorised the same course to be pursued in future.

It being thus established by unquestionable proof that the Bank of the United States was converted into a permanent electioneering engine, it appeared to me that the path of duty

which the executive department of the Government ought to pursue was not doubtful. As by the terms of the Bank charter no officer but the Secretary of the Treasury could remove the deposits, it seemed to me that this authority ought to be at once exerted to deprive that great corporation of the support and countenance of the Government in such an use of its funds and such an exertion of its power. In this point of the case, the question is distinctly presented, whether the people of the United States are to govern, through representatives chosen by their unbiassed suffrages, or whether the power and money of a great corporation are to be secretly exerted to influence their judgment and control their decisions. It must now be determined whether the Bank is to have its candidates for all offices in the country, from the highest to the lowest, or whether candidates on both sides of political questions shall be brought forward as heretofore, and supported by the usual means.

At this time the efforts of the Bank to control public opinion through the distresses of some and the fears of others are equally apparent, and, if possible, more objectionable. By a curtailment of its accommodations more urgent than any emergency requires, and even while it possesses specie to an almost unprecedented amount in its vaults, it is attempting to produce great embarrassment in one portion of the community, while, through presses known to have been sustained by its money, it attempts, by unfounded alarms, to create a panic in all.

These are the means by which it seems to expect that it can force a restoration of the deposits, and, as a necessary consequence, extort from the Congress a renewal of its charter. I am happy to know that, through the good sense of our people, the effort to get up a panic has hitherto failed, and that through the increased accommodation which the State Banks have been enabled to afford, no public distress has followed the exertions of the Bank; and it cannot be doubted that the exercise of its power and the expenditure of its money, as well as its efforts to spread groundless alarm, will be met and rebuked as they deserve. In my own sphere of duty, I should feel myself called on by the facts disclosed to order a *scire facias* against the Bank, with a view to put an end to the chartered rights it has so palpably violated, were it not that the charter itself will expire as soon as a decision could probably be obtained from the court of last resort.

I called the attention of Congress to this subject in my last annual message, and informed them that such measures as were within the reach of the Secretary of the Treasury had been taken to enable him to judge whether the public deposits in the Bank of the United States were entirely safe; but that, as his single powers might be inadequate to the object, I recommended the subject to Congress, as worthy of their serious investigation; declaring it as my opinion, that an inquiry

into the transactions of that institution, embracing the branches as well as the principal bank, was called for by the credit which was given throughout the country to many serious charges impeaching their character, and which, if true, might justly excite the apprehension that they were no longer a safe depository for the public money. The extent to which the examination thus recommended was gone into is spread upon your journals, and is too well known to require to be stated. Such as was made resulted in a report from a majority of the Committee of Ways and Means touching certain specified points only, concluding with a resolution that the Government deposits might safely be continued in the Bank of the United States. This resolution was adopted at the close of the session by the vote of a majority of the House of Representatives.

Although I may not always be able to concur in the views of the public interest, or the duties of its agents, which may be taken by the other departments of the Government, or either of its branches, I am, notwithstanding, wholly incapable of receiving otherwise than with the most sincere respect all opinions or suggestions proceeding from such a source, and in respect to none am I more inclined to do so, than to the House of Representatives. But it will be seen from the brief views at this time taken of the subject by myself, as well as the more ample ones presented by the Secretary of the Treasury, that the change in the deposits which has been ordered has been deemed to be called for by considerations which are not affected by the proceedings referred to, and which, if correctly viewed by that department, rendered its act a matter of imperious duty.

Coming as you do for the most part immediately from the people and the states by election, and possessing the fullest opportunity to know their sentiments, the present Congress will be sincerely solicitous to carry into full and fair effect the will of their constituents in regard to this institution. It will be for those in whose behalf we all act to decide whether the executive department of the Government, in the steps which it has taken on this subject, has been found in the line of its duty.

The accompanying report of the Secretary of War, with the documents annexed to it, exhibits the operations of the War Department for the past year, and the conditions of the various subjects intrusted to its administration.

It will be seen from them that the army maintains the character it has heretofore acquired for efficiency and military knowledge. Nothing has occurred since your last session to require its services beyond the ordinary routine of duties which upon the seaboard and the inland frontier devolve upon it in a time of peace. The system so wisely adopted and so long pursued, of constructing fortifications at the exposed points, and of preparing and collecting the supplies necessary for the mi-

litary defence of the country, and thus providentially furnishing in peace the means of defence in war, has been continued with the usual results. I recommend to your consideration the various subjects suggested in the report of the Secretary at War. Their adoption would promote the public service and meliorate the condition of the army.

Our relations with the various Indian tribes have been undisturbed since the termination of the difficulties growing out of the hostile aggressions of the Sacs and Fox Indians. Several treaties have been formed for the relinquishment of territory to the United States, and for the migration of the occupants to the regions assigned for their residence, west of the Mississippi. Should these treaties be ratified by the senate, provision will have been made for the removal of almost all the tribes now remaining east of that river, and for the termination of many difficulties and embarrassing questions arising out of their anomalous political condition. It is to be hoped that those portions of two of the southern tribes, which in that event will present the only remaining difficulties, will realize the necessity of emigration, and will speedily resort to it. My original convictions upon this subject have been confirmed by the course of events for several years, and experience is every day adding to their strength. That those tribes cannot exist surrounded by our settlements, and in continual contact with our citizens, is certain. They have neither the intelligence, the industry, the moral habits, nor the desire of improvement which are essential to any favourable change in their condition. Established in the midst of another and superior race, and without appreciating the causes of their inferiority, or seeking to control them, they must necessarily yield to the force of circumstances, and ere long disappear. Such has been their fate heretofore; and if it is to be averted, and it is, it can only be done by a general removal beyond our boundary, and by the re-organization of their political system upon principles adapted to the new relations in which they will be placed. The experiment which has been recently made, has so far proved successful. The emigrants generally are represented to be prosperous and contented, the country suitable to their wants and habits, and the essential articles of subsistence easily procured.

When the report of the commissioners now engaged in investigating the conditions and prospects of these Indians, and in devising a plan for their intercourse and government, is received, I trust ample means of information will be in possession of the Government for adjusting all the unsettled questions connected with this interesting subject.

The operations of the navy during the year, and its present condition, are fully exhibited in the annual report from the navy department.

Suggestions are made by the secretary of various improvements, which deserve careful

consideration, and most of which, if adopted, bid fair to promote the efficacy of this important branch of the public service. Among these, are the new organization of the Navy Board, the revision of the pay to officers, and a change in the period of time, or in the manner of making the annual appropriations, to which I beg leave to call your particular attention.

The views which are presented on almost every portion of our naval concerns, and especially on the amount of force and the number of officers, and the general course of policy appropriate in the present state of our country for securing the great and useful purposes of naval protection in peace, and due preparation for the contingencies of war, meet with my entire approbation.

It will be perceived, from the report referred to, that the fiscal concerns of the establishment are in an excellent condition; and it is hoped that Congress may feel disposed to make promptly every suitable provision desired either for preserving or improving the system.

The General Post-office department has continued upon the strength of its own resources to facilitate the means of communication between the various portions of the Union with increased activity. The method, however, in which the accounts of the transportation of the mail has always been kept appears to have presented an imperfect view of its expenses. It has recently been discovered that from the earliest records of the department the annual statements have been calculated to exhibit an amount considerably short of the actual expense incurred for that service. These illusory statements, together with the expense of carrying into effect the law of the last session of Congress, establishing new mail routes, and a disposition on the part of the head of the department to gratify the wishes of the public in the extension of the mail facilities, have induced them to incur responsibilities for their improvement beyond what the current resources of the department would sustain. As soon as he had discovered the imperfection of the method, he caused an investigation to be made of its results, and applied the proper remedy to correct the evil. It became necessary for him to withdraw some of the improvements which he had made to bring the expenses of the department within its own resources. These expenses were incurred for the public good, and the public have enjoyed their benefit. They are now but partially suspended, and that where they may be discontinued with the least inconvenience to the country.

The progressive increase in the income from postages has equalled the highest expectations, and it affords demonstrative evidence of the growing importance and great utility of this department. The details are exhibited in the accompanying report from the Postmaster-General.

The many distressing accidents which have of late occurred in that portion of our naviga-

tion carried on by the use of steam power, deserve the immediate and unremitting attention of the constituted authorities of the country. The fact that the number of those fatal disasters is constantly increasing, notwithstanding the great improvements which are everywhere made in the machinery employed, and in the rapid advances which have been made in that branch of science, shows very clearly that they are in a great degree the result of criminal negligence on the part of those by whom the vessels are navigated, and to whose care and attention the lives and property of our citizens are so extensively intrusted.

That these evils may be greatly lessened, if not substantially removed, by means of precautionary and penal legislation, seems to be highly probable: so far therefore as the subject can be regarded as within the constitutional purview of Congress, I earnestly recommend it to your prompt and serious consideration.

I would also call your attention to the views I have heretofore expressed of the propriety of amending the constitution in relation to the mode of electing the President and the Vice-President of the United States. Regarding it as all-important to the future quiet and harmony of the people that every intermediate agency in the election of these officers should be removed, and that their eligibility should be limited to one term of either four or six years, I cannot too earnestly invite your consideration of the subject.

Trusting that your deliberations on all the topics of general interest to which I have adverted, and such others as your more extensive knowledge of the wants of our beloved country may suggest, may be crowned with success, I tender you, in conclusion, the co-operation which it may be in my power to afford them.

ANDREW JACKSON.

Washington, Dec. 3.

From the LONDON GAZETTE,

FRIDAY, JANUARY 3, 1834.

INSOLVENT.

FRICKER, J., Kingston-upon-Thames, dealer.

BANKRUPTS.

ATKINSON, T., jun., Knottingley, Yorkshire, lime-burner.

CASTELL, W. S., Piccadilly, printer.

FRAGNIER, H. H., coffee-house-keeper.

FIRTH, W. and J., Skelmanthorpe, Yorkshire, manufacturers of fancy goods.

HUMPHREY, J., Weedon-Beck, Northamptonshire, innholder.

HUTTON, R., Leeds, linen-draper.

KINGSFORD, W., Buckland, near Dover, paper-manufacturer.

PHILLIPS, H. B., and J. Searle, Totness, Devonshire, ship-owners.

ROBBERDS, J., Norwich, money-scrivener.

ROLFE, W., Cheshunt, Hertfordshire, manufacturer of waterproof articles.

SHEPHERD, W., Cheshunt, Hertfordshire, manufacturer of waterproof articles.

TUESDAY, JAN. 7, 1834.

INSOLVENT.

ROUTLEDGE, J. J., High Holborn, silkman.

BANKRUPTS.

ALSOP, J., Hill, Eccleshall, Staffordshire, miller.

BARNETT, J., Birmingham, coach-proprietor and dealer and horses.

DINGLEY, J., Birmingham, haberdasher, hosier, and draper.

GARNETT, J., Chiswell-street, hat-manufacturer.

HAMILTON, D., Nicholas-lane, Lombard-street, tailor.

HARTLEY, J., sen., Upper House, Bowling, Bradford, Yorkshire, gardener.

ROBERTS, J., Caernarvon, merchant.

SHEA, R., and T. Pinn, Great Pulteney-street, Golden-square, tailors.

WILLIAMS, J., Bath, veterinary-surgeon and farrier.

LONDON MARKETS.

MARK-LANE, CORN-EXCHANGE, Jan. 6.—The arrivals of Wheat from the home counties were to-day limited. The market evinced at the commencement some degree of animation, and fine parcels realized 1s. per qr. more money, but towards the close the trade receded, and barely supported the advance. The secondary descriptions and those which handled rough were very difficult to quit, though offered at a decline of 1s. per qr. The condition of most of the samples was still influenced by the damp state of the weather. We heard of no business transpiring in bonded Corn.

Fine parcels of malting Barley maintained their former currency. Distilling qualities, at present meeting no attention on the part of distillers, gave way fully 1s. per qr.; grinding sorts were also dull at a reduction of 1s.

Malt remains extremely dull, and only prime qualities maintain their quotations.

The large arrival of Scotch Oats, nearly 10,000 qrs., caused the trade in the article to rule heavy. English and Irish, though in limited supply, were also very dull sale, and Monday's quotations barely supported.

Old and new Beans met little inquiry, and were both 1s. cheaper.

Barley, as well as Hog Peas, gave way in price, and were obtainable at 1s. less money.

The Flour trade sustained no alteration,

and ship marks moved off slowly at the previous currencies.

Wheat	30s. to 39s.
Rye	—s. to —s.
Barley	25s. to 27s.
— fine	30s. to 32s.
Peas, White	—s. to —s.
— Boilers	40s. to —s.
— Grey	33s. to 37s.
Beans, Small	34s. to 39s.
— Tick	30s. to 34s.
Oats, Potato	24s. to 26s.
— Feed	19s. to 21s.
Flour, per sack	48s. to 50s.

PROVISIONS.

Pork, India, new	90s. to 95s.
— Mess, new ...	56s. to 62s. per barrel.
Butter, Belfast	80s. to 82s. per cwt.
— Carlow	80s. to 84s.
— Cork	70s. to 71s.
— Limerick ..	69s. to 71s.
— Waterford ..	70s. to 75s.
— Dublin	66s. to 68s.

SMITHFIELD, January 6.

This day's supply of Sheep and Beasts was, both as to numbers and quality, moderately good: of Calves and Porkers but limited—trade was, throughout dull—with Beef and Mutton at a depression of 2d: Veal, from 2d. to 4d. per stone: with Pork at Friday's quotations.

Full three-fifths of the beasts appeared to consist of about equal numbers of short-horns, Devons, and Welsh runts: the remainder of about equal numbers of Herefords, Scots, and Irish beasts, with about fifty Sussex beasts, a few Town's-end Cows, Staffords, &c.—About 1,600 of the beasts, chiefly short-horns, Devons, Welsh runts, and Herefords, with a few Scotch and Irish beasts, were from Lincolnshire, Leicestershire, and other of our northern grazing districts: about 700, for the most part Scots and Devons, with some few runts and short-horns, from Norfolk, Suffolk, Essex, and Cambridgeshire: about 100, chiefly Devons, Herefords, and runts, from our western and midland districts: about sixty, for the most part Sussex beasts, from Kent, Sussex, and Surrey; and most of the remainder, including the Town's-end Cows, from the stall-feeders, cow-keepers, &c., in the neighbourhood of London.

At least a moiety of the Sheep were new Leicesters, in about equal numbers of South Down and white-faced crosses; about a fourth South Downs; and the remaining fourth about equal numbers of old Leicesters, Kents, and Kentish half breeds, with a few pens of horned and polled Norfolks, horned Dorsets, horned and polled Scotch and Welsh sheep, &c.

MARK-LANE.—Friday, Jan. 10.

The arrivals this week are large. The prices rather lower than on Monday, with a dull market.

ALL the CAPITALS, except SIX, in the last Glasgow Lottery, were Shared and Sold by BISH, at his Offices, 13, Cornhill, 27, Poultry, and 138, Regent-street, and paid for in money on demand, and he has now on sale a great variety of Tickets and Shares for the SECOND GLASGOW LOTTERY, which will be all decided in ONE DAY,

TWENTY-SECOND OF THIS MONTH (JANUARY).

PRESENT PRICE:—

Ticket	£13 13 0
Half	£7 6 0
Quarter	3 15 6
Eighth	£1 18 6
Sixteenth ..	0 19 6

Country Orders, containing remittances, post paid, are attended to just as if the parties were present.

Observe, in consequence of London Bridge Improvements requiring BISH'S old office to be pulled down, BISH'S offices now are, 13, Cornhill, 27, Poultry, and 138, Regent-street, (about 20 doors from the Quadrant).

GLASGOW LOTTERY.

SWIFT and Co. being the authorised Agents for the Commissioners under the Act of Parliament, respectfully announce that the drawing of the Second Glasgow Lottery will take place at COOPER'S HALL, in the City of London, on

WEDNESDAY, the 22. of JANUARY,

In the usual manner of a State Lottery. The Scheme contains the following Capital Prizes:

1 of	£15,000	is	£15,000
1 —	10,000	—	10,000
1 —	5,000	—	5,000
1 —	3,000	—	3,000
1 —	2,000	—	2,000
1 —	1,500	—	1,500
4 —	1,000	—	4,000

Besides others of 500l., 400l., 200l., 100l., &c.

The money will be paid for the Prizes as soon as drawn, at SWIFT and Co.'s Offices.

No. 19, Cornhill, facing the Royal Exchange, No. 255, Regent's Circus, Oxford-street, No. 38, Haymarket, corner of Coventry-street.

Where the Tickets and Shares are on sale in great variety at the following Prices:—

Whole Ticket	£13 13 0
Half	£7 6 0
Quarter	3 15 6
Eighth	£1 18 6
Sixteenth ..	0 19 6

In the first Glasgow Lottery, SWIFT and Co. sold in Shares ONE of the THREE Prizes of 10,000l., the only 2,000 Prize, and three other Capitals, and paid the money for them as soon as drawn.

Printed by William Cobbett, Johnson's-court; and published by him, at 11, Noon-court, Fleet-street.

COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

VOL. 83.—No. 3.]

LONDON, SATURDAY, JANUARY 18TH, 1834.

[Price 1s. 2d.]



"PUBLIC CREDIT."

TO THE
READERS OF THE REGISTER.

Bolt-court, 16. January, 1834.

MEN OF SENSE,—Not gabbling, empty-skulled fools, who repeat words as they are repeated by magpies, jackdaws and parrots, and not with a thousandth part of the cadence of the starling, which the French call the *étourneau*, and which the English, when they rove about there, spending our taxes, or wasting the earnings of their industrious parents, describe as the dish in the whole world the most delicious, next after the robin-redbreasts, which the cunning bird-catchers furnish them up in whole platterfuls, while they would devour robins, wrens, or a hind quarter of the devil himself, if cooked up and well seasoned, to pamper their appetites and indulge them in their laziness: not this sort of creatures, which I can hardly call people; not to such, but, to men of sense, I address the remarks I am about to offer upon the subject of "PUBLIC CREDIT."

As in most other cases, senseless people dispute here, and, particularly, as in the case of education, they dispute (devil take them!) without ever ascertaining, or endeavouring to ascertain, *what the thing is* that they are disputing about. And, without ever attempting to define what is meant by the words "public credit," I have been abused by the whole of the gabbling and scribbling tribe, for, now, *just thirty years*, as "an enemy to public credit"; as wishing "to destroy public credit," which these bothered-skulled creatures sometimes call "*the credit of the country*." If it were confined to this motley crew of jabberers and scribblers, it would not be so much; but, never do we hear a speech from a Minister, about taxes or

finance, without having this phrase fired off upon us as his great gun; and, more shameful still, hardly have we seen a king's speech for the last forty years, which did not wind up with some profession, declaration, or pledge, about the maintenance of "public credit."

For myself, I have been a constant object of attack, for thirty whole years, as wishing to destroy "public credit;" and, though I am not named in the article which I am about to quote from Doctor Black, I am meant, and am accused of being a "designing man" "who seeks to pull down the framework of the constitution, and who coldly contemplates and advises the dissolution of PUBLIC CREDIT in this country." An old and true friend of mine, at the time when the storm ran very high against me, and when the purse was excessively low; when it was not very certain that the finances would afford another surloin of beef (and they must have been low indeed, to keep that out of my house, for a long time together); at this season, when there were three hundred newspapers, magazines, and reviews, all open-mouthed at me, he expressed his astonishment at seeing me so gay and full of spirit, observing that he should have died under it long ago. "Ah!" said I, "but you are not so blessed with that forbearance, that patient resignation, that meekness of spirit, which it has pleased God to bless me with, and which has sustained me under all these ten thousand volumes of lies and villanous abuse." And this was very true; but, as I draw towards the close, I am determined to show a little resistance; patient submission and resignation are very well, for thirty years; but, they are not to last to the end of the chapter; I am resolved, now, to resent the injuries that I have received; there is a time for all things, and the time is come, for seizing hold of these stupid calumniators, and either shake the breath out of their bodies, or sense into their skulls.

Before I go any farther, I shall, in pursuance of my good old course, insert

[Printed by W. Cobbett, Johnson's-court.]

the article (taken from a *Morning Chronicle* of about a week ago), and then make my remarks upon such parts of it as I deem worthy of particular observation; and especially on the subject of what this dunder-headed scribbler calls "PUBLIC CREDIT." The whole article is too long for insertion, and so abominably dull, as to make it presumable that it came from some grubbing and special-pleading pedant, with a mare's tail upon its head. It is not the writing of Doctor BLACK; the north of the Tweed never sent us any thing so dull as this. There is an *archness* in the nonsense of the Scotch feelosophers, which makes it readable. You say "curse the fellow," and toss down his stuff; but it does not set you asleep. Not thus with the article of which I am speaking, the writer of which seems to be a volunteer treasury-hack, not yet got into pay; not yet made a gentleman-travelling commissioner; nor actually upon the list of state paupers. He writes what would appear to be intended as a defence of the conduct of the Ministry; rails against Tories; points out the difficulties of Lord GREY; apologizes for things done and for things left undone; complains of the difficulties that Lord Grey has with *the King*; and from the King he comes to the "*destructives*," amongst whom he is pleased to number me, accusing me, as I said before, of being "*a designing man*, aiming "*at an overthrow of the frame-work of the constitution*, and coldly contemplating and advising the destruction of "*public credit in this country*." Now, men of sense, I beg you to read the article which is here inserted, and then to have the goodness to hear what I have to say in answer to this scrawling fool.

"Unhappily the reform of the constitution of the House of Commons was too long delayed, and under these circumstances popular disappointment was sure to follow the opening labours of the first real representatives of the people. Moreover, the worst effect of the corrupt and exclusive nomination system of election had been to prevent the natural forma-

tion of public character in those opulent classes of society from which our representatives are necessarily chosen. Throughout the kingdom the general inquiry is, 'Where are the public men better qualified to represent us?' The anomalous state of the two branches of the legislature—in the hostile and unreformed character of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal—presented a most formidable opposition to the principles and plans of *any* liberal administration. We have also frequently observed—and it cannot be too often impressed on the over-sanguine and ardent friends of liberty—that Lord GREY in the selection of his Cabinet laboured under peculiar difficulties and disadvantages. The state of parties did not allow him to form an exclusive Whig Government; and he must have encountered extraordinary and unknown contrariety of opinion in securing the co-operation and political agreement of his colleagues and various classes of supporters, not only in his plan of Parliamentary Reform, but in the general principles of his government. The royal prerogative, and the personal sentiments and individual views of a KING, further impose no common obstacles in the direct path of a British Prime Minister. The Reformers ought to give due weight to these grave considerations when indulging in excessive disappointment and condemnation against what is now fashionably termed a *juste-milieu* government; and they would do well to reflect more on the consequences of Tory successors to Lord GREY, and on the grievous impediments to better government which the Conservatives have placed and are strewing in his official path. We do not address ourselves to the small party, denominated '*Destructives*'—wild, or *designing* men, who seek to pull down the *frame-work of the constitution*, and who can coldly contemplate and advise the dissolution of "*public credit in this country*—we believe they are few, and we know that they have no present weight in

"society; but we address ourselves to the *instructed* and *principled* Reformers, who are the numerous and honest friends of order, and of the *progressive improvement* of our *national institutions*. We are not now going to discuss the question of the occasional expediency of producing great changes in the condition of society by political revolutions. When Governments, *instituted for the benefit of the people, utterly fail to answer their end*, a nation, possessed of the power, always did and always will overturn tyranny and tyrants—on the indisputable principle that *all rights may be maintained by force when other means fail*; and it would be well for the *Tory Press* to ponder on this position, and to contemplate the present heaving political state of the Continental Governments of Europe. But the unperalleled moral revolution lately effected in this great country has facilitated changes by which old and imperfect institutions must be progressively and peaceably accommodated to present wants; and in no country is a violent political concussion of society so unnecessary, and in no nation would it be more destructive or socially fatal to the present generation of the people. Our deliverance is in our own hands."

Now then, here are two charges against me by this ministerial hack: the first is, "that I wish to destroy the frame-work of the constitution"; the second is, "that I coldly contemplate and advise the destruction of *public credit* in this country."

Now, not "first of the first," as a stupid special-pleading well-stuffed parson would say, with the name of logic upon his tongue, and with a complete absence of it from his brains: not first of the first, but first of the *last*, namely, this famous "*public credit*"; and let me begin by asking this mare's-tail political logician, WHAT "*PUBLIC CREDIT*" IS? This is the great fault of scrawlers of this description; they *never define* the thing that they are disputing about. A crew of them, wrangling with one another, resemble a company in a smoking room

at a public-house, bawling and thumping the table for a whole evening about some subject of contest, and going reeling home at midnight without knowing the meaning of the thing that they have been bawling about.

"*Public credit*," if there be any meaning in those words, which should attach us to the thing, means a great and all-pervading confidence between men in general, amongst those persons in general who compose the public: it means that there is a general confidence amongst men, and that, according to the old saying, a man's word is his bond. I have heard, for instance, that Mr. POULETT THOMSON'S *father* could send out a score of ships to Russia upon his bare word with regard to the terms. When confidence like this is prevalent in a nation it is worth a great deal: it is money in its most valuable shape: it is real riches: makes a ship move without a charter-party, and without all those delays which a want of confidence is sure to occasion. I remember an old man in Hampshire, that we used to call "the Shepherd," who used to go to the great fairs in the west, and, without any writings from first to last, used to bring home a score of sheep for one, two score for another, three score for another, and so on, tell the owner the price of them when he brought them home, pay him or receive from him the balance, and not a letter scrawled upon paper; no questions asked as to whom the sheep were bought of, or any thing at all about the matter. "Here's forty pounds, shepherd; bring me a score of ewes." If the forty pounds were too little, the shepherd had the balance to receive; if it was too much, he had to pay the balance back, after deducting so much a head for his labour. Now, where the people of a country are in the habit of confiding in each other in this manner; where a country is full of old Mr. THOMSONS and of shepherd HOLMESES, then it may be truly said that *that country possesses public credit*; and we all know but too well what is become of this *public credit* in this country: we know that, in exact proportion that the infamous paper money

has increased, this really valuable public credit has diminished; and that now no man trusts another, unless he has him bound upon a piece of paper with a stamp upon it.

By "public credit," this mare's-tail crew mean the capacity which the Government has of borrowing money and contracting debts, to be paid by the people of the present and of future generations. These reptiles call the debt the "public debt"; the army they call "the King's"; the navy is "royal"; the Ministers are "his Majesty's"; the tax-officers, and even the expenders of the money, are engaged in "his Majesty's service": it is the "royal treasury," and the "King's exchequer"; and both the attorney and solicitor general are "his Majesty's legal advisers"; but it is the "*public debt*"; that is to say, the *people's* debt; and this is what was observed by Paine long enough ago. This crafty application of words was pointed out by him as one of the means made use of to delude and defraud the people. Why not call it the "royal debt"? Why not call it "his Majesty's debt"; and why not call "*public credit*" the "*royal credit*," or "his Majesty's *credit*"? since these reptiles clearly mean by public credit the power of the King's Ministers to continue to borrow money and to make the people pay the interest of it. This is what they call the credit of the country; this has been the destruction of the real credit of the country; and I do most anxiously wish to see this curse itself utterly rooted out and annihilated.

Amongst the effects of this public credit are the burdens which the people have to bear, and of which they so justly complain. I will, in a future *Register*, insert an extract from the twelfth or last-published number of my History of George the Fourth, which will pretty well clear up the meaning and tendency of the thing called "public credit." But has not the accursed thing hanged a debt of eight hundred millions about our necks; does it not cause an army of a hundred thousand men to be kept up in these islands at the end of eighteen years of profound peace; has it not

caused revolution upon revolution in the property of the country ever since the year 1797? If the accursed thing had never existed should we have seen the bill of 1819, the other bill of 1822, the panic of 1825, the next stupid bill of 1826, and the still more stupid bill of 1833, which is to make Bank of England notes as good as ever French assignats were, in the month of August next; should we now see all the industrious part of the people of Scotland chained by droves to the chariot-wheels of the paper-money makers of that country; and should we now be standing like BOBADIL before DOWNRIGHT, trembling at the holding up of the hands of Russia and America? Here, in this one fact, is a complete definition and explanation of the words "public credit." Every man in England and Scotland and Ireland, who is not a Jew, or who has not sold his soul to the devil for the sake of money; every such man says, "We ought to go to war with Russia": the answer is, "If you go to war you *destroy public credit*." That is enough; there is the definition; public credit means, a thing which renders it impossible for a nation to go to war, be the provocation what it may; because, if it defend its honour, defend its rights, provide for its safety and independence, it does harm to *public credit*; therefore, *public credit is a thing inconsistent with the honour, greatness, and safety of a nation*.

And, this is the thing, for my coldly contemplating and advising the destruction of which, this volunteer mare's-tail monster has the audacity to call me a designing man! The old Lord CHATHAM was also, then, "a designing man," and a "destructive"; for, in every man's recollection is his memorable saying: that, "in proportion as the nation sank, "the thing called *public credit* rose; "and in proportion as the spirit of the "nation rose, the thing called *public credit* sank." The observation of this great man had led him to this conclusion in his time: what would he have said, if he had lived unto our day, when, if an Act of Parliament were passed, providing that no war were to take place, though the French were to

take possession of the Isle of Wight, the hellish funds would rise ten per cent.!

Amongst other of the evils of this accursed thing called "public credit," is one which we have now before our eyes. Russia wants money wherewith to conquer Turkey, and to shut us out of the Levant; to injure, to degrade, to pull down England. And, where does she get the money? Borrows it in England; and there is her price of stocks in the list, put up at the more than diabolical Exchange. Thirty millions a year are torn from the people to give to fundholders, tax-eaters, and usurers of various descriptions: these usurers lend some of the money to Russia; and thus, with taxes raised in England, Russia fits out fleets, wherewith to take away the power of England; aye, and while there were people here setting up an outcry against the cruelties inflicted by the people of England against the *Poles*. England was thus sending her taxes to the Russians, to enable them to inflict those cruelties; and here are these monsters of usurers now, at this very moment, lending money to Miguel and to Pedro, at the same time, being pretty confident that one or the other will be able to pay them, and they not caring which.

Usurers; that is to say, men created solely by what is called "public credit," know nothing of country; their King and their God, too, are gold; and, therefore, it is that we have seen them employ their money to send powder and ball to the enemy in time of actual war; but, much more frequently, to send the enemy money. During the war with France, there was an act passed at the beginning of that war, making it high treason to lend or give money directly or indirectly in any manner whatsoever, to any person or persons in France, or on behalf of any such persons. Lord JOHN ELDON knows how difficult he found it to draw up a bill to prevent the damnable usurers of England from sending money to France to carry on the war against England herself. The very necessity of such an act proves to what an extent

Englishmen must have been unnaturalized, or, as the French call it, *dénaturé*. JOHN did his best; whoever reads the act, will say that DRACO could not have done better: it seemed to provide against every possible device of cunning and of fraud, and there was, at the conclusion of every one of the numerous sections, the words, "shall suffer death accordingly"; that is to say, according to the law of high treason at that time; and that is to say, cutting off the head, while the body was not yet dead, ripping out the guts, cutting the body into four quarters, and placing them at the disposal of his Majesty.

Clever, however, as JOHN was (and one would have thought that a man must have spent half his life in drawing up such a bill), MAMMON over-reached him before the war was over. The bill made it death to send a bushel of potatoes to France; but, mark how MAMMON over-reached John! The French marched into Spain, or threatened to do it: *they made Spain give them up Louisiana, as an offering of peace*; THE AMERICANS BOUGHT LOUISIANA OF THE FRENCH; and, they BORROWED THE MONEY IN ENGLAND, WHEREWITH TO PAY THE FRENCH! The millions were sent from England to America, which was at peace with England, and did not come within John's bill; the Americans sent the money to France, for her to carry on the war against England with; and, if the American accounts be true, that Lord John is an American stockholder. John is at this very moment receiving interest for part of the money so given to France!

Now, do I accuse my Lord ELDON of any evil intention in all this? Not at all: he himself does not know anything at all about the matter. If the statement were true, though I do not say that it was, though it appeared in all the American newspapers, that he was a great holder of American stock, he was certainly receiving interest on this account, because the Louisiana loan made part of the amount of the American debt. But, if it be not doubted

that he was thus acting without design and without knowledge; without suspecting that he was doing any thing of the sort, how are we to suppose that the common grubbing Jew and loan-monger and money-monger can ever be restrained by any considerations of country?

Besides reading in the official reports of the American Congress, that English noblemen and gentlemen are great stockholders there, we read, that many of them hold shares in a grand canal which is making in Pennsylvania. So that, English taxes and English rents and English profits from the labour of the people are thus sent away out of England, to improve other countries, and make them richer and stronger than they are; and this could not be done, were it not for the damnable thing called "public credit"; at the bare sound of which words, nevertheless, we are bidden to cheer and to pull off our hats, or, if we dare keep silence, to have the teeth chattering in our heads.

It is this accursed "public credit" which has drawn the wealth of the country into great masses; which has destroyed the little gentlemen all over the kingdom; which has swelled up a comparatively few manufacturers and traders to a monstrous size, crushed all the smaller ones, and of millions of happy working people made millions of slaves; it is this accursed thing, that has turned ten farms into one, made the agricultural millions into two classes, of few masters and all the rest slaves; it is this accursed thing that has destroyed all harmony in rural life, driven the people out of the churches that were filled with their forefathers, made every man who has nothing, hate every one who has something, and that has finally led to a state of things, the sight of which makes every man of sense exclaim, "There must be an end to this!"

And, yet, this mares'-tail vagabond called me "a designing man" and "a destructive," upon the ground of my "coldly contemplating the destruction" of a monster like this! The mare's-tail tells a lie. I do not "coldly" contemplate it: let me not be accused

of that, at any rate: the contemplation of it warms my mind: I hope for many things, but, of all the things in this world, the destruction of this monster is what I hope for most ardently. To this monster, we owe the MONOPOLIES, which are equal in amount of evil, even to the fifty millions of taxes. We have seen a wretch with a pen behind his ear, born to sweep a shop, and to pull off his hat to the purchaser of a pennyworth of tape: we have seen reptiles like this swell up, in a few years, to estate and power beyond that of Jews; having establishments more numerous than those of a sovereign prince; turning a mere shop into a place like a barrack, with clerks regularly drilled, and mustered daily at roll-call. We have seen, and do daily see, one single sleek broad-brimmed unbaptized and buttonless blackguard, with as much wheat and flour at his sole command and disposal, as is grown in half a county; another with brim equally broad, we see seizing upon the cheese of half a county; another upon the butter of half Ireland, and another upon the bacon; and, if the oxen and sheep have as yet escaped their monopolizing claws, it is only because of the physical impossibility of keeping them, killing them, and preserving their flesh in masses. As to malt and hops, who is there that can drink one drop of beer, not paying more to the monopolist than he pays to the Government itself?

These things were not so, until the younger Pitt adopted as a measure to be adhered to, that very thing which his father had taught him to shun and to abhor. Thus, for the present (for it is impossible to exhaust the subject in so small a compass) I have a definition and an explanation of the meaning of the words "public debt," which means, in one short sentence, a thing fully inconsistent with the preservation of the power, with the safety, with the honour, and with the happiness of a nation; and, if there were any thing yet wanting to my justification in wishing for the destruction of this accursed thing, have we not got it in the instructive lesson now afforded us by the United States

of America? Very curious, indeed, it is, that there are two words, or party signals, now ringing throughout that extensive country, inhabited by more than twenty millions of people, and consisting of more than twenty distinct states. The signal of one party is "PUBLIC CREDIT": the signal of the other party is "PUBLIC LIBERTY"! There: that is enough: there is a definition at once, both positive and negative; there is a definition of what it is not, and by implication, of *what it is*. At the commencement of the American first war, "loyalty" was the signal on one side "no Stamp Act," was the signal on the other side. This latter signal said that the Stamp Act and loyalty must go together; and the signal of "public liberty" now made use of means, that what is called "public credit" is inconsistent with it; and the news from America tells us, that the House of Representatives, consisting of two hundred and twenty-nine members, have now decided in favour of public liberty and against public credit; against that infernal monster which has been taking the farms from the farmer, the shops and the ships from the traders, and making hundreds and thousands of paupers in a country that never heard the sound of the word pauper before. Am I, then, to be abused by this mare's-tail vagabond this lurking commissioner *in futuro*; this reptile with brief-bag, I will be bound for him, as empty as his skull, or stuffed with that dirty shirt which is unwashed because he cannot spare it to the washerwoman; am I, to use the words of SUMER, to be railed at by this dead dog, and not endeavour to get at him through the shield of the ten bull-hides of Doctor Black! Well, but, so much for "public credit"; and now let me come to the *second* ground of accusation against me.

As connected with this subject of "public credit," I beg leave to refer to the twelfth number of the HISTORY OF GEORGE THE FOURTH, just published. It is not sufficient that we dwell upon passing events and transactions: those that have already past are of equal and of sometimes more importance. In the

number of which I have spoken, will be seen a very strong instance of the monstrous effects of this damnable thing called "PUBLIC CREDIT."

This second ground of accusation is, that I am endeavouring to inflict destruction on the whole "frame-work of the Government." Here again we are in want of a *definition*. WHAT IS THE "frame-work of the Government"? Will the mare's-tail condescend to tell us what the "frame-work of the Government" is? Because until we know *what it is*, none of my readers can tell whether I wish to "pull it down" or not; and it is of the intention to pull it down, that I am accused.

I have not room here, nor have I time, to go into this subject, in the manner that I ought to do, if I meddle with it at all; but, I may just ask Dr. Black, whether the Established Church do not form a part of the frame-work of the Government; and whether he himself be not stripped in shirt, and pelting away with his hat off, and smelling a mile off, and hammering with his blunt and battered grub-axe, at the very foundation of that piece of frame-work, that main pillar, without which, let me tell him, that the rest of the frame-work can no more stand than he could stand if his legs were chopped off. Pretty nonsense, indeed, to accuse me of an intention to pull down the frame-work of the Government, when the Ministers themselves are actually at work to knock down this pillar; and, in fact, when real revolution, produced by "public credit," and by an adherence to Peel's Bill, is "the order of the day."

Though I have not time to go fully into this subject, I cannot refrain from making a quotation from a book recently published by JAMES B. BERNARD, Esq. (Fellow of King's College, Cambridge), from the shop of Ridgway, in Piccadilly; which contains observations, the truth of which must be felt by every man of sense. He is speaking of the disorders introduced into society by the new-fangled doctrine which puts children above parents, and which destroys, in fact, that principle of obe-

science which is absolutely necessary to the preservation of the real freedom of a people, as well as to their domestic happiness, and the greatness of their country.

"Youths are daily becoming more and more independent, and indifferent to the remonstrances of their parents, as in America, where few fathers derive any comfort from their children after their arriving at the age of manhood; such now expect to be indulged in all their wants at their father's expense, and to live a life of ease, indolence, and pleasure, a burden upon him, without troubling themselves as to whence the money comes.

"The whole of this is the fruit of civil liberty (falsely so called), which has been gradually unloosening every bond which was intended to keep society together, and undermining its foundations, till scarcely any bond or foundation remains.

"The march of intellect (according to the phrase invented by the self-laudatory and arrogant spirit of this self-governed and most conceited nation) is nothing but the march of youth against age, of inexperience against experience, of children against parents, and servants against masters; of cunning against simplicity and honesty, of folly against wisdom, of the idle against the industrious, of consumers against producers, and of money against land: it is the advancement of all the vices that have ever characterized human nature, and the retrogradation of the virtues; in short, it is the march of moral and political ignorance, cant, and superstition, opposed to every thing that has hitherto been deemed valuable by man. Never was the English nation half so ignorant of all really useful knowledge as it is at the present moment; never was it so completely the dupe of every political, moral, or religious impostor, who starts up to betray it, as now."

Nothing ever was more true than this. Children now-a-days, look upon it that they have a right to every thing

that their fathers can earn; and that he is kept alive for the sole purpose of administering to their wants and their pleasures. How often have I inveighed against this; and how often have I ascribed it to the fashionable idleness of the age; and how often have I ascribed that fashionable idleness to that system of paper money, or "public credit," or swindling, or call it what you will, which put it into the minds of all the young people that they ought to have a living without work and without patient industry! This has been my accusation against this abominable system of public credit for thirty-three long years, and, I might say, for forty. The apprenticeships are for three years, very frequently, instead of seven. That invaluable rivalry amongst workmen; that desire to excel, in their several professions of handicraft, is gone. It is just the same in agriculture: a shifty race, having no ambition, no desire to be thought the best ploughmen, the best mowers, the best hurdle-makers, the best thatchers; adroit at nothing but in verifying the old joke of their forefathers, making loiter-pins to wind down the sun with. This pithy reproach has now become the rule of action. But, it is not the fault of the working people; nor is it their fault that the children are disobedient to their parents. The cottagers and the labourers have been stripped by this infernal system of taxing and funding; their clocks and brass kettles and silver buckles and Sunday coats, have all been taken away: they have nothing left to make the children view them with respect: like wild animals, they have nothing to call their own, and no place to be called their place of abiding; therefore, like the young ones of wild animals, they treat the old ones with disregard. "Pull down the framework of the Government, indeed!" It wants no pulling down: all the pins and screws and braces and plates and lentils are rendered null: there wants but a single knock with the head of the axe, and down comes the whole thing; and, it is in *this state* of the affairs, that the mare's-tail vagabond who ought

to know that I have been at work above thirty years, in order to prevent this final knock down, calls me a "designing man," aiming at a pulling down of the frame-work of the Government. Even in 1822 or 1823, when the Norfolk petition was presented, the revolution might have been prevented: now, I do not say that it can; and, I am by no means prepared to make even the most trifling effort to prevent that which I have for thirty long years been abused and persecuted for having most sincerely endeavoured to prevent.

WM. COBBETT.

MEAT MARKET.

It is said that not less than a thousand sheep have been sent up to the fund-holders in this one week by the steam-vessels, from the ports of Scotland and from Hull. So that these devils are aided and assisted by every invention that can emanate from the human mind. It is said that this influx of mutton arises from the ruinous state of the farmers in the North, who are driven to send away their dead sheep, in order to get what they will fetch, in order to pay their rent and taxes. So that, first, they are ruined by these monsters of usurers in London, and then, in order to scrape together the means of standing upon their legs a little longer, they send up their meat and sell it at half price to these very usurers. Every steam-boat; every rail-road; every invention for bringing things cheaply to the settlements of these vermin, they derive the profit from, while, by the same means injury is inflicted on every body else. What is poor old Lord GREY to do with a thing like this! He has, it seems, appointed another auditor of the Exchequer, though I do really hope that that is not true. If it be true, the fund-holders will accuse him of robbing them of four thousand pounds a year. His great supporter, Doctor Black, says, that the parsonage-houses and parsons' gardens and little fields "will fetch a good deal of money"! Oh, Lord! I thought I should live to see

it, and I used to tell the Hampshire parsons so; now the thing is come, I really look at it with astonishment. The fund-holders are like a great mammoth turned loose amongst a race of little animals: they form one prodigious, devilish being, and they devour all that they come at. Whereabouts they will begin upon the church I do not know; but, who ever has seen a cow set on upon a great scrambling Siberian cabbage, with a stalk as big as your arm, and a head spreading as wide as a table, may have some idea of the meal that they are going to make of the church. She begins at the tips of the leaves, and on she goes, pulling and jerking and sending it down her throat, all round the tips, then down the stalks; at last she comes to the stump, and when she has got that down to within an inch or two of the ground, she finishes, and lies down herself. She never stops to grind, as she goes on; but sends it all down, wholesale, into her maw; and then she begins to bring it up again, bit by bit, in performance of what the learned call *ruminating*, and what the country people call *chewing her cud*; and, thus, finishing as she goes she sends it back again to consolidate it into her carcass. This is precisely the way that the debt devil will work with the property of the church: to begin on the out-sides, and get it down into its maw, bit by bit; and having got it there, it will then sell it out again, and by some means or another, turn it into money; and the poor parsons will be just like a brood of caterpillars, which the cow, when she seized hold of the plant, shook to the ground. How long it will be before this monster will come, and, in the language of RICARDO, propose to sell gentlemen's estates out-and-out, and to take the money, I cannot precisely say; nor does it much signify; for when I look at their game laws, their new trespass-laws, their enclosures of the commons, their having given themselves a prior claim to every chair and table and blanket and sheet and bed of the ruined tenant; when I recollect STURGES BOURNE's bills, which made a complete revolution as to the

laws and rights relating to the poor; when I think of transportation for poaching, and of hanging for resisting poachers; and when I think of a Bourbon police to take care of what are called gentlemen's houses; why, really, when I think of all this, and of those who raise the day's living upon potatoes and salt, when I think of these things, it is impossible for me not to hesitate before I express lamentation at the approaching advance of the fund-holders.

AGRICULTURAL AFFAIRS.

At the end of this article will be found an article on the qualities and cultivation of mangel wurzel; but, having made an alteration as to my mode of selling the field seeds, I must notice that alteration here, in order that customers may be prepared for it. The Swedish turnip seed and the mangel wurzel seed, both of which I know to be as good and as true as ever were raised in the world, I have hitherto sold at different prices, varying with the quantity purchased by a single person. For instance, a person purchasing ten pounds of seed, had to pay a higher price than a person purchasing a hundred pounds of seed. I have found great inconvenience in this. I have done the same with regard to the Italian clover seed, and have found the same inconvenience there also. The same as to bags of garden seeds. If a person purchased one bag, he paid more for it than if he purchased ten or twenty; that is to say, more for that one bag in proportion than for a parcel of the ten or twelve bags. Besides this, having the appearance of wishing to take more from the person of small means than from the person of large ones, in proportion to all he purchased, it having the appearance of hardness, and of a favouring of the rich, though it was intended solely to meet the greater trouble and expense of doing up many small parcels, and of attending to many small purchases, instead of having to attend to only one large purchase: besides this, other inconveniences have attended this diversity of prices; and,

therefore, I shall, after this time, make but one price, whether it be for a single bag or a single pound of seed, or for many of either. I have now some very fine locust-seed. Those that have read my book, called "The Woodlands," know how to raise ten thousand plants out of one pound of seed. Those that have not read the book, will very likely not get ten plants out of the pound of seed, though the seed were exactly the same.

For the reasons above-stated, I shall sell my seeds in future at the following prices, *without any charge for bags*, be the quantity great or be it small.

Deep red mangel wurzel seed	9d. a pound.
Swedish turnip seed, which I warrant to be the finest and truest that ever was raised in England ..	9d. a pound.
Italian clover seed	1s. 3d. a pound.
Locust seed	8s. a pound.
Bags of seed for large gardens (the seeds tied up in paper bags, and those sewed up in a canvass bag), with a printed list of the seeds in the inside, along with a manuscript card of my writing, with the following words on it, "Garden seeds, raised at Normandy farm, in 1833, by Wm. Cobbett".	
	.25s. each.
Bags for small gardens, having all the same sorts of seeds but in half the quantity of the preceding, with printed list and card the same	
	12s. 6d. each.

MANGEL WURZEL.

THIS plant, amongst those who cultivated which, in England, I was one of the very first, after its introduction by Dr. LITSON; this plant is now become of great importance in agriculture,

though the common farmers know, as yet, but little of it; and, I hear, that it is supplanting *grain* (*barley* and *big*) in the making of *spirits*: pity, that that which is so fit to make *pork*, *butter*, and *cheese*, should be applied to the making of poison! This plant wants *stacking*, and covering from the frost: and, in this respect *only* is it not superior to even the *Swedish turnip*. On land of the same quality, it will bear a greater crop; it is, pound for pound, more efficacious in the feeding of cattle, in the producing of fat and of milk, and in the feeding and rearing of pigs and keeping of hogs. It is as good for *butter* and *cheese* as *grass* is; turnips are not. It will keep good and sound and fresh to a later time in the spring than the Swedes will so keep. It is more easily and surely obtained than the Swedes, not being subject to destruction from the *fly*. It will *transplant* as well as the Swedes, and nothing can transplant better. My son has, at his farm (for he has the *management* of it) this year, more than a *hundred tons*, about one half sowed and the other *transplanted*. The advantages of transplanting are very great; the work may be done any where between 20. June and 10. July. So that the crops may follow *tares* (called *vetches* in some parts), *early peas*, and even *clover cut for hay*. If sowed, it must occupy the ground from the 1. May, or thereabouts; and there is not so much time to prepare the ground.

However, we must have this year's *farming at Normandy*, before the public can have a diary of all the proceedings, and can be told exactly how people ought to proceed to get this crop as well as others. I took the farm, 160 acres, at 1*l.* per acre, in order, 1st to have a *home* for the rest of my life, away from smoke and noise and nonsense; and, next, to show to the whole nation *how much human sustenance* could be made to come out of such a piece of land. Men differ in their tastes: this is my taste.

If, indeed, these pursuits and this place of residence were *incompatible* with those of the *pen* and with the

"*graver matters of the law*," there would be some pretence for disputing the point with me. But, so far is this from being the fact, that it is the *contrary of the fact*. I never wrote so much as in *farm-houses*, and mostly amidst my *own farming*. The *ENGLISH GRAMMAR* was written amidst my farming in Long Island, and so was the *YEAR'S RESIDENCE*, which was, indeed, in great part, an account of that very *farming*. *COTTAGE ECONOMY* was written in a farm-house in Sussex, and under the instructions of the farmer's wife. *FRENCH GRAMMAR* was half written at a farm-house in Hampshire, and the other half, at a window looking out into garden and meadows of an inn at Bagshot. The *GARDENING BOOK* must have come out of the garden. The *WOODLANDS*, the *CORN BOOK*, the *EMIGRANT'S GUIDE*, the *ADVICE TO YOUNG MEN*, were all written in, and sent to the press from, *the farm-house* at Barn-Elm farm, in Surrey.

To be sure, I *owe* this account to nobody; but I think it right to give it, in order to refute the notion, that, because I am a farmer, I must mean to "*give up politics*," as it is called. "*Give up*," indeed! Why I have never followed them as a *trade*. I have meddled with them because it was my liking to do it, and because I was able to do it with effect; and my *farming* has certainly been one great *cause of that ability*. Apropos of farming producing books: my great work of all, the *HISTORY OF THE PROTESTANT REFORMATION*; that which did more in producing *CATHOLIC EMANCIPATION* than all the other causes put together; that which first taught the people of England the *origin of tithes* and their *lawful object*; taught them *how this present sort of parsons came to be in England*; taught them how there came to be *lay tithes*; how there came to be *poor-rates* and *church-rates*; that work, which first *proved* to the people, that *tithes were public property*; that work, which absolutely created, as to these important matters, a *new mind* in the mass of the people of England; that work, translated into all modern languages, printed

in the Vatican at Rome, and at the Royal Press in Spain, while immense editions have been made in republican America; that work, which is now, at last, *pulling down the unjust though mighty power of the church of England*; that work, though written for the press in England, and chiefly at Kensington, was, in fact, *invented and made amidst my farming in Long Island*. For, there it was that I read for it, made all my *researches*, laid my *plan*, and noted down the main *arguments*. At one time, I was about to begin publishing the work there; and, those who read the *Register* of that time will recollect, that I gave notice of such my intention, and that my notice excited a *joking sneer* from the late Mr. Perry ("gentle dulness ever loves a joke"); but, it was a thing not to be hastily set about; and, therefore, it was put off till I got back to England, and had again got a house over my head. But, the work fairly *belongs to the farming in Long Island*.

If there still wanted any thing to prove, that FARMING is not incompatible with AUTHORIZING, *this very paper* that I am now writing might suffice for the purpose; for here have I, setting out with an intention merely to notice the qualities of the Mangel Wurzel root, been led along into an essay on agriculture, through that into a history of authorship, to a conclusion relative to the fearful doom of our "Protestant Church as *by law established*," and, finally, to stop just upon the brink of asking my Lord JOHN RUSSELL, whether he recollects the warning, which (from *Barn-Elm farm* too) I gave him, when I asked him these questions: "Now that your lordship has repealed the TEST AND CORPORATION ACTS, *how long* do you think it will be before the CATHOLICS WILL SIT IN PARLIAMENT? How long after they sit in Parliament do you think it will be, BEFORE TITHES WILL BE DECLARED TO BE PUBLIC PROPERTY, AND CEASE TO BE PAID TO PARSONS? And, how long after tithes shall be declared to be PUBLIC PROPERTY, do you think it will be, before ABBEY-

"LANDS also shall be declared to be PUBLIC PROPERTY?" Just upon the brink of asking my Lord JOHN, whether he recollected my having put these tickling questions to him, in 1828, the rumbling of a cart lifted my eyes to the kitchen window, through which I saw a load going into the yard, the *red colour* of the contents of which reminded me, that I was merely writing a notice about the qualities of MANGEL WURZEL!

WM. COBBETT.

N.B. All gentlemen who keep cows for milk and butter, ought to have Mangel Wurzel for winter food.

NATIONAL REGENERATION SOCIETY.

(Continued from page 114.)

And this, it is said, in effect is necessary, otherwise we shall lose our foreign trade. Better would it be to lose our foreign trade, and even to forbid the exercise of any mechanic art whatever, as was the case with the Spartans in the days of Lycurgus, than that those employed in factories should continue to be the slaves they now are. Would to God these factory gentlemen would look at home, and see how they have more than three articles of their manufacture taken from them now to pay the Jews, when, in 1815, they paid only one such article; and, as a consequence of the increased exaction for the Jews, made upon those who cultivate the land, the manufacturers have also three pieces of their manufacture to pay for corn, where they should only pay one piece. Much better would it be for the manufacturers, (and it is their duty) to turn their attention and put a stop to such unjust and iniquitous exactions, from the productive classes of society. In doing this, their time and their talents might be much better employed, than in promoting factory regulation bills, that shall enable those, who are unfeeling enough, to extend the labour of their adult work-people to sixteen hours a day, as the bill passed in the last session of Parliament does; and, if I mistake not, such was the design of the contrivers of

it.* Was it for the purpose of increasing the income of the Jews?

"Oh! no," says the supporter of vested rights, "it was for no such purpose, there was no such design. It was to promote our foreign trade. America, France, Switzerland, and other countries, are now our formidable competitors, and unless we can produce cheaper than they, we shall lose the trade, and our country will be ruined." This appears so plausible to the manufacturers, that they follow up the cry, and by excessive production, commit a suicidal act, to support the avarice of the Jews.

These factory gentlemen might not be aware, that the competitors they dread would try to imitate us in every species of tyranny we may adopt, rather than abandon their manufacturing pursuits; and that they have many advantages which we can never possess while we continue the taxed people we are. Look at America, with her freedom from debt, her high-protecting tariff duties, her cheap food, and the raw material at home; and at the continental manufacturers, with corn and labour so much cheaper than in this country, and then let these gentlemen ask themselves, that, were it desirable, which it is not, that we should force these competitors out of the trade, is there any rational ground for thinking that we should be successful in any attempt we may make to do so?

No; it cannot be: to secure a good trade to the producers in this country, the supply must be diminished, in order to obtain profits; and to continue them, the means of the productive classes at home must be increased, in a ratio correspondent with any augmentation that may be made in production. This would place the people of this country in a state of independence and comfort, such as can never be effected by any increase or extension of trade with foreigners; the tendency of which is rather to destroy our independence than to promote it.

Although the apprehended danger to our foreign trade is not an objection

See Appendix No. 3.

urged by you against the proposed regulation of "eight hours' work for twelve hours' wages," yet as it is so often and prominently put forward, you will, I am sure, sir, excuse a few remarks on this point; and I might first call on those who constantly join in this cuckoo cry, to prove that the productive classes have benefited in any way by the increase of foreign trade, that has been going on the last eighteen years: and if they will not forget that the productive classes engaged in the cotton trade got more by 237 per cent. for manufacturing, in 1815, than they got in 1832; and that the masters and work-people together, the number of whom must have been double in 1832, to what it was in 1815 (and ought to have been much more), and that the larger number collectively had a much less command over the necessities and comforts of life, for working up 17,300 bags of cotton a week, in 1832, than the lesser number collectively had for working up 6,500 bags a week in 1815; if they do not forget this fact, they will find such proof more difficult than they are aware of; nay, they will find that it cannot be given.

I might also ask them to inquire, whether in 1824, the year in which the consumption of cotton was 11,500 bags a week, about what it would be again if the eight hours' regulation be adopted, and which year, although so often boasted of, as a year of great prosperity by those who knew nothing about it, was the worst year, to those engaged in the cotton manufacture, of any year between 1814 and 1824, as reference to the sum received for labour, expenses, and profit in table No. 1, column 5, will show. I might ask them, if in this year 1824, or in any other year preceding it, the foreign trade was not better than it has ever been since, and if the manufacturer had not better profits, the work-people better wages, and the merchants exporting goods more satisfactory orders, and more certain and better returns, and for want of which since, many respectable merchants have been reduced to bankruptcy and ruin, many more have

quitted business, and the manufacturers have had to add to their own business that of a merchant, with a view to make out of both the profit they previously had on manufacturing *only*, and in securing which they have completely failed. I might ask them all this, and the answer would be in the affirmative.

I might ask them further, to show me, if they could, that as we had a better foreign trade, a better home trade, better wages for the work-people, better profits for their employers, and much more satisfaction to both, when we worked up two-thirds of the quantity of cotton we do now; I might ask them to show me, why we should not have these things again, if the time of labour in factories were reduced to eight hours a day, and the present full day's wages paid; and I challenge any of them, or any of those whose dupes the manufacturers are, to show me that such would not be the consequences, of carrying into effect the objects of the Regenerating Society.*

Foreign trade then, or no foreign trade, they have taken their eggs to a pretty market, at any rate; and seeing that their manufactures were of the same intrinsic value for the use of men in 1832, that they were in 1815, that they would make as many garments of the same sort, at one period as at the other, it would be well for them, while they are pursuing the inquiry, to put this question to themselves, who gets the two garments, two pieces, or two pounds of twist, which we now lose out of every three that we produce?

Methinks I hear some freetrader say, "The foreigner gets them to be sure, and he'll have them too, if not from us, our competitors in America, France, and Switzerland, will give them; they can produce them cheaper than we can, because they have no corn laws, and they have bread cheaper and wages lower, and we must either sell our goods as cheap as our foreign rivals do, or we shall be driven out of the market, our manufacturing population will be thrown

"out of employment, the land cannot keep them, and universal anarchy will be the consequence."

Well then, Mr. Freetrader, I suppose, that to continue our foreign trade, and put a stop to our rival competitors abroad, and also to secure profits to our manufacturers, who say trade is in a *sound and healthy* state, but one and all of whom agree that there is an absence of profit, and that capital will leave the country unless profits be secured; to do this, I suppose, sir, we must work, all above eighteen years of age employed in factories, sixteen hours a day, in order that we may make the two garments, two pieces, and two pounds of twist, we now lose, and which, you say, the foreigner now gets, into three of these things, and by this course annihilate our foreign rivals at once, and thus place ourselves in the enviable situation of making the subjects of Great Britain manufacture all the clothing that is necessary to supply the whole world. "Oh! no, no, no," says he, "we must have the corn laws off, bread cheaper, and wages lower, and then our foreign rivals will grow corn, instead of going on with manufactures, and they will give us *their* corn in return for *our* manufactures, and we shall never look behind us again."

I am afraid this is something like the twaddle which is talked among the manufacturers, and by which their minds are blinded, and a view of their situation, utterly at variance with the truth, is entertained.

Now, let us see how the case stands. Foreign trade, deserving of our encouragement, consists in this country's exchanging its surplus produce or manufactures for such surplus produce or manufacture of any other country, as may be exchanged without endangering the safety and well-being of the productive classes in this country. But if the surplus wealth created by the industrious classes in this country, be exchanged or given away for foreign productions, of little or no value whatever to those who created the wealth (and a great many almost useless

* See Appendix, No. 4.

articles of luxury, imported into this country, in return for our manufactures, are of this description), no justification can be set up for continuing a system of over-working those who produce the wealth in this country, to foster and uphold a trade so pernicious as this.

And, on the other hand, to place ourselves in a state of dependance on foreigners for articles of the first necessity, such as corn, to the injury of the home grower, and without any permanent advantage to the manufacturer, who by such a course would only exchange his home customer for a foreign customer; and as the former is more certain, and in every sense more to be relied on than the latter, to distress those engaged in agriculture and manufactures in this country, by an increase of such foreign trade to accomplish such an object, is to be guilty of the grossest folly imaginable. Look at the situation, this country is now in, as stated by Mr. Jacob, in his evidence before the Committee on Agriculture in the last session,* and I am sure, you will require nothing more to convince you of the imminent danger to be apprehended, by placing ourselves in a state of dependance on foreigners for supply of corn, instead of encouraging and securing a sufficient supply at home.

Besides the two objectionable branches of foreign trade I have alluded to, there is another altogether unworthy of our pursuit, and which is the result of excessive supply of the articles we produce; I mean what is paid for with money borrowed by foreigners from capitalists (as they are called) in this country, or foreign loans. The people of this country have first to work hard to raise the means to lend this money, and then they have to labour, perhaps still harder, to get the amount back again from the foreign country, which borrowed it from this. An immense sum has been lent in this way by the Jews in this country, since the close of the war; and I cannot see that any advantage has been derived by our productive classes, from foreign trade thus created, exceeding what they

would have had, if the goods manufactured, sent out, and paid for, in this way, had been sunk in the sea. I can see, that loans to foreigners may injure our foreign trade, by supplying our much-dreaded competitors with means to raise up manufacturing establishments, and thereby promote the declension of the trade, our manufacturers profess so much anxiety to preserve.

The supply of British goods sent to foreign markets, has been so excessive too, for some years back, that heavy stocks have almost constantly been held in those markets, on which stocks immense losses have been sustained by the British merchants, from the fall in value that has been going on, and, perhaps, greater losses still, by the depreciation of foreign money, extended credits, and alterations in the exchanges; the effects of all which evils have been visited on the manufacturer, and are the result of his excessive production, and of his forcing a supply out of the sweat and long-continued toil of his work-people, for which there is no proper demand, and for which over-abundant supply, the foreigners cannot return us enough of such useful produce as we ought to have; and, for the best of all reasons, because they have it not. They therefore remit us, in part, things not worth our working for. They borrow loans of the Jews in this country, who derive their income from the labour of the people in this country, to pay another part; and to make up the remainder, which the value of those *useful* things we get from the foreigners, requires to balance the account, recourse is had to a system of swindling, and depreciation of their currency, and a fall in the exchanges; and the foreigners having thus settled the account, laugh to see what fools we have been, to have thus cheated ourselves, by having produced and sent them more of our manufactures, than they were able honestly to pay us for.

In support of what I have said, I wish to observe that from places eastward of the Cape of Good Hope, including China, we import annually to the amount of nearly ten millions sterling,

* See Appendix, No. 5.

and any one looking to see what those imports are, will find a considerable proportion consists of things scarcely known by the productive classes employed in manufactures; and may be classed among the useless things not worth our working for; and many more such things come from other foreign parts we trade with; and as regards loans of money to foreigners since 1815, the Spanish bonds, the Portuguese, Dutch, Prussian, Mexican, Brazilian, and Buenos-Ayrian loans, not to mention other, will be quite sufficient. The sums of money thus lent are said to amount to upwards of 100 millions sterling!! And for depreciation of currency, and alterations, against this country in the exchanges, I need only instance Brazil, Buenos Ayres, and Constantinople, to show the losses that have been sustained from such causes. In Brazil, the currency has been so debased, by the substitution of paper money and copper, for gold and silver coin, that the milrea, which at par of exchange is 67½, would a few years ago, only remit 18*d.* from Rio Janeiro, at present, 40*d.* is the rate of exchange from thence; but at Bahia, the present exchange is only 30*d.* per milrea. At Buenos Ayres, from the depreciation of money, and other causes, the exchange, which was a few years ago at 44*d.*, is now reduced to 7*d.* per dollar; and at Constantinople, fourteen piastres would formerly remit 1*l.* sterling, which ninety-six piastres will now only remit.

Now, my dear sir, what part of the two garments, two pieces, and two pounds of twist, the manufacturer now loses, out of every three such things produced, by pursuing a system of foreign trade, so objectionable as that I have just described, I will not stop to inquire; because, I think such traffic is mischievous, and is the consequence of increased production, unaccompanied by corresponding means of a like increase of consumption among the productive classes at home; or, in other words, by taking improperly from those who labour, and giving to those who do not labour, and, when this ceases, such objectionable traffic will also cease;

and its continuance only shows our folly, and exposes the cruelty of making the work-people in our manufactories, work immoderate hours for so worthless an object.

If we inquire into foreign trade, deserving of regard, and worthy of our encouragement; that is, the exchange or barter (which it resolves itself into, though effected by money) of those useful things of which we have too much, and the foreigner too little, for those other useful things of which the foreigner has too much, and we too little, we shall find that the quantities of each have been nearly the same during the last eighteen years, to which the tables refer; and that instead of giving them three pieces now, as Mr. Free-trader says, for one we gave in 1815, there has been a uniformity preserved in the relative value of these articles, such as those who have not looked into the case have little conception of; and it shows that the relative value of these things (years of scarcity and abundance excepted) remains unchanged, and this foreign trade would be carried on to any extent we may require, after eight hours' work for the present full day's wages, has been adopted: for none of our foreign rivals have the power to prevent it, as the principle of exchange or barter applies to them as well as to us, and will be observed after we have made the reduction proposed in the quantity of our manufactures, that is for instance, for every 300 lbs. of cotton we shall have to give twenty-four pieces of seventy-four calico, or 15½ pieces of seventy-two power-loom calico, or 4½ pieces of half-ell velveteens, or 131 lbs. of water twist, or some other things of the same value, as we have done the last eighteen years; and any other country which requires this cotton must do the same as they have done, or otherwise they could not have had it during the same period; for no one country ever did, or ever will favour another country in this respect; and when the supply of things is at any time too abundant from one country, to secure an exchange equal to their intrinsic or

relative value, as measured in the things of another country of the same intrinsic or relative value, and for which they were sent to be exchanged, the country sending too much reduces the supply, until the relative or intrinsic value is restored. And this applies to all descriptions of useful produce or manufactures, exchanged by one country with another, years of abundance and scarcity, and which nearly balance each other, being always excepted. On turning to table No. 1, you will see that 24 pieces of calico, the make referred to, have commanded 300lbs. of upland cotton during the last eighteen years; in which period, three years have commanded considerably more, and three other years considerably less; but, taken together, the excess in the three years nearly balances the deficiency in the three other years, and the other twelve years approximate so nearly to the standard, as confirms the truth of this statement, and that, too, notwithstanding the great difference in the money value of such articles, in this country, during the eighteen years referred to.

Many more articles of import might be referred to, to show the same uniformity of exchange; but there is no necessity for it, because the principle of proportion and relative value arises out of the necessity of the case, and is observed in despite of any efforts that may be made to destroy it.

We see middle men, as they are frequently called, from their being a kind of go-between in the buying and selling of the articles, step in, and, with their *surplus capital*, derange the order of exchange for those things, for a time, as has been the case this year in cotton; a scarcity was first asserted, speculation ensued, and I find that for this year (1833), the manufacturer of the cloth in table No. 1, will have had exacted from him, by this interference between him and the cotton-grower, $30\frac{1}{2}$ pieces, for 300 lbs. of upland cotton; and this interference has so deranged the circumstances of many virtuous tradesmen, that ruin will follow, and misery and suffering result to them and their

work-people, which is now beginning to manifest itself, in a reduction of wages.

The evils, sir, are so numerous, arising out of the system of working too long, and producing too much, and the benefits that would accrue to the manufacturers and their work-people so palpably apparent, that I will not tire you by pursuing the subject further, relative to the advantages to be derived from the adoption of "eight hours' work for the present full days' wages"; and now for a few words as to how the plan may be carried into effect.

The Regenerating Society wishes to avoid giving any encouragement to "turn-outs," I assure you, sir, and to avoid encouraging any mode of procedure that can by possibility injure the labouring poor, who are the objects of the society's especial care. It is for them that the society has been established, and has recommended applications being made to the masters, accompanied by a request that they will adopt the new regulation, and by a short statement of the reasons, why it is believed the adoption of it would be beneficial to both masters and work-people.* The society disclaims any intention of creating divisions between the employers and the employed; its motto is "The rights of industry, and peace and good-will," and with it the weapons the society may use shall correspond, and if in its efforts to secure to all in return for moderate labour, a full and ample share of the necessities and comforts of life, and proper time for education, recreation, and sleep, to which all who labour are justly entitled; if, in its efforts to secure these things for the labourers, and adequate profits to those who employ them, the society has to attack the interests, and contend against the prejudice and opposition of many who do not labour, but get more in return for the fixed income they possess than they are justly entitled to; against these the society has no feeling of resentment or hostility, but it is fully persuaded that their real and true interests

* See Appendix, No. 6.

would be advanced by the adoption of the measure recommended.

The first of March has been suggested by the society as a desirable period for the new regulation to commence, this being about the time when the new Factory Bill requires that children, under eleven years of age, should not work longer than eight hours a day; and unless this limitation of the time of labour be extended to all, many children will be thrown out of employment altogether; numbers more will have their wages reduced one-third; and much suffering and an increase of dissatisfaction amongst the poor would follow, but may be avoided if the suggestion of the society be acted on. To cause this to be done, the society has recommended the work-people to unite, and respectfully, but earnestly, request their respective employers, to adopt the proposed regulation of "eight hours' work for the present full day's wages."

If the answers of a considerable number of the masters be favourable, and they agree to adopt the regulation, provided it be general, a meeting of the masters may be convened, the question discussed, and resolutions agreed upon and circulated, calculated to bring over the dissentient masters. Other measures, if found necessary, may be agreed on at the meeting, which cannot fail to be efficient in securing the success of this righteous cause. Should the masters, generally, resolutely oppose the adoption of the plan suggested by the society, and the entreaties of their work-people to do them this act of justice, then it will remain for the Regenerating Society, and the work-people, to devise such a legal and peaceable mode of proceeding as they may consider proper to obtain the adoption of the regulation.

It is hoped, however, that the masters will not be so blind to their own interests, and to the interests and comforts of their work-people, by whom they are surrounded, and whose well-being is so manifestly identified with their own, as to refuse their cordial consent to the measure proposed, and for which so strong a necessity exists to allay the discontent among the work-people, and

ensure satisfaction and security to themselves.

For, what becomes of our boast of new acquisitions in mechanical skill, great improvements in machinery, and unprecedented increase in production, all excellent things when rightly directed, if the result which has hitherto followed be to continue, namely, the withdrawal of work altogether from some, and their degradation into paupers; the reduction of wages visited on those who are left to compete with the improved mode of production, consequent upon the adoption of the new machines; from which lessened wages, starvation, misery, and crime, ensue; and the increase of labour, without any increase of remuneration of those comparatively few in number who are fortunate enough to get work on the new machines. If such consequences cannot be avoided, then of one thing I am certain, that all our boasted improvements in machinery are not a blessing, but a curse to the productive classes, whose work is being constantly increased in intensity, and deteriorated in value, by the changes arising from these improvements. But a right direction may, and ought to be given, to those invaluable improvements; and the masters and workmen, by cultivating a good understanding with each other, and by an union of effort, ought to do it for themselves, without seeking for legislative interference on the subject.

To effect this object, the time of labour must be shortened, all must have employment, and the same, or more wages must be paid to each individual, for the reduced time of labour that he had before the hours of labour were abridged. Then the blessings of these improvements will become manifest to every one; the disputes between masters and servants relative to wages, and the introduction of the most improved machines, will cease, because all will participate in the benefits which they confer. Peace, concord, and mutual goodwill, will prevail; and an improvement in the physical, mental, and moral condition of the people, will follow, corresponding with the increase and im-

provement of the machines put in operation, to aid them in producing what they want.

I have now, sir, at considerable length, endeavoured to answer your letter, and stated my reasons for supporting the Regenerating Society. I have described what has been the state of the cotton trade, during the last eighteen years; what is its present state; and what in my opinion would be its state, if the plan the Regenerating Society recommends should be adopted; and I beg again to repeat, that, although my reasoning has been chiefly confined to the cotton trade, it will apply to other branches of manufacture throughout the country. There is sufficient evidence of this in the inquiry made by the committee of manufacturers, commerce, and shipping, in the last session of Parliament, and especially so in the committee on the state of the silk trade, in 1832.*

The subject is one of which it is difficult to convey clear views to those unacquainted with the nature of it; and in my attempts to do this, I have repeated again and again, some striking and most important

facts, which go to show the lamentable and rapidly declining condition, both of masters and workmen, engaged in the manufactures of this country; facts, which cannot be too strongly impressed on the minds of all who have any anxiety for the comfort and happiness of the labouring people, and for the peace and security of their employers; and, as I am one of the latter myself, and being thoroughly satisfied that the course we have pursued for several years back, cannot be proceeded in much farther, I naturally wish we may in *time* change that course, and avoid the evil consequences, which, I am fully convinced, will otherwise befall us.

If I have succeeded in removing your objections to the plan proposed by the Regenerating Society, for introducing the change, I shall feel amply repaid for the pains I have taken; and if I have not, I am sure we shall agree to differ, without thinking worse of each other on that account.

I am, my dear sir,

Your obedient humble servant,

JOHN FIELDEN.

Waterside, 7. December, 1833.

* See Appendix, No. 7.

No. I.

The Average Prices obtained for the second quality of 74 Calico, with the Price paid for the Warp and Weft, and the Sum left for Labour, Expenses, and Profit.

Years..	1820	1821	1822	1823	1824	1825
Prices obtained for the calico..	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.
The warp and weft cost	12 2	11 3½	10 4½	10 1	9 5½	10 2
	8 0½	6 10	6 6½	6 6½	6 3½	7 3
Sum left for labour, ex- penses, and profit.....	4 14	4 5½	3 9½	3 6½	3 1½	2 11
Decline per cent. from 1820 ..	—	—	8	14	24	30

No. II.

The Average Prices obtained for the second quality of 74 Calico, with the cost of Cotton, and of weaving the same, and the sum left for Labour, Expenses, and Profit per Piece.

Years..	1826	1827	1828	1829	1830	1831	1832	To May 1833
Price obtained for the calico	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.
Cost of cotton and weaving..	6 10½	6 11½	6 9½	6 13½	6 8	6 7	6 2½	6 4½
	4 6½	4 9	4 8½	4 11½	4 6½	4 6½	4 4½	4 7½
Sum left for labour of spin- ning, expenses, & profit	3 3½	2 2½	2 1	2 2	2 1½	2 0½	1 10½	1 9
Decline per cent. since 1826	6	10	6	9	11	20	24	

No. III.

The Average Prices per Pound, of a common quality of 30 Hanks Water Twist in each year, from 1818 to May, 1833, with the cost of Cotton for the same, and the Sum left for Labour, Expenses, and Profit.

Years.....	1818	1819	1820	1821	1822	1823	1824	1825	1826	1827	1828	1829	1830	1831	1832	To end of May 1833
Price of 1 lb. of common quality of 30 water twist	d.	d.	d.	d.	d.	d.	d.	d.	d.	d.	d.	d.	d.	d.	d.	d.
Cost of 18 ounces of cotton for ditto	33	25	22½	18½	17½	18½	19½	19½	13	12½	12½	12½	12½	10½	11½	11½
	22½	15½	13½	10½	9	9½	9½	13½	7½	7	7	6½	7½	6½	7½	8
Sum left for labour, expenses, and profit.....	10½	9½	9½	7½	8½	9½	9½	5½	5½	5½	5½	4	4½	4	4½	3½
Decline per cent. from 1818	0	7	12	26	19	9	7	47	47	47	51	43	55	62	57	66

No. IV.

The Prices obtained for one pound of 40 Hanks Copt Welf, in each year from 1815 to May, 1833, with the cost of Cotton for the same, and the Sum left for Labour, Expenses, and Profit.

Years.....	1815	1816	1817	1818	1819	1820	1821	1822	1823	1824	1825	1826	1827	1828	1829	1830	1831	1832	To May 1833
The price obtained for 1 lb. of 40 hanks cop welf	s. d. 3 0½	s. d. 2 7½	s. d. 2 6	s. d. 2 6	s. d. 1 10½	s. d. 1 7½	s. d. 1 5½	s. d. 1 4½	s. d. 1 3½	s. d. 1 5½	s. d. 1 1	s. d. 1 0½	s. d. 1 0½	s. d. 1 1½	s. d. 1 1½	s. d. 1 0½	s. d. 1 1½	s. d. 1 1½	s. d. 1 0
Cost of 18 ounces of cotton for ditto ..	s. d. 1 10	s. d. 1 8½	s. d. 1 10½	s. d. 1 10½	s. d. 1 3½	s. d. 1 1½	s. d. 1 10½	s. d. 1 9½	s. d. 1 9½	s. d. 1 1½	s. d. 1 7½	s. d. 1 7½	s. d. 1 7	s. d. 1 0	s. d. 1 0	s. d. 1 0	s. d. 1 0	s. d. 1 0	s. d. 0 8
Sum left for labour, expenses, & profit	s. d. 2½	s. d. 10½	s. d. 7½	s. d. 7½	s. d. 7½	s. d. 6	s. d. 6½	s. d. 7½	s. d. 7½	s. d. 6	s. d. 0 3½	s. d. 0 5½	s. d. 0 5½	s. d. 0 4½	s. d. 0 4½	s. d. 0 4½	s. d. 0 4½	s. d. 0 4	s. d. 0 4
Decline per cent. from 1815	—	26	48	48	50	60	55	46	48	60	74	62	62	69	63	65	65	72	72

No. V.

The Prices obtained for a four-cut Warp in each year, from 1815 to May, 1833, with the cost of Cotton for the same, and the Sum left for Labour, Expenses, and Profit.

Years	1815	1816	1817	1818	1819	1820	1821	1822	1823	1824	1825	1826	1827	1828	1829	1830	1831	1832	To May 1833
Prices obtained for a four-cut warp	s. d. 28 11½	s. d. 26 1½	s. d. 25 0½	s. d. 25 9½	s. d. 20 9	s. d. 18 0½	s. d. 15 10½	s. d. 15 2½	s. d. 15 2½	s. d. 14 10½	s. d. 16 3	s. d. 11 2½	s. d. 10 3½	s. d. 10 0½	s. d. 9 9½	s. d. 10 1½	s. d. 9 1½	s. d. 8 10	s. d. 2½
Cost of 9½ lbs. of cotton for ditto	s. d. 15 0½	s. d. 14 3	s. d. 15 5	s. d. 15 10	s. d. 10 5	s. d. 9 3	s. d. 7 3½	s. d. 6 3	s. d. 6 4½	s. d. 6 6½	s. d. 9 5½	s. d. 5 2½	s. d. 4 9½	s. d. 4 8½	s. d. 4 4	s. d. 5 1	s. d. 4 4	s. d. 4 9	s. d. 5 4½
Sum left for labour, expenses, and profit	s. d. 13 11	s. d. 11 10½	s. d. 9 7½	s. d. 10 4½	s. d. 10 4	s. d. 8 9½	s. d. 8 6½	s. d. 9 2	s. d. 8 10	s. d. 8 3½	s. d. 6 9½	s. d. 6 0	s. d. 5 5½	s. d. 5 4	s. d. 5 5½	s. d. 5 0½	s. d. 4 9½	s. d. 4 11½	s. d. 4 9½
Decline per cent. from 1815	—	15	31	24	24	37	39	34	36	40	51	57	60	61	60	64	65	64	65

No. VI.

The Average Price for Spinning One Pound of Cotton into 36 Hanks Weft on Commission, receiving the same weight of Weft delivered of Cotton, and the decline per Cent. from 1822 to 1833.

Years..	1822	1823	1824	1825	1826	1827	1828	1829	1830	1831	1832	1833
Prices paid for Spinning	d. 7½	d. 7½	d. 7½	d. 7	d. 6	d. 5½	d. 5	d. 5¼	d. 5¼	d. 5½	d. 5	d. 5
Decline per cent from 1822				6	20	25	33	30	30	31½	33½	33½

No. VII.

Statement of the prices of Upland Cotton, nine-eight Shirtings, twenty Hanks Water Twist, and three-quarters Felveeens, within the last seven years; showing the average Price per pound or per piece, in each year for Manufacturing each Article.

	COTTON.							20 HANKS WATER TWIST.						
	1827	1828	1829	1830	1831	1832	1833	1827	1828	1829	1830	1831	1832	1833
	d.	d.	d.	d.	d.	d.	d.	d.	d.	d.	d.	d.	d.	d.
January	7½	6	6½	6½	6½	5½	7½	13	11	11½	11	11½	10½	10½
February	6½	6	6½	6½	6½	5½	7½	12½	11	11½	11	11½	10½	11½
March	6½	5½	5½	6½	6½	6½	7½	12½	11	11½	11½	11½	11½	11½
April	6½	6	5½	7	6½	6½	7½	12½	11½	11½	11½	11½	11	11½
May	6½	6½	5½	6½	6	6½	7½	12	11½	11½	11½	11	11	11½
June	6½	6½	5½	6½	5½	6½	7½	12	11½	11½	11½	10½	10½	11½
July	6½	6½	5½	6½	5½	6½	9½	11½	11½	11	11½	10½	10½	13
August	6½	6½	5½	7½	5½	6½	..	11½	11½	11	11½	10	10½	..
September	6½	6½	5½	7½	5½	7	..	11½	11	11	11½	10½	10½	..
October	6½	6½	5½	7½	5½	7½	..	11½	11	11½	11½	10	11	..
November	6	6½	5½	6½	5½	7½	..	11	11½	11½	11½	10	11½	..
December	6	6½	6½	7	5½	7½	..	11	11½	11½	11½	9½	10½	..
	77½	76½	70½	82½	71	79½	53½	143½	133½	134½	137½	127½	130½	79½
Average	6½	6½	5½	6½	5½	6½	7½	12	11½	11½	11½	10½	10½	11½
Less price of cotton	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	6½	6½	5½	6½	5½	6½	7½
Difference	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	5½	4½	5½	4½	4½	4½	3½
Less per cent. for spinning in 1833 than in each of the preceding years	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	32	21	28½	19	21	11½	..

Table VII.—(Continued).

	THREE-QUARTER VEL-VETEENS.							NINE-EIGHT SHIRTINGS.						
	1827	1828	1829	1830	1831	1832	1833	1827	1828	1829	1830	1831	1832	1833
	d.	d.	d.	d.	d.	d.	d.				s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.
January	..	..	19½	17½	19½	18½	16½	..	..	..	..	13 3	13 0	13 0
February	..	..	19½	17½	19½	18½	17	..	..	..	14 0	13 3	13 0	13 0
March	..	..	19½	18	20	18	16½	..	..	..	13 3	13 0	13 0	13 0
April	..	24	19½	18½	20½	18	16½	..	..	..	13 3	13 0	13 0	13 0
May	..	24	19½	19½	20	18	17	..	..	..	13 3	13 0	13 0	13 0
June	..	22	19½	19	19	17½	17½	..	..	..	13 3	13 0	13 0	13 0
July	..	22	18	19	19	17½	18	..	..	..	13 3	13 0	13 0	13 6
August	..	21½	18	18½	19	17½	..	..	..	..	13 3	13 0	13 0	..
September	..	21½	18	19½	19½	17½	..	..	..	..	13 3	13 0	13 0	..
October	..	21	17½	19½	19½	17	..	..	..	..	13 3	13 0	13 0	..
November	..	20½	17½	19½	18½	16½	..	..	..	..	13 3	13 0	13 0	..
December	..	20½	17½	19½	18	16½	..	..	..	..	13 3	13 0	13 0	..
	..	196½	224½	225½	231½	211	119½	..	..	..	134 0	156 6	156 0	91 6
Average	..	21½	18½	18½	19½	17½	17½	..	..	..	13 5	13 0	13 0	13 1
Less price of cotton	..	6½	5½	6½	5½	6½	7½	..	..	..	6 0½	5 1½	5 9½	6 9
Difference	..	15½	12½	12	13½	11	9½	..	..	..	7 4½	7 10½	7 2½	6 4
Less per cent. for spinning and weaving in 1813 than in each of the preceding years	..	39	25	20	28½	13½	..	..	..	..	14 0	20 0	12 0	..

The foregoing Tables show that we have had—

32 per cent less for spinning 20 hanks twist in 1833 than in	1827
21 ditto ditto ditto	1828
28½ ditto ditto ditto	1829
19 ditto ditto ditto	1830
21 ditto ditto ditto	1831
11½ ditto ditto ditto	1832

6)118

19½ per cent. less in 1833 than the average of the last six years.

32½ per cent. less for manufacturing fustians in 1833 than in	1828
25 ditto ditto ditto	1829
20 ditto ditto ditto	1830
28½ ditto ditto ditto	1831
13½ ditto ditto ditto	1832

5)123½

25½ per cent. less in 1833 than the average of the last five years, and 15½ per cent less for manufacturing nine-eight shirtings in 1833 than the average of the last three years.

No. VIII.

Statement showing the prices paid for Weaving one Piece of second seventy-four Calico, the first seven years; and third seventy-four Calico, for the remaining period, from 1814 to July, 1833, inclusive.

No.	1814	1815	1816	1817	1818	1819	1820	1821	1822	1823
1	7 6	4 05 0	3 64 6	2 93 3	3 34 0	2 93 1	2 93 6	2 93 6	2 32 9	2 32 6
2	6 6	4 3	3 4	3 0	3 7	3 1	2 11	3 2	2 6	2 4
3	26 0	17 1	13 5	12 1	14 5	12 6	11 8	12 7	10 2	9 4
4	52 0	34 2	26 10	24 2	28 10	25 0	23 4	28 34	22 10 1/2	21 0
5	5 3	5 3	5 3	5 3	5 3	5 3	5 3	5 3	5 3	5 3
6	46 9	28 11	21 7	18 11	23 7	19 9	18 1	23 6 1/2	17 7 1/2	15 9
No.	1824	1825	1826	1827	1828	1829	1830	1831	1832	1833
1	2 3	2 02 3	2 02 0	1 32 0	1 31 3	1 14 1	1 14 1	1 61 9	1 61 6	1 31 4
2	2 1	2 1	1 4	1 7 1/2	1 7 1/2	1 2	1 6	1 7 1/2	1 4	1 4
3	8 6	8 6	5 3	6 6	6 6	4 8	6 0	6 7	5 4	5 4
4	19 1 1/2	19 1 1/2	11 10	14 7 1/2	14 7 1/2	10 6	13 6	14 10	12 0	12 0
5	5 3	5 3	4 3	4 3	4 3	4 3	4 3	4 3	4 3	4 3
6	13 10 1/2	13 10 1/2	7 7	10 4 1/2	10 4 1/2	6 3	9 3	10 7	7 9	7 9

No. 1. The highest and lowest price in each year, per piece.

No. 2. The average price of each year, per piece.

No. 3. The average sum per week a good weaver would earn in each year.

No. 4. The sum a family of six persons, parents, and children, three of the family being weavers, could earn a week in each year.

No. 5. The indispensable weekly expenses of the family of six persons for repair of looms, rent, fuel, light, &c.

No. 6. Sum the family of six persons had left for food and clothing per week.

No. IX

Statement of the Weekly Quantity of Food, of the plainest kind, requisite for a Family of Six Persons; the cost of the same in every year; the surplus weekly sum the Family could earn more than the cost of Food; and the sum per head per day, the earnings of the Family would give, applicable for Food and Clothing, in every year, from 1814 to 1833.

	1814	1833.
35 quarts of blue milk	2s. 2d.	2s. 2d.
2lbs. of bacon	1 5	1 3
20lbs of potatoes	0 6½	0 6½
Coffee, tea, sugar, and treacle..	1 0	1 0
25½lbs. of oatmeal at 39s. per 240 lbs. ..	5 1½	4 11½
	4 1½	2 9½
	9 3½	7 9

No. 1. Milk, bacon, potatoes, coffee, tea, and sugar.

2. Oatmeal, 2½ lbs. or 17 lbs., and the remainder in flour.

3. Weekly amount for food for six persons.

4. The surplus weekly sum the family could earn above cost of food.

5. The full amount of income from wages, applicable for food and clothing for one person per day.

No.	1814	1815	1816	1817	1818	1819	1820	1821	1822	1823	1824	1825	1826	1827	1828	1829	1830	1831	1832	1833
1	s. d. 1 5	s. d. 5 0½	s. d. 5 1½	s. d. 5 0½	s. d. 5 1½	s. d. 5 0½	s. d. 5 1½	s. d. 5 0½	s. d. 5 1½	s. d. 5 0½	s. d. 5 1½	s. d. 5 0½	s. d. 5 1½	s. d. 5 0½	s. d. 5 1½	s. d. 5 0½	s. d. 5 1½	s. d. 5 0½	s. d. 5 1½	s. d. 5 0½
2	s. d. 4 1½	s. d. 3 11	s. d. 3 10	s. d. 7 6	s. d. 5 4½	s. d. 4 1½	s. d. 4 4½	s. d. 3 7	s. d. 3 1½	s. d. 4 4½	s. d. 4 6	s. d. 3 10½	s. d. 3 7½	s. d. 4 3	s. d. 3 3½	s. d. 3 9	s. d. 4 1½	s. d. 4 0	s. d. 4 1½	s. d. 4 0
3	s. d. 9 3½	s. d. 8 11½	s. d. 8 10½	s. d. 12 7½	s. d. 10 6	s. d. 9 2	s. d. 9 6	s. d. 8 6½	s. d. 8 1	s. d. 9 4	s. d. 9 5½	s. d. 8 10	s. d. 7 4	s. d. 9 2½	s. d. 8 3	s. d. 6 2½	s. d. 9 1	s. d. 8 11½	s. d. 7 5	s. d. 7 9
4	s. d. 37 3½	s. d. 19 11½	s. d. 13 8½	s. d. 6 3½	s. d. 13 1	s. d. 10 7	s. d. 8 7	s. d. 14 6½	s. d. 9 6	s. d. 7 5	s. d. 4 5	s. d. 5 0½	s. d. 0 2½	s. d. 0 0½	s. d. 2 1½	s. d. 0 0½	s. d. 0 2	s. d. 1 7½	s. d. 0 1½	s. d. ..
5	s. d. 0 13½	s. d. 0 8½	s. d. 0 6	s. d. 0 5½	s. d. 0 6½	s. d. 0 5	s. d. 0 6½	s. d. 0 6½	s. d. 0 5	s. d. 0 4½	s. d. 0 4	s. d. 0 3½	s. d. 0 2½	s. d. 0 3	s. d. 0 3½	s. d. 0 1½	s. d. 0 2½	s. d. 0 3	s. d. 0 2½	s. d. 0 2½

No. XII.

Statement of the Comparative Situation of the Hand-Loom Weavers in the Township of Crompton, from 1814 to 1833.

Years..	1814	1815	1816	1817	1818	1819	1820	1821	1822	1823	1824	1825	1826	1827	1828	1829	1830	1831	1832	1833
Price per lb. for weaving, Jan. each year	27 3d.	23 3d.	18d.	13d.	17 3d.	20d.	18d.	17d.	18d.	19d.	10d.	17 3d.	13d.	13d.	14d.	12d.	10d.	10d.	9 3d.	9 3d.
Sum a fair weaver can earn per week, working ten hours and a half each day.	13 9	11 9	9 0	6 6	8 9	10 0	9 0	8 6	9 0	9 6	9 6	8 9	6 6	6 6	7 0	6 0	5 0	5 0	4 6	4 6
Rents, fuel, light, repairs of looms, winding, &c. &c. per week	3 7 3	3 3 1	2 9 3	2 4 3	2 8 3	2 11	2 8 3	2 7 3	2 8 3	2 9	2 8 3	2 7	2 1 3	2 2 3	2 3	2 0 3	1 10 3	1 10 3	1 9 3	1 9
Net sum per week for food and clothing	10 1 3	8 5 3	6 2 3	4 1 3	6 0 3	7 1	6 3 3	5 10 3	6 3 3	6 9	6 9 3	6 2	4 4 3	4 3 3	4 9	3 11 3	3 7 3	3 0 3	2 8 3	2 9
Price of flour per peck of 12lbs.	2 8 3	2 7 3	2 10 3	2 10 3	3 2 3	2 7 3	2 6 3	2 4	3 1 3	2 1 3	2 5 3	2 7 3	2 5 3	2 6	2 3 3	2 6	2 6 3	2 6 3	2 3 3	2 0 3
Ditto oatmeal	2 1 3	1 11 3	2 0 3	2 1	2 5	2 0 3	2 0	1 7 3	1 7 3	1 8 3	1 11 3	1 11 3	1 11 3	2 1	1 8 3	1 10 3	1 11 3	1 11 3	1 7 3	1 4 3
Average price of beef and mutton per lb.	d.	d.	d.	d.	d.	d.	d.	d.	d.	d.	d.	d.	d.	d.	d.	d.	d.	d.	d.	d.
Quantity of flour his wages would procure per week in lbs.	45 9-16	38 3	25	17 5-11	22 3-5	32 3	29 6-10	30 3	35 3-10	38 3	33 1-3	28 3-16	21 1-3	20 7-10	24 7-11	18 9-10	14 5-6	14 2-3	14 16 1-6	
Ditto of oatmeal, ditto in lbs.	57 3	52	36 3	24	30	41 1-5	37 2-3	43 3	46 3	45 3	41	37 3	26 3	24 3	33	15 1-5	19	19	20 1-6 24	
Ditto beef or mutton, ditto in lbs.	13 1-7	13 3	10 2-3	7 1-9	9 3	10 3	9 3	11	14 3	12 3	13	10	8	6 9-10	8 1-7	7 1-8	6 3	5 5-9	4 8-9	5
General average of flour, meal, and shambie meat ..	116	104	73	49	62	84	77	85	96	98	87	76	56	52	66	51	41	39	39	45

The deduction from weavers' wages for rent, fuel, winding, &c. is taken as follows:—

In 1814, rent for a family consisting of, say six or seven individuals, of whom four were workers, £7. 7s. 4d. per annum, or per week for each worker, 2 3d.; candle-light, 2 3d.; fuel, 3d.; and wear and tear of looms, gearing, shuttles, &c. 2 1d.; making together 1s. 4d. per week, which has been gradually reduced to the following in 1833: say rent per annum, £5. 4s. or per week each worker, 6d.; wear and tear of looms, gearing, shuttles, &c., 1 3d.; candle-light, 2d.; fuel, 2 3d.; together, 1s. per week. The regular price for winding during the whole time has been 2d. per lb. on the weaver's earnings.

No. XIII.

Statement of Wages paid in the years following, in the month of March of each year, by a very respectable Manufacturer (William Cannon).

Year.	48 Reed.	56 Reed.	70 Reed.
	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.
March 1811	10 0	13 0	20 0
1812	11 1	13 6	21 0
1813	13 0	16 0	22 0
1814	20 0	27 0	32 0
1815	11 6	15 0	21 0
1816	9 0	11 0	17 0
1817	6 6	8 6	11 0
1818	8 0	10 0	12 6
1819	7 0	9 0	11 6
1820	6 6	8 0	10 6
1821	8 6	10 6	12 6
1822	6 0	8 6	10 6
1823	6 6	8 6	10 0
1824	6 6	8 6	10 0
1825	6 6	8 0	10 0
1826	5 0	6 6	8 6
1827	4 6	5 6	8 0
1828	4 6	5 6	8 0
1829	4 0	5 6	8 0
1830	3 6	5 0	7 0
1831	3 6	5 0	7 0
1832	3 6	5 0	7 0
1833	3 6	5 0	7 0

The average earnings of men, women, and children, 3s. 6d. per week; allowing 3d. in 1s. for expenses, leaves them clear 2s. 8½, on an average, for working this kind of cloth.

No. XIV.

Prices of Weaving 6-4ths. 60-Reed Cambric, 120 Picks in one inch for the last 38 Years, taken in the month of June in each Year.

June, 1795	6-4 60 Cam. 20 yds.	s. d.	June, 1815	6-4 60 Cam. 24 yds.	s. d.
1796	ditto	33 3	1816	ditto	12 0
1797	ditto 24 yds.	29 0	1817	ditto	9 0
1798	ditto	30 0	1818	ditto	9 0
1799	ditto	25 0	1819	ditto	9 6
1800	ditto	25 0	1820	ditto	9 0
1801	ditto	25 0	1821	ditto	8 6
1802	ditto	29 0	1822	ditto	8 6
1803	ditto	24 0	1823	ditto	8 6
1804	ditto	20 0	1824	ditto	8 6
1805	63	25 0	1815	ditto	8 6
1806	ditto	22 0	1826	ditto	7 6
1807	ditto	18 0	1827	ditto	6 0
1808	ditto	14 0	1828	ditto	6 0
1809	ditto	16 0	1829	ditto	5 6
1810	ditto	19 6	1830	ditto	5 6
1811	ditto	14 0	1831	ditto	5 6
1812	ditto	14 0	1832	ditto	5 6
1813	ditto	15 0	1833	ditto	5 6
1814	ditto	24 0			

A weaver working one of these pieces in one week is in full employment, and his earnings will be clear (after all deductions and expenses he has to pay) 4s. 1½d. per week, for an able-bodied man to live on for a week, to provide him with food, and clothing, and lodging.

From a survey of the condition of the poor in thirty-three townships of the manufacturing district in Lancashire and two in Yorkshire, mostly employed in the manufacture of cotton, of woollen, and of silk, it appears that in these thirty-five townships the population is 203,349; the families visited are 8,362; the persons in these families 49,294; being nearly one-fourth of the whole. The number out of work in the families visited is 2,287; the number unfit for work in the same is 23,060; the number of workers is 23,947. The total weekly wages which the families visited earn are 4,447*l.* 18*s.* This sum will give for each of those who work a weekly average of 3*s.* 8½*d.*, and for each of the whole number of persons visited a weekly average of 1*s.* 9½*d.* The rent paid by the families visited is, per annum, 32,693*l.* 17*s.* 5*d.* This sum gives an average of 3*d.* a week for each individual in the families visited. Fuel, light, and wear of implements, will be an average for each individual of at least 3½*d.* a week; and this, with the average rent of 3*d.* being deducted from 1*s.* 9½*d.*, the average income of each individual, leaves for food and clothing, for a week, 1*s.* 3*d.* 1-3.

The whole parish relief given weekly to the families visited is 139*l.* 7*s.*, or for each ½ of a penny, and the average income of each for a day, for food and clothing, from both wages and relief, is 2¼*d.*

APPENDIX, No. I.

MR. HOLT'S LETTER TO MR. FIELDEN.
MY GOOD FRIEND,

I think I know enough of thy character, from the efforts thou hast employed with a view to improve the condition of the working classes, particularly those employed in factories, to satisfy me, that I may address thee without giving offence, although I may in some points hold different opinions. Having been in one way or other engaged in the spinning trade more than forty years, and the whole of that time as a mill proprietor, I must have witnessed many changes. It however has

always been a maxim with me, that whilst I was pursuing my own interest, not to forget that the people about me, by whose labour that interest must be sustained as well as promoted, were at all times entitled to my esteem and regard, and that in the faithful discharge of their duty, they had claims upon me beyond the fulfilment of the simple contract, as far as wages were concerned, which required that I should be the guardian of their interests and comforts, as well as my own. It never entered my mind that I was at liberty to exact from them either in extent of time or labour, a service that should deprive them of the ordinary comforts of life; and my pen has been employed many and many a time, in their defence, when I have seen attempts making to diminish the fair earnings of the labouring man in a degree that would impose upon him bodily exertion and long confinement, as well as diminish those comforts and conveniences to which every honest and industrious man has an indisputable claim. I have often addressed the masters, imploring them to consider, both as men and Christians, how far they were, by such conduct, deviating from that sound maxim of "doing to others as they would be done unto"; and how certainly such conduct would recoil, in the long run, upon themselves. I endeavoured to show them, that low wages and inordinate exertion would break down the spirits of the people, and destroy that bond of union which ought ever to subsist between master and servant, and eventually entail poverty and distress upon the whole labouring population.

We are unfortunately arrived at that period, and our rapacity has not only deprived us of the affectionate regard of our servants, but has created a feeling of hatred toward us, as being the authors of all the miseries and privations to which they are exposed; and who shall say that they are not warranted in this conclusion? I have asserted many and many a time, that our policy ought to have been to sustain the price of labour at a point that would enable every

man with a family, to feed and to clothe them, and that a moderate degree of labour should be sufficient to effect this. If this object had been duly regarded by the mill proprietors and master manufacturers, would not the general consumption have sustained our home trade, and secured those advantages here, which we are so anxiously seeking abroad? But suppose that, for the moment, the profits had been less, they would not have dwindled, as they have done, into comparatively nothing. Another and serious evil has resulted from this wretched policy, which has almost imperceptibly broken down the middle ranks in society, who, in our better days, stood as a wall of defence between the rich and the poor, and we are all become the prey of the speculators and great money dealers, who absorb the wealth of the country; and then, to consummate our ruin and degradation, send their over-grown wealth to other states and people, creating for them a capital by which they become our formidable rivals, instead of making it subservient to the promotion of enterprise and industry at home. This unnatural state of things has been gradually assuming a complexion, which, when viewed dispassionately, becomes appalling. The *many* look upon the *few* as their oppressors, and as they find their appeals disregarded, can we wonder that there should be unions, combinations, and contests between masters and men, which threaten to break up society altogether, and to produce anarchy in a degree that it may be difficult to suppress?

Now, my good friend, is not the association proposed to be formed, at the head of which I see thy name, and those of some other influential men, one, which if carried into effect as intended, must create a sensation of no ordinary character, and may produce a general convulsion in the country, and involve thousands of innocent persons in ruin, and consequent wretchedness? Would it not then be wise to pause even on the threshold of such a measure, and see if some other means quite as effectual, and better calculated to ensure success,

cannot be devised? I am inclined to think that a great number of the mill proprietors and master manufacturers are well disposed, and would most willingly embrace any plan or regulation by which the condition of the working classes through the whole empire might be so improved as to do away with the existing complaints; for we all know, that one rapacious, unprincipled man, who may be extensively engaged in business, can, and not unfrequently has, by his unjust and wicked exactions, brought poverty and distress upon a whole district, by not only robbing the people himself, but compelling his neighbours, who may be engaged in the same business, in their own defence to adopt the same rate of wages. Now, if the plan that I have many a time recommended through our public papers, had been adopted, such attempts could never have succeeded, and the condition of the labouring classes would have been very different to what it is. The plan to which I allude, and which to me appears unexceptionable, is, that in all the spinning and manufacturing districts, the well-disposed masters should unite, and form themselves into committees, for the express purpose of sustaining the labour of the country, and protecting the workmen from those arbitrary and unjust attempts, which are, from
(To be continued.)

From the LONDON GAZETTE,

FRIDAY, JANUARY 10, 1834.

INSOLVENTS.

MILLS, A. W., Carey-street, law-stationer.
WANSELL, J., Howland-street, Fitzroy-square, dealer in musical instruments.

BANKRUPTCY ANNULLED.

LLOYD, R., Liverpool, brewer.

BANKRUPTS.

EARNSHAW, R., Hancocks, Yorkshire, farmer.
GREENHAM, R., Liverpool, merchant.
PEARSON, T., and R. G. Roberts, Liverpool, timber-merchants.
SHARP, W., Threadneedle-street, Russia-broker.
WALKINSHAW, E., Liverpool, merchant.

TUESDAY, JAN. 14, 1834.

INSOLVENTS.

ADAMS, A., Mare-street, Hackney, linen-draper.

COLES, J., Maids Moreton, Bucks, miller.

WOOSTER, T., and Son., Coal-exchange, coal-factors.

BANKRUPTCIES ANNULLED.

LOCKYER, C., Strood, Kent, linen-draper.

MASON, M., Ilkestone, Derbyshire, tallow-chandler.

BANKRUPTS.

BENNETT, S., Bath, grocer.

CAPEY, J., Fore-street, Cripplegate, haberdasher.

DALY, P., Liverpool, builder.

DAVIES, H., late of Aldersgate-st., cabinet-manufacturer and upholsterer, but now of Carmarthen, cabinet-maker.

GOULDING, J., and R. Davis, Liverpool, Lancaster, ship-brokers and sail-makers.

HOLT, H. F., Holywell-street, Westminster, surgeon and apothecary.

HOWARD, W., Down-street, Piccadilly, chemist and druggist, and Brick-street, Piccadilly, horse-dealer and livery-stable-keeper.

LAZARUS, S. L., Bath, soap-manufacturer.

LEVEY, E. W., Ledbury, Hereford, inn-keeper.

PULLEN, J., Austin Friars, scrivener.

RANKINE, D., Martin's-lane, Cannon-street, merchant.

WIDOWFIELD, J., jun., Park-place, Kensington-cross, chemist and druggist.

LONDON MARKETS.

MARK-LANE, CORN-EXCHANGE, Jan. 13.—The arrivals of Wheat from Essex and Kent were to-day tolerably good, but from Suffolk and other parts very limited. The condition of the samples is still affected by the weather, and most of them handled rough. Fine dry qualities realized barely so good as on Monday, while to have procured sales for the secondary and inferior descriptions, lower rates must have been submitted to. Some inquiry existed for bonded Wheat, but principally confined to inferior qualities for export.

The supply of Barley was small. Malting parcels sustained no alteration in the currency, and distillery and grinding sorts were dull at their late decline.

Malt continues dull sale, and maltsters complain of the difficulty they experience in the sale of the article.

The receipts of Oats were not large, but the trade was very dull at rather worse prices than on Monday.

Beans were in good supply, and dull at last week's prices.

White Peas, as well as maple, were unaltered, but grey were rather lower.

Flour dull, though purchases could not have been made on lower terms. Irish steady, but holders asking more money than purchasers were inclined to give, caused the business transacting to be limited.

Wheat	50s. to 59s.
Rye	—s. to —s.
Barley	25s. to 27s.
— fine	30s. to 32s.
Peas, White	—s. to —s.
— Boilers	40s. to —s.
— Grey	33s. to 37s.
Beans, Small	31s. to 39s.
— Tick	30s. to 34s.
Oats, Potato	24s. to 26s.
— Feed	19s. to 21s.
Flour, per sack	48s. to 50s.

PROVISIONS.

Pork, India, new	90s. to 95s.
— Mess, new ...	56s. to 62s. per barl.
Butter, Belfast	80s. to 82s. per cwt.
— Carlow	80s. to 84s.
— Cork	73s. to 74s.
— Limerick ..	72s. to 73s.
— Waterford ..	70s. to 76s.
— Dublin	66s. to —s.

SMITHFIELD, January 13.

This day's supply of Sheep and Beasts was good, both as to numbers and quality: its supply of Calves and Porkers rather limited, but fully equal to the demand—trade was, with each kind of meat, very dull—with prime small Veal at an advance of 2d. to 4d. per stone: with Mutton at a depression of full 2d. per stone: with Beef and Pork at barely Friday's quotations.

Nearly, or quite, three-fifths of the Beasts consisted of about equal numbers of Devons and short-horns; the remaining two-fifths of about equal numbers of Herefords, Scots, Welsh runts, and Irish beasts, with about 100 Sussex beasts, as many Town's-end Cows, a few Staffords, &c. About 1,600 of the beasts, chiefly short-horns, Devons, and Welsh runts, with some few Scots, Herefords, and Irish beasts, were from Leicestershire, Lincolnshire, and other of our northern grazing districts; about 800, chiefly Scots and Devons, with a few runts, from Norfolk, Suffolk, Essex, and Cambridgeshire; about 200, chiefly Devons and runts, with a few Herefords, from our western and midland districts; about 160, chiefly Sussex beasts and runts, from Sussex, Surrey and Kent; and most of the remainder, including the Town's-end Cows, from the stall-feeders, cow-keepers, &c. in the vicinity of London.

A full moiety of the Sheep were south-downs: the greatest proportion of them recollected to have been before witnessed:—about a fourth new Leicesters, in about equal numbers of South-Down and white-faced crosses; and the remaining fourth about equal numbers of old Leicesters, Kents, and Kentish

half-breeds, with a few pens of horned and polled Norfolks, horned Dorsets and Somersets, horned and polled Scotch and Welsh Sheep, &c.

MARK-LANE.—Friday, Jan. 17.

The arrivals this week are large. The prices rather lower than on Monday, with a dull market.

THE FUNDS.

3 per Cent. } Fri. Sat. Mon. Tues. Wed. Thurs.					
Cons. Ann. } 88½ 88½ 89½ 88½ 88½ 89½					

This day is published, price 2s.

A REPORT of the INVESTIGATION before the Benchers of the Inner Temple, upon the application of D. W. Harvey, Esq., M. P., to be called to the bar. Taken in short hand. To be had of Ridgway, Piccadilly; Hunter, St. Paul's Churchyard; Butterworth, Fleet st.; Wilson, Royal Exchange; Chalk, Chelmsford; Fenton, Haddon, and Taylor Colchester; Loder, Brighton; and of all booksellers.

Just published, price 2s.

FOUR LETTERS to the Hon. JOHN STUART WORTLEY; in Answer to his "BRIEF INQUIRY INTO THE TRUE AWARD OF AN EQUITABLE ADJUSTMENT BETWEEN 'THE NATION AND ITS CREDITORS.'" By WILLIAM CORBETT, M.P. for Oldham. To be had at No. 11, Bolt-court, Fleet-street, London, and of all Booksellers.

ALL the CAPITALS, except SIX, in the last Glasgow Lottery, were shared and sold by HISH, at his Office, 13, Cornhill, 27, Poultry, and 138, Regent-street, and paid for in money on demand; and he has now on sale a great variety of Tickets and Shares for the SECOND GLASGOW LOTTERY, which will be all decided in ONE DAY, (next Wednesday).

TWENTY-SECOND OF THIS MONTH (JANUARY).

PRESENT PRICES:—

Ticket.....	£12 13 0		
Half.....	£7 6 0	Eighth.....	£1 18 6
Quarter....	3 15 6	Sixteenth..	0 19 0

Country Orders, containing remittances, post paid, are attended to just as if the parties were present.

Observe, in consequence of London Bridge Improvements requiring HISH's old office to be pulled down, HISH's offices now are,

13, Cornhill,
27, Poultry, and
138, Regent-street, (about 20
doors from the Quadrant).

GLASGOW LOTTERY.

SWIFT and Co being the authorised Agents of the Commissioners under the Act of Parliament, respectfully announce that the drawing of the Second Glasgow Lottery will take place at COOPER'S HALL, in the City of London, on

WEDNESDAY next, the 22 of JANUARY, in the usual manner of a State Lottery. The scheme contains the following Capital Prizes:

1 of £15,000 is £15,000	
1 — 10,000 — 10,000	
1 — 5,000 — 5,000	
1 — 3,000 — 3,000	
1 — 2,000 — 2,000	
1 — 1,500 — 1,500	
4 — 1,000 — 4,000	

Besides others of 500l., 400l., 200l., 100l., &c.

The money will be paid for the Prizes, as soon as drawn, at SWIFT and Co's Offices, No. 19, Cornhill, facing the Royal Exchange, No. 255, Regent's Circus, Oxford-street, No. 38, Haymarket, corner of Coventry street. Where the Tickets and Shares are on sale in great variety at the following Prices:—

Whole Ticket....	£13 13 0		
Half.....	£7 6 0	Eighth..	£1 18 6
Quarter....	3 15 6	Sixteenth..	0 19 6

In the first Glasgow Lottery, SWIFT and Co. sold in Shares ONE of the THREE Prizes of 10,000l., the only 2,000 Prize, and three other Capitals, and paid the money for them as soon as drawn.

CHEAP CLOTHING.

SWAIN AND CO., Tailors, &c.,
91, FLEET STREET,
(Near New Bridge-street)

BEG the attention of the public to their extensive stock of goods for the present season, which they supply at the following prices:—

FOR CASH ONLY.

	£.	s.	d.
A Suit of Superfine Clothes.....	4	15	0
Ditto, Black or Blue.....	5	10	0
Ditto, Imperial Saxony.....	6	0	0
Petersham Great Coats.....	3	3	0
Barogan or Velveteen Shooling } Jackets.....	4	10	0
Colbetti's Cord Trowsers.....	1	2	0
A complete Suit of Livery.....	4	10	0

SPANISH, OPERA, and WALKING CLOAKS, LADIES' HABITS AND PELISSERS, and CHILDREN'S DRESSES, and every other article in the trade made in the most elegant manner.

I recommend Messrs. Swain and Co. as every good and punctual tradesmen, whom I have long employed with great satisfaction. WM. CORBETT.

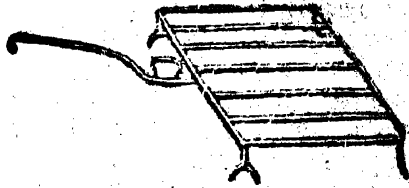
Printed by William Corbett, Johnson's-court, and published by him, at 11, Bolt-court, Fleet-street.

COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

Vol. 83.—No. 4.]

LONDON, SATURDAY, JANUARY 25TH, 1834.

[Price 1s. 2d.]



TO

MR. HUME;

ON HIS PUBLISHED SPEECH RELATIVE TO THE POOR-LAWS.

Bolt-court, 22. January, 1834.

SIR,—Amongst the many very important subjects which are expected to come before us when we meet in the House of Commons, by far the most important of all is that of the projects relating to changes in the poor-laws, especially when it is contemplated to bring forward a distinct proposition for the establishing of poor-laws in Ireland. It is in my very nature to prefer *face to face* to correspondence of any sort; and I should not have addressed you in this manner upon this subject, if you had not *appeared in print*. You do not publish yourself, indeed; but others publish for you; and, therefore, I publish in answer to you. No matter whether the publication be made in a pamphlet by yourself, or whether your sentiments be communicated to the world through the columns of the *Morning Chronicle*.

The case is this: on Saturday last, the 18. instant, at a vestry meeting of MARYBONNE, there took place a discussion relative to poor-laws for Ireland, brought forward incidentally by you in the manner which we shall presently see. I shall not notice what was said by others on this occasion, except in as far as it relates to what was said by you. That which was said by you was of importance in many respects: in the first place, you are a member of Parliament; then you are one of the representatives

of a great English county; and, beyond these, you have great and deserved popularity for the numerous exposures which you have made of the profligacy of the Government in wasting the money of the people. Then, the subjects on which you touched are of prodigious importance, especially as connected with those views and intentions of the Ministers, with which, it appears, you had been made acquainted. The question taken as a whole is nothing short of this: whether there shall be a general and actual strife between the *landless* and the *landed*; or whether the former shall recover the rights enjoyed by their fathers, and to be treated as those fathers were.

I will now insert the whole account of the proceedings of this vestry, as I find it in the *Chronicle* of the 21. instant, numbering the paragraphs for the sake of more easy reference.

“MEETING OF THE MARYBONNE VESTRY.

1. “At a meeting of the vestrymen of this parish, on Saturday, Captain Wardle in the chair, the minutes were read on the subject of the removal of paupers.

2. “Mr. HUME, M.P., who attended in his place as one of the vestrymen of the parish, rose for the purpose of explaining to the vestry the circumstances under which the new act for removal of Scotch and Irish paupers had been passed into a law. He was hostile to the introduction of poor-laws into Ireland, for he believed the poor-laws in England had gone further than any thing else to degrade the moral character of the people. Why, he asked, would they impose upon the sister country that which they admitted to be a curse at home? (Hear). Look to Scotland. The moral condition of the people of that country he attributed in no small degree to the absence of the poor-laws. Feeling thus strongly upon this point, he

“thought it would not be advisable in
 “them to mix up the question of
 “Irish poor-laws with their remonstrance
 “respecting the new act for the passing
 “of Irish and Scotch paupers. To pre-
 “pare the act for the removal of pau-
 “pers, a committee, which was com-
 “posed chiefly of members for the
 “counties through which these paupers
 “must pass, took the question into its
 “most serious consideration. They had
 “asked whether the Consolidated Fund
 “should bear the whole burden; and if
 “not, what portion should be borne by
 “the parishes concerned. Lord Al-
 “thorp was at the time so overwhelmed
 “with business, that he could not an-
 “swer the question put to him by the
 “hon. Member. The act, as it stood,
 “was merely an experiment. If the
 “expense was inordinate, it would be
 “a good ground for the parish to call on
 “the legislature to remove the ex-
 “pense from the country to the Conso-
 “lidated Fund. The hon. Member then
 “observed, that he had seen the Report
 “of the commission appointed to in-
 “quire into the operation of the poor-
 “laws; he had also seen the *heads of*
 “*the bills which it was intended to in-*
 “*troduce into Parliament on the sub-*
 “*ject*; and he thought the proposed al-
 “terations, if carried into effect, would
 “produce great benefit to the country.
 “(Hear). This was a subject of great
 “importance to this and other metro-
 “politan parishes. He had attempted
 “to ascertain the cause of the increase
 “in the county-rates, and his conclusion
 “was, that it would not have arisen if
 “the body who imposed the taxes were
 “a responsible body. The judicial du-
 “ties of a county should be discharged
 “by persons appointed by the King,
 “under the sanction of the Lord Lieu-
 “tenant: while its financial concerns
 “should be conducted by individuals
 “elected by the rate-payers. He did not
 “blame the magistrates of Chester for
 “sporting their thousands upon thou-
 “sands, voted with closed doors; it was
 “the system he condemned. He did
 “not know that there was any blame
 “to be attributed to the magistrates of
 “Middlesex, for agreeing to the ex-

“pense of 32s. per head for passing
 “paupers. They put up for contracts.
 “and this was, he believed, the lowest
 “contract.

3. “Mr. RAWLINSON thought that
 “the parish ought to look with the
 “greatest jealousy upon the increased
 “expenditure which this new act would
 “impose. The original charge for
 “passing paupers was five shillings per
 “pauper; now the sum would be
 “thirty-two shillings. This was an
 “immense increase, even at the first
 “blush; but even this increase would
 “not be all.

4. “Mr. HOVENDEN, a director of
 “the poor, said that, in consequence of
 “this act, he had been prevented from
 “passing paupers, he not wishing to
 “increase the burdens of this-parish in
 “the way proposed by the act.

5. “Sir S. WHALLEY said, that if the
 “Government had intended to try an
 “experiment, they ought to have done
 “so at the expense of the country in
 “general, and not at that of the metro-
 “politan parishes.

6. “Mr. WILSON also objected to
 “the experiment being made in the way
 “it had been.

7. “Mr. HOPE thought that the ex-
 “pense of passing paupers under the
 “new act would be 3*l.* instead of 32*s.*
 “He thought the observations made by
 “the hon. Member for Middlesex, rela-
 “tive to the division of the duties of
 “county magistrates, were deserving of
 “the marked attention of the vestry.
 “In 1762, the rates for the county of
 “Middlesex were only 1,000*l.*, now they
 “amounted to 75,000*l.* (Hear).

8. “Mr. COOKE was glad that this
 “experiment was to be tried by the Go-
 “vernment. He must own that he
 “felt that the Irish ought to be treated
 “by this country as aliens. (Oh!)

9. “Captain BRENTON said, there
 “should be poor-laws in Ireland, or
 “they ought to be done away with in
 “England. (Hear). It was too much
 “to call upon the people of England
 “to support the poor of Ireland, while
 “the gentry of that country, after
 “taking from the peasantry all they

" could get, went to foreign countries to spend it.

10. " Mr. POTTER expressed his abhorrence of the doctrine broached by Mr. Cooke. What! treat the inhabitants of our sister country as aliens, merely because they were ground to the dust, and reduced to wretchedness, by the want of the sympathy of those who should be their natural protectors, and by the operation of bad and cruel laws which had been imposed upon them by the ancestors of the present race of Englishmen. (Hear). He was quite shocked at the doctrine thus propounded, and he trusted that it would be repudiated by every individual present. (Hear, hear). He understood that the Government had a wish to get the control over the funds collected in parishes for the relief of the poor, but he trusted that the parishes of England would never give up their control over their own funds. (Hear).

11. " Mr. HUME begged to say that the last speaker was under a mistake, in respect to the intentions of Government. They had no wish whatever to lay their hands upon the money collected for the relief of the poor. It was certainly intended that there should be a *board of contract*, whose object was to induce a uniformity of practice. It was proposed likewise to alter the laws of *settlement* and *bastardy*; and he conceived that the alterations would be most beneficial to the country.

12. " Captain GOWAN observed that as a question of economy, he doubted very much whether the proposed alteration in the law for passing paupers would be effective. It was true that originally it only cost 5s. a head to pass paupers, but the moment they got the range of this country, they frequently returned again, and thus the expense was immensely increased. He thought that Mr. Cooke's observations were rather harshly interpreted. He believed that gentleman merely meant, if the paupers, after being passed, returned upon the parish again, that they ought to be treated as

" aliens (hear); and he (Captain Gowan) also thought, if a pauper, after putting a parish to 32s. expense for passing him or her home, returned to that parish, that he or she ought to be treated as an alien.

13. " The question upon the confirmation of the matters was then put and carried.

14. " The claim of the Duke of Portland for 12 $\frac{1}{2}$ for ever, for two and a half acres of land, to form a part of the New-road, was put to the vote and lost by a majority of 21 to 16.

15. " Mr. POTTER announced that by the contract entered into that day the parish would save 1,000 $\frac{1}{2}$ in the mere removing of the dust, &c.—" Adjourned."

Now, sir, as I suppose that Mr. RICHARDS will again bring forward his proposition relative to poor-laws for Ireland; and as I, as well as others, shall then have a chance at least, of being heard upon the subject; and as my readers of any standing have had my sentiments upon the subject most fully stated in my letter to Mr. O'CONNELL, which letter makes a sort of appendix to the "MANCHESTER LECTURES"; I will here not go over the whole subject again, but merely answer two arguments of yours, in justification of your hostility to poor-laws for Ireland. The first of which, to state it in *form*, is as follows;

1. Poor-laws have degraded the English.
2. That which degrades the English will naturally degrade the Irish.
3. Things that degrade a people are bad; and, therefore, it would be bad for Ireland to have poor-laws.

This is your argument formally stated; and it is into the truth, into the soundness of this argument, which I am now going to inquire. I lay aside here all that I might say about the indefeasible rights of the poor; it is not necessary upon the present occasion to show, which I am at all times ready to show, that they have as much right to parochial relief, as you have to the rents of your land: I am now merely going to answer this argument, which, if the pro-

positions be true, is certainly conclusive; but the truth of which propositions you are bound to prove, before you call upon any one to adopt your conclusions.

Well, then, prove to us that the major proposition of your syllogism is true: prove to us that the poor-laws have degraded the people of England; prove to us that they have a degrading tendency. You have proved no such thing; and I am presently going to show, that you can prove no such thing; but that I can prove the contrary as far as is permitted by the nature of the case. I presume that the strict rules of logic are dispensed with in arguing matters in metropolitan parish vestries; for, here we find you believing that the poor-laws of England have degraded the people; and then, immediately, asking the vestry whether they would "impose upon the sister kingdom" "that which they admitted to be a curse" "at home." I perceive that there was a "hear," "hear," at this part of your speech: whether in admiration of your enviable boldness; or of the striking correctness of your logic, I will not say; but, if I had been present, I certainly should have stopped you, and have asked you, what right you had to say, that I admitted a thing to be a curse, because you believed it to be an evil! I should have forgotten that you were a member of Parliament altogether, and should have desired you to move a little more slowly, and not gallop on to conclusions in this manner. I should have felt myself insulted by being told that I admitted a thing merely because another said that he believed it. Why a pointer will not point merely because you signify to him that you believe that there is a covey in the stubble. A beagle that is worth a straw will not begin to open merely upon the cheering of the huntsman. The sensible little creature must have sight, or rustle, or scent, or something; some proof of the truth of the proposition, before he will open, and set up his cheering cry. Ah, sir! lucky it is for the orators of MARYBONNE, that the vestries of that populous parish are not natural logicians, as beagles and pointers are!

However, you not having attempted to prove the affirmative of your major proposition; you not having attempted to prove that it is true, I will now go very far to prove it to be false; not falsehood proceeding from any intention in you; not wilful falsehood; but falsehood of a very common description; namely, falsehood proceeding from a want of knowledge of the subject on which you were speaking.

In the first place, you are bound to show, that the moral character of the people of England has been degraded. I admit it; but, in a case like this, you are bound to prove it, and that you have not done. But what is it to be "degraded"? I ask what is it to be "degraded"? It is to make a man lower in degree; it is to lessen his moral or physical worth. Now, then, admit that a degradation of the moral character of the people of England has taken place, it follows, of course, and of necessity, that there was a time when that character was higher. Ah! there was a time, was there! Then be so civil, Mr. HUME, as to tell me when that time was! Was it when the Catholic religion was the religion of England? Oh, no! Was it before forty sorts of dissenters were heard of? Oh, no! You will ascribe it to no such cause. Very well, then, were the people of England degraded in moral character when they made the glorious revolution of 1688? Were they degraded in moral character when they called the Hanoverians to the throne? Were they degraded in moral character fifty years ago? You will not say that they were; you dare not say that they were; and yet fifty years ago the poor-laws had existed very nearly two hundred years. If it be the nature of poor-laws to degrade a people, how come they not to have degraded the people of England in the space of two hundred years? They have existed in the United States of America from the very settlement of the country. Queen ELIZABETH's poor-law is the law in every part of that country, and always has been the law; and has been in full operation in some of the states for a hundred and fifty years; have the poor-

laws degraded that people? "You don't know." Go to the club-houses, then, where the panes of glass cost five pounds a piece, and where the waiters come out to you in silk stockings; ask the heroes that you find there in blue and buff, or burning scarlet, retired from war's alarms, and lolling on sofas; ask them whether it was a degraded people that they met upon the seas, upon the lakes, at CHIPPEWHAW, at PLATTSBURGH, and at NEW ORLEANS: ask them, whether JACKSON and his comrades were degraded men, who came from the plough to drive five times their number of disciplined English into the sea?

Now, sir, what have you to say in answer to this? Your *belief* of the contrary is all that you have to offer; and though that is quite enough at a vestry meeting in MARYBONNE, it will not be found to be quite enough in most other assemblies of men. It is not for me to show, in this case, what has been the cause of the degradation. It is quite sufficient for me to show, that the poor-laws have *not* been the cause. It is very curious in how different a manner you argue with regard to the "*heddekashun*." With regard to the poor-laws you argue thus: there are poor-laws in the country: the people are degraded; *therefore*, the poor-laws degrade the people. I might argue in this way, and very fairly, too, about the "*heddekashun*," because the degradation *began* with the "*heddekashun*"; and because they have gone on increasing together; but poor-laws existed two hundred years, and were all the while called the greatest honour and blessing of the country. The "*heddekashun*," indeed, has every claim to suspicion; for crime and misery have increased in the exact proportion that that has increased; and yet you call upon the Parliament to extend the "*heddekashun*," as the means of decreasing the crimes and misery of the country!

I now come to your second argument, which (having to deal with so accurate a logician) I shall again state in due form:

1. The Scotch people have less of moral degradation than the English.
2. The Scotch have an absence of poor-laws:
3. Therefore, poor-laws have a degrading tendency.

Now, with regard to the major proposition, I remember a Scotchman, who always used to say, when he had a doubt of the strength of the argument, "*Quorie the fact, mon.*" I "*query the fact*" here, very seriously. I have seen a great deal more of both countries than you have: in neither is the moral condition so good as it was fifty years ago, or thirty years ago; but, taking one thing with another, and all things together, I believe that the morals of the people on this side of MERIDEN, that is to say, the middle of England, to be full as good as they are in Scotland. This is a *fact*, the exact state of which no man is able to prove. You *assume* the better morals of Scotland; and, if you could produce fact or argument, which you have not, in support of the assumption, there would still be the great disparity of the circumstances to be taken into view. So that your major proposition is not worth a straw.

If, however, I were to admit your *major*, what am I to say to your *minor*? What am I to say to a Scotchman, who is a member of Parliament, who tells the people of MARYBONNE that there is an absence of poor-laws in Scotland? Don't tell me: "patriot" here, or "patriot" there: "useful member of Parliament," or "not useful member of Parliament": a man should not talk of things which he understands nothing at all about. Why, *there are poor-laws in Scotland*; only they are bad and insufficient poor-laws; and the misery of the people is in proportion to the badness and insufficiency of those laws.

Before I proceed further, I will insert here two Scotch petitions, upon the subject of poor-laws. The first is from the Political Union of DUNFERMLINE; and the second is from the directors of the Town's Hospital of GLASGOW; both presented to the House of Commons during the last session of Parliament; and both, in effect, praying for more

rowed money of their friends; and yet the objects of misery were so numerous, and that misery so great, as to be perfectly appalling: it was the topic in every circle; it actually seemed to deprive the city of all cheerful enjoyment of life: it was honourable to that city that its inhabitants could not be happy amidst the cries of so much wretchedness. And you, a Scotchman, and twenty years a member of Parliament, and not know this! And yet you could not have known it, or you could not have uttered the words ascribed to you in the *Morning Chronicle*.

The truth is, that poor-laws do exist in Scotland; but they are insufficient laws: the working people are not sufficiently protected; they have not their due share of the produce of the land. You did not tell the vestry at MARYBONNE, that thousands of Scotch vagrants are *driven back into Scotland out of England every year*: you did not tell them that, while caravans go from London to Bristol, loaded with Irish vagrants, caravans are going loaded with Scotch vagrants from NEWCASTLE to BERWICK-UPON-TWEED and into Scotland. No; you did not tell them this; *because you did not know it*; that is to say, for want of knowledge of the subject upon which you were speaking. No; you did not tell them this: if you had, some of them might have asked you where the country was for the English poor to prowl out into, if the poor-laws in England were to be abolished; and this would have been a puzzling question, profoundly as you are skilled in logic.

This very fact alone ought to be sufficient to satisfy you, that legal, efficient, and ever-present relief for the poor ought always to exist. This damnable wen and its environs, and its hordes of tax-eaters and usurers, drain away from Scotland as well as from Ireland, and from a large part of England, the money which ought to remain in the pockets, and the food that ought to go into the bodies, of the people of those parts. In England the monstrous and unnatural evil is, in some degree, corrected by the poor-laws, which keep

back from the jaws of these devouring devils a sufficiency to prevent the poor from starving. In Scotland the laws are insufficient for this purpose. In Ireland they do not exist at all. The food is brought away from both those countries, and the wretched people endeavour to follow it.

You, sir, a Scotchman, ought not to forget, that in 1819, an application was made by the Scotch members of Parliament, *for a grant of money out of the taxes to relieve the sufferings of the poor in Scotland*. Lord LIVERPOOL upon this occasion, and for the only time in his life that I recollect, *spoke sense*. "No," said he; "let the Scotch members move for poor-laws, such as we have in England, and I will vote for the motion; but, if they will not have our poor-laws, let them not ask for money from the parishes of England to relieve their poor." Nothing could be more sensible and nothing more just than this. The money was refused; but the landlords and manufacturers of Scotland did not imitate those of Ireland; did not suffer the poor to die with starvation, blubbering out *humanity* all the while. The begging went from door to door in England for the relief of the suffering Irish. It came to my door as well as to that of others; and my answer was, "No; I pay poor-rates here, and shall not give money to go into the pockets of Irish landlords."

Your *two arguments* are now answered; but, in a subsequent part of your speech, the *Chronicle* informs us that you told the vestry, that you had seen the "HEADS OF BILLS," which it was proposed to introduce into Parliament upon the subject of the poor. And you afterwards said, that these bills were intended to establish a general *board of contract*, and to alter the laws of *settlement* and *bastardy*; so that, it would appear, that the wise men of *Downing-street* have taken you into council upon this particular point; and, if so, they will be delighted that I have been able to bring forth such abundant proof of your knowledge upon the subject; and of your capacity to treat it in a manner so logical. "In the multitude

of councillors there is *wisdom*"; and, therefore, your having been called in will doubtless add to the mass; and it will tend to assist the Lord Chancellor out of the scrape in which he still is. Two years ago he pledged himself to bring in a bill, a new poor-law bill, that should put all to rights. "Done!" said I: "I challenge you to it: I dare you to do it: I say you will not, and 'I say you cannot.'" This was the origin of the poor-law commission, consisting of the Bishop of London, COULSTON the *reporter*, SENIOR, HARRY DRUMMOND's political-economy preacher, HARRY GAWLER, old Dr. STURGES's son, commonly called STURGES BOURNE, Secretary of State under CANNING, and author of STURGES BOURNE's bills, providing for the employment of hired overseers. You say that you have seen the report of these commissioners. I have seen some of it, you know; and such a bundle of lies and of nonsense never was put forth in the world. But, what are these **BILLS**, of which you have seen the heads, *to effect*? The object of all the contrivances about the poor-laws; of all the committees and all the commissions, has been, directly or indirectly, by hook or by crook, to take away the relief; that is to say, do away the act of Queen ELIZABETH. This has been the object ever since the merciless MALTHUS wrote his book, to reduce the people of England to the state of those of Ireland, and to keep them down here by a *Bourbon* police, as they are kept down there; and this is what **WILL NEVER BE EFFECTED**.

"Let them with their gray goose quills,
"Scribble senseless heads of bills."

Let them, like SWIFT's *LEGION CLUB*, do this as long as they please, they will never carry their point. The people know well that they have a right to be upon, and have a living out of, the land on which they were born; they know that their right to this is much more clear than any man's right to his estate in land; they know that it is against the law of God, as well as of the law of man, and particularly the law of Eng-

land, that any man should starve amidst plenty; and especially that those should starve who have caused all the food to come; if they have not seen they have heard of the drivings-off in the *county of Sutherland*, which is said now not to contain one single soul whose GRAND-FATHER LIVED IN THAT COUNTY. They have no idea of having the present grandfathers driven off in England; they know that their forefathers had an inheritance in the whole of the property of the church, forming one third part of the whole of the lands in the kingdom; they know that this inheritance was taken away, and that poor-rates were laid upon the land to be given to them as a *compensation*; all this they have sucked in with their mothers' milk, from father to son, from generation to generation, and to get it out of them you must *destroy their bodies*; in other words, you must bring it to a general fight. You, sir, contend that tithes, for instance, are *public property*. So they are; but destined to a particular object or objects. They were never destined to be paid to fundholders; nor ought they now to be given up to tax-eaters of any description. They belong to the whole community; but are destined for the purpose of furnishing churches, ministers, and parochial relief to those who have neither house nor land. So far from this description of persons being considered as those who have nothing, they have an inheritance in this part of the property of the kingdom; and, safe as you think the game is, let them once well understand their interests in this case, it will not be found to be so easy a matter to hand over this mass of property to the monsters of the debt.

The report says, that you said, "*that you felt strongly*" upon this subject. I wish you had felt sensibly as well as strongly, and then you would have saved me the mortification of publicly addressing this letter to you, which I cannot conclude, however, without observing that, in common with the people in general, I feel great gratitude towards you for the exertions which you have been constantly making

to prevent the squanderings of the public money.

I am, sir,
your most humble,
and most obedient servant,
WM. COBBETT.

LEEDS ELECTION.

THE intelligence from Leeds is contradictory with regard to this election; but the sum total seems to be this: that, if there be sense and public spirit enough remaining in Yorkshire to induce the radicals and the Tories cordially to join, the Whigs will be defeated, and the town of Leeds will not, like that of Huddersfield, sink down at once into a rotten borough. The political conduct of Yorkshire, and of Leeds in particular, has been as bad as bad could be for many years past. It was an infamy of all infamies for Leeds to elect MACAULAY, a placeman, with a father a placeman, after this town had, for fifty years, been railing against boroughmongering, because it had put placemen into Parliament. For my part, I was so disgusted with the base conduct of this town, that, when I went to the north last year, and when I came back again, being compelled to go through it, I went through it as I should go through *Duke's-place* or *Rosemary-lane*, or as one walks along a French street in the morning, garnished on each side with the results of the indigestions of the night. If this great and opulent town, admirable as to its industry, and upon a level with any other town, perhaps, with regard to the private character of its inhabitants; if this town should now do its duty, and show its resolution not to become a rotten Whig-borough, I shall be glad to express my respect for it; if it do not, I cannot despise it more than I now do. In Mr. BOWER, or Mr. SADER, there is an independent man, at any rate; and, in one of the cases, very great ability. In BAINES there is, in fair prospect, the head of a whole race of placemen. The mischief which Leeds has done to the

liberties of England is beyond all computation: it is the London of that great slice of England; and it has been the foster-mother of the most mischievous political quacks that ever existed in this world. It is entirely owing to that quack-ridden county that this nation is now loaded with a new debt of twenty millions of money; and, if I could have my will, that county should pay the whole of the interest. If Leeds now elect the man who has been, more than any other man, instrumental in promoting this quackery, it would have a new title to the contempt and execration of the whole kingdom.

"THE CHURCH IN DANGER."

THIS is no cry of "wolf," now; for the Jews are really coming at her, knife in hand, like SHYLOCK, clamouring for his pound of flesh: just like him; "give me my bond: I'll have my bond; or fie upon your laws!" This is the language of the all-devouring monster. The parsons begin to be sensible of their danger; and that this danger is not visionary the reader will clearly see, from an article in the *Times* newspaper of the 16. instant, which I shall first insert.

The first great ecclesiastical reform demanded by the national feelings, and promised by the Government, has been a financial reform. The nature of the fund by which the parochial clergy of England and Ireland have been, and are to be, supported, is to undergo a complete modification.

But it is also requisite, not only that the nature of the fund should be modified, but, that so far as is practicable, the remuneration of a parish minister should be proportioned to his toil; and that where there is no labour there ought to be no remuneration. This argument settles the question both of pluralities and sinecures; no bishop or other patron should have power by law to appoint to one living a clergyman who already holds another, and where there is no duty to be performed; that is, in the case of every sinecure, the income which has hitherto been enjoyed by an idler, ought, at his death, to be sequestrated into the hands of whatever commission or board is henceforth to receive and distribute the ecclesiastical revenue, applying the sums

thus rescued from corruption, to the increase of small livings and curates' salaries, to which laudable and sacred purposes, other funds drawn from similar, but more fruitful sources, should, with equal strictness, and might, with more extensive benefit, be made subser-vient.

The attention of Parliament should also be directed to the enormous income of deans and chapters. The revenues of these overgrown and sluggish corporations, which are allowed by nearly all the world but their own members to be of more than questionable usefulness, go to the support of some ten or a dozen persons in each diocese, whose sole professional duty consists in chanting the service, and otherwise officiating in the cathedral church on Sundays, holidays, &c. Now, in the first place, whatever be the cause of it, religious worship in a cathedral is scarcely ever attended by more than one in twenty persons, as compared with the congregation in the next parish church. Yet the apparatus of all dignitaries, of all names and sorts, shows an excess of ten to one at least over the clergy of any one parochial place of worship, while the accumulation of revenue at their disposal is often as fifty to one.

We presume that there are no true friends of the church who would object to a different application of such riches, viz., to the purpose before referred to, of helping out the poorer and more laborious clergy; that is to say, after first allotting a sufficient fund to the maintenance of the cathedral in full repair, and to the support of whatever useful charities have any lawful claim to a share of the corporation revenue, to a crumb or two from the dignitaries' table.

But there is one head of abuse in the appropriation of ecclesiastical revenues, which is by far the most revolting of the whole. We are not, as we have repeatedly shown, inclined to make the church a subject of superfluous exasperation or derision, or to commit the extravagance of attempting parallels for which there exists no fair foundation, between its primitive history and its actual state. We do not, therefore, challenge the comparison, so frequent with zealous and possibly very pious and excellent, though we think inconsiderate persons—between the poverty of St. Peter or his brother apostles, and the archbishops of the nineteenth century; but we do ask in a spirit of honest good-will towards the reformed church of England, is it seemly—is it in character—is it conducive to the kindly influence of religion under any form of Christianity—that an English Primate should possess a revenue of more than 20,000*l.* per annum?—that he should in one year, besides that extravagant revenue, be suffered to catch a windfall in the shape of fines or leases of little less than 100,000*l.*?—that the gloomy though gilded walls of Lambeth should witness a gorgeousness of pomp, luxury, and worldly grandeur, in all those laboured ceremonies by which man pretends to exalt his

head above his fellows, such as is unheard of in the Vatican? We say nothing of the personal dispositions, which may be mild, and humble, and charitable—nay, overflowing with Christian meekness and benevolence by which Dr. Howley may be distinguished, or any of the primates who have preceded him. What we complain of is, that the primacy is in itself a principality,—that its revenues are all but royal,—that its modes and habits of existence are, by prescription, such as Wolsey, were he alive, might, in his moods of most elated arrogance, have affected,—that, finally, the condition of the Archbishop of Canterbury is, by reason of the prodigious income annexed to it, a shame to that reformed church, whose discipline, doctrines, and spirit, all refuse to countenance such an ungodly accumulation of earthly treasures, in no manner characteristic of, or conducive to, the furtherance of religious ends, but drawing down a host of envious and adverse feelings upon our whole establishments. Look, again, at the See of London, with its generally admitted prospect of becoming, at no distant period, if its finances remain unmodified, worth 60,000*l.* per annum. The See of Ely, and the riches heaped up within it,—we say nothing of its administration under its present liberal, disinterested, evangelical, and beloved diocesan,—are a crying disgrace to the church of England, and would be reprobated in that of Rome.

Durham is another enormity, so is Winchester, so is York.

There is no just reason to be alleged for the prodigious wastefulness and scandal of these episcopal revenues. The highest offices of the civil, judicial, or military administration, have nothing to compare with them. Why should the First Lord of the Treasury, a removable minister, have no more than 6,000*l.* per annum, when there are ecclesiastical functionaries, irremovable, with considerably more than 20,000*l.*? The Primate of Ireland was discovered a few months ago to have a net income of more than 15,000*l.* a year. The public have no cause of complaint against that prelate, any more than against the Bishop of Durham, for the use he has made of his splendid income, which, we are told, has been liberal towards the destitute, and munificent towards the church: so here again we guard ourselves from all imputations of being actuated by hostile feelings against individuals. But Parliament has declared the income of future "Primates of all Ireland" shall be something short of 10,000*l.* per annum. Even this is too much by at least a third: 6,000*l.* a year would be more than abundant.

The Archbishop of Canterbury ought to be cut down to 10,000*l.* per annum; York to 8,000*l.*; Durham the same; and London to perhaps as much. All other English bishop-ricks ought to be fixed at a *maximum* of 4,000*l.* The sees ought to be more equalized, as to business and trouble. Such a diocese as

Chester ought to have some of its work turned over to a less occupied prelate; and no translations, as we have already said, ought to be endured, save only to Canterbury and one or two other prelaties. When there was nothing to be got by Parliamentary subserviency in the way of promotion, the rev. brethren might perhaps be less unwilling to vacate their baronies in the House of Lords, and to confine their mental activity to the superintendence of their diocess, to an interchange of kindness with their parochial clergy, and to an exhibition of conciliatory and edifying examples to their no longer declining flocks.

For Irish bishops, 3,000*l.* a year would suffice, and for the archbishops of that country twice the sum.

This, however, in conclusion we can aver, that the commutation of tithe is hardly looked to throughout the kingdom with more earnest anxiety than the recall of the bishops to their proper character and station. No church-reform can pretend to be complete, and none will give satisfaction to the people, without it.

The parsons see their danger, and are beginning to muster. Those in the diocess of GLOUCESTER have met at the cathedral church, have issued a DECLARATION, and have agreed on a petition to be presented to the King. It is curious to observe, that they pretend to an anxiety for the preservation of the LITURGY, and of the purity of the WORSHIP of the church; that they pretend to see great danger to these from the growth of Atheism, Deism, and Unitarianism; very curious, that they do not even hint at any intended attack upon their TEMPORALITIES; nor at any thing at all relative to pluralities and non-residence! This is very curious, when there is hardly any such a thing as Atheism heard of in the country, and when infidelity of every degree is wholly out of fashion. Not one straw do the people care about alterations in the *Liturgy* or the Articles; not one word do they ever say about them, while on the subject of *tithes* and *church-rates* they are open-mouthed from one end of the kingdom to the other. In conclusion of the above-mentioned address, the clergy of the diocess of GLOUCESTER threaten to "unfurl the banners sanctified by the blood of the Lamb," calling upon the "God of Hosts to assist them," and reminding him of his pledge, that "the

gates of hell shall not prevail against his church." Ah! it is too late! Mother QUICKLY tells somebody, during the last illness of FALSTAFF, "It is all over wi' him, for he begins to call 'a' God'!" The parsons begin to "call 'o' God"; and not a bit too soon. There was one, however, who called in the BLUE POLICE the other day, or who threatened to call them in, in a church in LAMBETH, to decide a question of *church-rates*! The parsons have been calling upon the BLUE POLICE, calling upon the soldiers, calling upon the "strong arm of the law"; calling upon jailers, and so forth, for upwards of forty years; calling upon "church and king" men to burn TOM PAINE in effigy. Parson HAY called upon the yeomanry at Manchester, on the 16. of August, 1819; and Parson HAY got the living of ROCHDALE soon after that, in addition to his living in Yorkshire. If, instead of this, the parsons had been calling o' God during the last forty years, they might have now smiled at the really revolutionary doctrine of the *Times* newspaper, and at the handful of Deists and Atheists that are to be found in the kingdom.

But, what is it they now "call o' God" FOR? They call upon the God of Hosts to protect them; but against WHAT? They say that God has promised that the gates of hell shall not prevail; but against what has he promised that they shall not prevail? The people complain of enormous church-revenues *misapplied*; they complain that four or five livings are given to one man, and, in innumerable cases, two livings to one man; they complain that those who receive the revenues do not reside on the livings, but take the revenues away out of the parishes, spend them in places of fashionable resort, or in foreign lands, leaving miserable starving curates to perform the duties of the church; they complain that the parsons are become sharp magistrates to execute STURGES BOURNE's bills and the new game laws. Do they call of God, then, to uphold this misapplication of tithes and church-rates; to uphold pluralities and non-residence;

and has God ever promised that the gates of hell shall not prevail against these? Poh! let the parsons talk sense: let them propose that all the tithes, lay and clerical, shall go back to their original destination; that one parson shall have one living, and no more; that the new churches shall be maintained by the revenues of parishes where the churches have been suffered to fall down; and that the parson, like the shepherd, shall in future always reside upon the same spot with his flock. Let them propose this, and then the people will listen to them; but, unless they do this, the churchmen will be amongst the most stanch of their foes.

RURAL AFFAIRS.

COBBETT-CORN.

FOR, in spite of the parsons and the bull-frog farmers, this *shall* be the name of it, and *must* be the name of it. This corn now bids fair to stand the very first on the list of good things in England. The flour of this corn is now sold at fourteen shillings a bushel, while the finest wheat flour is not much more than half the price. The flour is sold in packages, under the name of "*Indian Golden Pelanta*," at No. 2, ARTHUR-STREET, leading from London Bridge to the Monument. It was sold for *sixpence* a pound; that is to say, at the rate of twenty-eight shillings a bushel; but it is now sold at *eightpence* a pound, in consequence of the great demand, and of the short supply; that is to say, at the rate of one pound seventeen shillings a bushel. The vender very honestly calls it "*a preparation, made from Cobbett-Corn*." I see the Corn now in all the seedsmen's shops, and I see it in the shops at *Covent Garden*; and it is absolutely necessary to distinguish it by the name of *Cobbett-Corn*; because there is American corn in the market, and French corn, which is not only mere rubbish compared to my corn in point of quality; but, if bought to plant, must wholly disappoint the person who plants it, seeing that it will not ripen in England; and, indeed, it is a totally inferior thing altogether.

I have formerly noticed that there are two sorts of this corn, the large

and the small, which latter has been cultivated to any extent, this last year for the first time. The small is earlier than the large; but I do not think that it can be made to bear so great a crop. Lord VERNON has taken great pains in the cultivation of both sorts of corn; and I have one plant of the small corn now to be seen at my shop in *Bolt-court*, grown by his lordship, which is a perfect prodigy of vegetation. It has six complete fine ears, which contain not less than *six ounces of fine flour*, sufficient to make a pudding of considerable size. With great care five tons of the finest flour may be produced from one statute acre of land, which is six times as much as can be produced by the means of wheat.

Besides the value of this plant as a producer of food, whether for man or for other animals, it is exceedingly valuable as yielding the means of making good and sweet beds and pillows, which, it is very well known, it does make in the West Indies, Portugal, Spain, Italy, and in all the countries where the plant grows. My Lord VERNON has taken the pains to have a pillow made as a specimen, and has had the goodness to give it to me to be shown to the public at my shop, where it is deposited for that purpose.

I have always contended, that, if the cultivation of this corn succeeded in England, the introduction of it, and the causing of it to be generally cultivated, would be the greatest benefit that any one man ever conferred upon any one country; ten million times surpassing in value all the inventions of machinery and steam; but, this honour does not belong to me, except in as far as relates to all manner of exertions to spread a knowledge of the thing throughout the country, and to urge people on to the cultivation. Those who have read my "*TREATISE ON THE CORN*," know that the large sort was introduced in 1826, by my eldest son (WILLIAM), who brought an ear from the Continent, and who first planted it at KENSINGTON. They know that it was he that urged me to try it upon a large scale at BARN ELM, in Surrey. They now ought to be told, that he also introduced the

small corn four years ago; that he gave some to Mr. THOMAS POYNTER, of Fulham, and that from Mr. POYNTER my Lord VERNON got some seed, which he has cultivated with such surprising success. I never was a plagiarist, not even to the smallest extent: if I have made use of thoughts which I have acquired in conversation, I have always contrived, somehow or other, to give them not as my own; I must not, therefore, rob my own son. I know that this corn will make the greatest of all revolutions in the agriculture of this country. I am sure that it will make an addition of one-third to the produce of the food in all that part of England which is south of the town of NORTHAMPTON. A farmer in Lancashire has grown a crop of this corn every year; and he has the boldness (he is a *Lancastrian*, observe) to *challenge me*; but I speak far within bounds, when I speak of all that part of England, south of the town of NORTHAMPTON. This, then, is a prodigious revolution in this greatest of all human affairs. It must reflect lasting honour on the man who introduced it; and that honour will belong to WILLIAM COBBETT, my eldest son, who has taken more pains about this matter than many and many a man, even Jew or Quaker, would have taken in the gaining of a fortune as great as man could possess. He has now got land, and all the means of giving effect to every wish that he has relative to this corn; and, if he live until this year be out, I am convinced that his proceedings of this year will *plant this corn for ever as the greatest product of England*.

As I said before, I now see it in all the seedsmen's shops. I sell it at my shop, both sorts, though I have very little to sell. Great injury will arise to those who plant American or French corn; because it will not ripen; and because it is, comparatively, poor stuff, if it do. The best way is to get it from a neighbour, or from some one who has grown it in England. If you buy of seedsmen, purchase it *in the ear, and with the husk still attached to it*; this will be a proof of its having been raised in England, and that will be enough. To know how to carry on the cultivation well,

you must read my "*Treatise on Cobbett-Corn*"; but upon a small scale this is not necessary.

LOCUST SEED.

I have now some of this seed, which I warrant to be of the right sort, having received it from the banks of the *Susquehanna*, which I sell at eight shillings a pound. A pound of seed, according to my instructions in the book called the "*Woodlands*," will yield from eight to ten thousand plants.

LOCUST TREES.

I have about ten thousand, which are very fine, which have been *removed*, and which I sell for five pounds a thousand, packed securely up, and delivered at any wagon, or any wharf, in London.

GARDEN-SEEDS.

I notified last week, that I should not, in future, make any distinction in price, whether a single bag or a number of bags, a single pound or a number of pounds, were sold; and that the prices would be as follows:

Deep red mangel wurzel seed 9d a pound; true, sound, and fresh.

Swedish turnip seed, which I warrant to be the finest and truest that ever was raised in England, 9d. a pound.

Bags of seed for large gardens (the seeds tied up in paper bags, and those sewed up in a canvass bag), with a printed list of the seeds in the inside, along with a manuscript card of my writing, with the following words on it, "*Garden seeds, raised at Normandy farm, in 1833, by Wm. Cobbett,*" 25s. each.

Bags for small gardens, having all the same sorts of seeds, but in half the quantity of the preceding, with printed list and card the same, 12s. 6d. each.

"HEDDEKASHUN."

To W. Cobbett, Esq., M. P.

DEAR SIR,—It is often useful to remind disputants of the real question at issue. Your correspondent, Mr. Wheatley, needs to be brought back from the wide field into which he has strayed, and to be shown that his observations are not applicable to the question in dispute, which I take to be as follows:

"A more than proportionate increase

"of crime, as compared with the increase of population, having within the last fifty years taken place, its cause and remedy are required."

You, sir, and your disciples say, that taxes and tricks with the paper money rob all the workers of half their wages, and by reducing them to poverty and distress, create crime. The remedy recommended is the reduction of taxation to twelve or fourteen millions per year, so as the workman may have all his earnings to lay out in comforts for himself and family.

This opinion they support by pointing out the equal pace for the last fifty years, step by step, in the increase of taxes, poor-rates, and crime.

Our opponents, at the head of whom is Brougham, deny that taxes and poverty are the causes of crime, but charge ignorance as the producer, and education as the only efficient remedy; they therefore propose to increase the taxation, in order to increase the education—on which we join issue.

Facts are all in our favour. We point to the lockstep of taxation and crime: we likewise point out, that within the last fifty years, Sunday Schools, Lancasterian Schools, and National Schools, have increased beyond any alleged increase of the people; we say, here has been a constantly increasing dose of your remedy, followed by increased virulence in the disease, and we ask them how they account for that.

When Gil Blas told Dr. Sangrado that all his patients died, although he bled them and drenched them with warm water, the doctor, who had written a book, proving their efficacy in all disorders, told his pupil that his failure arose from not having sufficiently bled and drenched them. Like Dr. Sangrado, Brougham and his followers call out for more education, and now take the infant as soon as it can walk from its parents. Can any man, having a head and a heart, prefer the mercenary care of a schoolmistress to the affectionate watchings and warnings of a mother?—the one glad when released from the confinement of the school, and paid her wages; the other anxious for the future

welfare of her offspring, marking, with the quick eye of maternal love, the germs of vice, in order to ensure their eradication. According to Brougham and his disciples, a mother's heart, full of affection, must be left for the aid of the mercenary schoolmistress, truly we shall soon have a race of poor without kindred or country, fully prepared for actors in the reign of terror, in our fast-approaching revolution.

The flatterers of Brougham call him the modern Bacon: if he has any pretensions to that title, he must wish to try the justness of his theory by experiment. Let him, or any of his disciples, begin with their own servants, in their own house, reducing their wages, half feeding them, and locking up the cupboard, he or they may then educate, from morning to night; they may give lectures on science, and sermons on religion and morals daily; and I will promise to apostatize from the Cobbettite faith, if at the end of the year he or they have not a house full of rogues. This I call the Baconian test, by which I am ready to abide. I am, your disciple and friend,

T. R.

Hoxton, 7. January, 1834.

NATIONAL REGENERATION SOCIETY.

(Concluded from page 188.)

time to time, made to reduce wages below the level, by which, with moderate exertion, a comfortable subsistence may be gained, as well as to prevent their imposing hours of labour and confinement beyond what are generally considered to be reasonable and proper upon the people under their control.

This is carried to an extreme in many places, and people are compelled to work fourteen, fifteen, or sixteen hours for even less than others are paying for twelve. This is an act of palpable injustice, which, if such committees were formed and organized, would not be practised; and a moment's reflection must convince any reasonable man, that these shifts and contrivances, being founded in dishonesty and sustained by

fraud, cannot for any length of time be profitable, and are most dishonourable to those who practise them. I would have all these committees open to every representation that the working classes may feel disposed to make to them, and in all cases grievances should be removed, or they should be convinced that none existed.

Would it not then be wise *first* to try what advantages the operatives could obtain in this way, and thus make the masters themselves the medium through which the improved condition of the people should come? This would prevent that collision which the plan you propose to pursue must, I fear, inevitably produce.

I am decidedly of opinion, that ten hours' labour, whether in or out of a factory, is quite as much as ought to be imposed upon any man, woman, or child, and that no children under ten years of age ought to be employed in any factory. And if any plan can be devised by which the public burdens imposed by the enormous taxation of the country can be so far lessened, as to make the shorter periods of labour, equally or more productive to the operatives, the masters as well as the country itself, would soon partake in the benefit, and we should become a united and happy people, and peace and plenty would again visit our land.

Thou wilt, I trust, pardon the liberty I take in thus placing my opinions before thee, and if thou see any value in them, thou art at liberty to make any use of this letter thou pleasest. We are both interested in, and anxious to promote, the well-being of our fellow-men.

If it would be any gratification to thee to look at these concerns, and thou wouldest do me the favour to partake of a family dinner with me, it would afford pleasure to

Thy very respectful friend,

DAVID HOLT.

Charlton New Mills, Manchester,
12 mo. 16, 1833.

J. Fielden, Esq., M.P.,
Tudmorden.

APPENDIX, No. II.

An Extract from William Longston's evidence taken before the Committee on the Factories Bill. (See Minutes of Evidence, 1832, pp. 430, 431, and 432.)

9397. Is the intensity of application and of labour altered, either against or in favour of the operative and of the children employed in mills and factories?—I was a great number of years out of any factory, but those who were my acquaintances during my boyhood have often conversed with me, and they very frequently say that it cannot be less than double in intensity and exertion of physical application.

9398. State why you believe that the labour of those employed has doubled since the first introduction and use of cotton machinery, or at least since you first knew it?—The reason why I believe so is from some calculations which I have been obliged to make, and by my own observation during the time I was manager of a mill in 1830 and 1831, when I had some of the same operations under my own observation.

9399. Have you any objection to put in those calculations?—Certainly not.

[The following document was then put in and read.]

Cotton Manufacture, at Stockport.

	lbs. of slubbing.		lbs. of boving.	Wages per score.
1800, 1 billey,* attended by a man and two boys, made....	360			
1832, 1 ditto ditto, ...	750			
1810, 1 stretcher,† worked by A. Docker, spun	400		1 3½	
1811, 1 —, the same man, ..	600		0 10	
1813, 1 —, the same man, ..	850		0 9	
1823, 1 —, the same man, ..	1000		0 7½	

* Billeys prepare the materials for jennies. The jennies are placed in cellars and other damp places, as the work requires dampness. When the children, who have been thus employed, are removed to the opposite condition in mills, injury must be done to their health.

† In 1810, if at the above rate Abraham Docker's week's work did not amount to 26s. that sum was always made up to him.

The same man on another stretcher,
the loving a little finer:

1823, ...	900	0	7½
1825, ...	1000	0	7
1827, ...	1200	0	6
1832, ...	1200	0	6

[*Observation.* To each stretcher, three young women are employed in the previous preparation of the article. Their wages have never been high, and have not been reduced in the above proportion, yet their labour has increased in the same proportion, otherwise the quantities above stated could not have been produced. A little girl is also employed, whose labour is also increased in like proportion, and who, whenever that law can be evaded, is kept at meal-time to clean the stretchers.]

Mule Yarn-spinning.

At Mr. Jesse Howard's:

	Spindles.	Hanks, about 40 to the lb.	Wages per 1000. s. d.
1806	480	6668	9 2
1823	480	8660	6 3
1832	480	10,000	3 10

9400. It appears by this document that the work done is very greatly increased between the years 1810 and 1832; has the machinery been so altered as to produce that amazing difference, or does it result from accelerating the speed of the machinery?—It is from accelerating the speed generally; and another cause is, that more work and more exertion is required from the individual working at the machine; these are two causes.

9401. Those causes, then, prove what you have been asserting, namely, that double the labour and attendance is now requisite that was formerly required?—I think so.

9402. In spite of the improvements of machinery?—Yes; I believe those that are now working in the same employment as I did when I was a boy, do double the work.

9403. So that there may be a great improvement in machinery, and at the same time a great increase in actual labour to each operative?—Yes.

9404. Has that been, as far as your experience has extended, the consonant result of improvements of machinery in those mills, namely, that the labour of

the hands has increased with every improvement in the machinery, rather than diminished?—Yes; the improvements in the machinery have been great, and the same physical exertion, and the same attention as was formerly applied, would certainly produce, in proportion to the altered state of the machinery, a much greater quantity and better articles; but, added to that, the increased exertions make the quantities to be such as just now surprised you.

9405. Are we to understand then that the labour of those employed has been much increased in its intensity?—Yes.

9406. How long were you employed in your boyhood in that way?—About six years.

9407. So that you were quite long enough to form an accurate observation as to the facts to which you have been alluding?—The statement which I have just now given with regard to the increased speed and the increase of physical exertion, I think is sufficient, even, if no weight were laid upon my own experience, to account for the increased quantity. The whole increase of quantity is not produced by increase of labour; that must be considered as combined with the improvement of machinery.

9408. Is not the increase of labour greater now than at the period to which you first adverted?—Yes; it is not only my opinion, but it is the opinion of all those with whom I converse, that it is generally doubled where it could be doubled; and I believe it is generally so. I have to observe from the quantities produced here (referring to the last document put in), that it may be evident, from other witnesses, that the increased speed alone would not produce the quantities here given; that, therefore, there must be an increase of physical exertion; and hence I infer the greater necessity of some law to make the duration of that labour shorter daily.

APPENDIX, No. III.

Instructions to Factory Commissioners, as shown in an extract, from page 3, of a correspondence between Mr. Wilson, Secretary to the Central Board of Factory Commissioners, and Mr. Stuart, one of the Commissioners.

"It is considered highly desirable by the Central Board, that particular attention should be paid to obtaining information in reply to the following queries, as such information may be conducive to important results :—

"What would be the objection (if any), to restricting the employment of children between the ages of nine and thirteen, to six or eight hours in the day, and thus to work in two sets, according as the whole day's work might extend to twelve or sixteen hours?

"It is suggested that such change of sets might be made at the hour of dinner, when the machinery is already stopped?

"Would a change of hands so made, entail any waste or the inferiority of the work? If so, describe the nature of such waste or inferiority."

APPENDIX, No. IV.

NATIONAL REGENERATION SOCIETY.

The objects intended to be obtained by this Society, are,—

1st. An abridgment of the hours of daily labour, whereby sufficient time may be afforded for education, recreation, and sleep.

2nd. The maintenance of, at least, the present amount of wages, and an advance as soon as practicable.

3rd. A system of daily education, to be carried on by the working people themselves, with the gratuitous assistance of the well-disposed of all parties, who may have time and inclination to attend to it.

N.B. It is suggested that, where other accommodation for schools does not exist, a sufficient substitute may be found in the buildings in which the people work.

This system of instruction to consist in teaching men how to produce the best of every article in the shortest time, at those branches of industry, they are, or may wish to be, engaged in.

In teaching women to wash, bake, brew, and mend clothes and stockings; and in all other domestic duties appertaining to cottage economy, in which knowledge a large majority of females, in the manufacturing districts, are now so lamentably deficient as to disgrace the age in which we live; owing to which deficiency of really useful knowledge, the most sad degeneracy has arisen, and will be followed by national evils, unparalleled in our history, unless time be given, and great pains taken to avert them.

And, in addition to this knowledge, it is designed to teach both men and women any other branch of useful knowledge they may be willing to learn, and will labour to acquire; to enjoin on both to abstain from running into debt; to be economical and industrious, and avoid all manner of intemperance; we may hope, thus, to train them to be good fathers and mothers, good husbands and wives, and virtuous members of society.

Children to be taught reading, writing, accounts, and other branches of useful knowledge. The female part of them to be taught, in addition, sewing, knitting, and every other branch of learning necessary to fit them for a proper discharge of the duties belonging to their sex.

APPENDIX, No. V.

Mr. Jacob's evidence, from the Select Committee's Report on Agriculture, page 5.

38. Do you conceive, taking the dealers from the great dealers in seaport towns, to the small dealers in market towns, there is a lessening in the stocks such persons hold? — Certainly, of English wheat.

39. Could you state in what proportion to the time the stocks were considered high? — I did suppose at one time, when we had a harvest in

1816, which was so very deficient, we had then six months' consumption in the country; I do not think that there has been a month's consumption in the country, at the time of the harvest, since 1829.

64. Can you form any opinion of what was the cause of the reduced stock in the hands of the farmers? — I suppose, in some measure, the reduction of capital; they have been paying a great deal of rent out of their capital.

51. You say that in 1816, preceding the bad harvest of that year, you think there were six months' consumption in store, and recently not more than one month; supposing the harvest of 1816 was to come over again, from whence do you contemplate the supply? — It could not be supplied from all the world. My opinion is, that if we were to diminish the growth of English wheat by one-tenth part of that now produced, we should not be in a safe state in case of a deficient harvest, for all the world could not make up the deficiency. We are now about four weeks in the year deficient in our growth on the average; last year the harvest was one month earlier than the year previous, so that we were enabled to get to the end of the year. The harvest of 1832 ought to supply 13 months, and I dare say it will do so; but if we have a deficient harvest, and the next harvest gives us but 11 months' supply, and owing to bad weather it be deficient one-tenth more, there would then be such a deficiency as all the world could not easily supply at any price, for wheat is not the food of man in any other country to the same extent as in England.

In France, even where wheat is much more used than in the north and east of Europe, Chapet states that there are only about 17,000,000 of quarters a year grown, of which near 3,000,000 are wanted for seed, and that for a population of 30,000,000 persons, while we require nearly as much for half that number of persons.

APPENDIX, No. VI.

RIGHTS OF INDUSTRY.

Sir,—We have been appointed as a deputation, by our fellow workmen, in your employ, to wait on you, and earnestly to request, that on the 1. day of March next you will have the goodness to fix eight hours per day as the time for us to work, such eight hours to be between the hours of six o'clock in the morning and six o'clock in the evening, and that you will also agree to pay us the wages we now earn per day, for the said eight hours' work.

We believe your interest, as well as our own, would be promoted by such a regulation, for it has been established by evidence that cannot be confuted, given before the committee on manufactures, shipping, and commerce, in the last session of Parliament, that, in the cotton trade (and we believe a similar investigation would prove it to be the same in other trades), the master manufacturers and their work-people received 72 per cent. less for labour, expenses, and profit for manufacturing articles from cotton, in 1832, than they did in 1815, and that for manufacturing six leading articles of cotton manufacture, which are a fair criterion of the state of the trade, the manufacturers now get an average of 30 per cent. less for labour, expenses, and profit, for producing these six leading articles, than they got in 1826, when the consumption of cotton was about 12,000 bags a week—the consumption which it would be again reduced to by the proposed alteration. And it can be demonstrated, that in 1815, for working up 6,500 bags of cotton a week, of 300 lbs. each, into four leading articles of cotton manufacture, the masters and their men received after the rate of 13,000,000*l.* per annum for the whole quantity, for labour, expenses, and profit; whereas in 1832, for working up 17,300 bags a week, of 300 lbs. each, into the same four still leading articles, they only got after the rate of 10,250,000*l.* per annum, for the whole quantity, for labour, expenses, and profit; and that, too, notwithstanding the

amazing increase of the number of persons engaged in this manufacture, and dependent upon it for subsistence in 1832, as compared with 1815. Besides, the time we now labour is too long to be endured, and deprives us of the opportunity of getting education, and of having that relaxation from a cessation of toil which rational beings ought to have. We respectfully wish to be informed whether you are disposed to adopt this new regulation, provided others in the trade agree to do the same.

APPENDIX, No. VII.

Extracts from J. Brocklehurst, jun. Esq.'s evidence, taken before the Select Committee on the Silk Trade.

11,350. You were led to expect there would be a very large increase by the alteration of the law?—The Minister told us we should go on and make the silk equal to the cotton trade; he only considered the silk trade to be the younger sister, and that he should place the silk trade on a par with her sister;—that was one expression of Mr. Huskinson's.

11,404. Can you state how many failures occurred between 1814 and 1826, of silk throwsters and manufacturers?—They were of so rare occurrence, I can only recollect one or two; and though a banker the last nine years of the time, I should think 9*l.* would cover our losses.

11,405. Since 1826, how many failed?—Somewhere about 40, as nearly as my recollection serves me, besides a great many in minor trades.

11,406. How large a proportion is that of the whole?—Two-thirds at that time.

11,407. How many establishments may there be at the present time?—There are now about as many left as have failed; I have a list of the parties who failed, but I think it is not desirable to go into those particulars.

11,408. To what do you attribute so many failures?—Some few might probably have been from unsuccessful competition, but I am confident the

bulk of those have been ruined by the reduction of duties on foreign thrown silks, and the general bad effects of the measures that came into operation in the year 1826.

11,409. They were in it, and could not get out of it?—Men cannot get out of a trade they are embarked in so rapidly as some political economists imagine.

11,410. If you had 20,000*l.* invested in a silk mill, do you know any mode of realizing your property when the throwing of silk is unprofitable?—At the time when individuals wish to get out of trade, they find that the moment of all others no one wishes to get into it.

11,411. Does not that observation peculiarly apply to manufacturing establishments, where there are large buildings, a plant and machinery, peculiarly adapted to that trade?—Yes; but political economists conceive that we can turn from the manufacture of cotton or silk, or any thing else, with the rapidity they proceed to conclusions.

11,412. Can the machinery be applied to any purpose?—To no purpose but firewood; I have seen property sold (if in fact it may be so called) that cost 60*s.* for 3*s.*

11,413. Do you know of any instance of mill property being offered for sale?—I know an instance of a mill originally costing 6,000*l.* or 7,000*l.* that was purchased in 1827 for 1,700*l.*, and I stated the fact to the Board of Trade in 1828 or 1829; a few weeks ago I met the late proprietor in London, and asked him what that mill actually cost; he said 7,000*l.* independently of machinery, and that the machinery cost him above 4,000*l.* more; altogether that property which cost 11,000*l.*, was knocked down for 1,700*l.*, and about 200*l.* for the machinery.

11,414. When was that mill erected?—In 1822, I believe.

11,415. It was not old or worn out?—No; it was, and is still, as good and as perfect a mill as any in the kingdom.

11,416. Was that man ruined?—He was, and has since been reduced to the necessity of trying to maintain himself and his family by keeping a petty shop in London.

11,417. Supposing that mill to be erected in 1827, as it was in 1822, what would it have cost to have built that mill, and stored it with machinery?—Perhaps 10 per cent. less.

11,418. It would have cost about 10,000*l.* in the year 1827?—Yes; and it would now.

11,419. What may be the prices of throwing silk at Macclesfield?—There are no fixed prices; throwsters, who engage work, are too often obliged to take the prices offered without reference in any way to cost, and then find themselves compelled to turn round on their wages and expenses, to see whether they can make contract pay.

11,420. Can wages be reduced any lower?—Most assuredly not; for at this time they do not afford subsistence or common household necessities, much less clothing, putting aside rent.

11,451. What has been the condition of the weavers since 1826?—Since 1826

their condition has undergone such a transition from comfort and regular employment to so great a degree of distress, as hardly to be known to be the same trade as it was before interfered with.

11,452. Have you any statement of wages that will show the alteration you describe?—I have a table of some of the principal articles made at Macclesfield, and the prices from 1821 to 1831, which I will deliver in; the average earnings of the weavers in 1821 to 1826 amounted to 16*s.* 6*d.*, but as soon as the change took place their earnings decreased to 7*s.* 9*d.*, and they are now reduced to 6*s.* per week.

The statements of wages of weavers include the weaving of the richer kinds of handkerchiefs, not made by all manufacturers, and therefore rather exceed the actual average of earnings of the weavers.

[The same was delivered in and read.]

Statement of leading articles made at Macclesfield.

	Mourne Handkerchiefs.		Figured stage-harness of 100 Shafts.		Black Figured Handkerchiefs.		Grey Bandanna Handkerchiefs.		Single Sarsets.	Gros de Naples.		Average Earnings, clear of all deductions.	
	per dozen		per dozen		per dozen		per piece.		per yard	per yard.			
	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>	<i>d.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
1821	30	0	14	0	10	0	3	6	9	1	1	16	6
1822	30	0	13	0	10	0	3	6	9	1	1	16	0
1823	24	0	14	0	10	0	3	6	9	1	1	16	0
1824	22	0	12	6	9	0	3	6	9	1	0	15	6
1825	24	0	13	6	9	6	3	6	9	1	0	16	7
1826	16	0	12	0	8	0	2	6	8	0	10	7	9
1827	14	0	12	0	7	6	2	6	6	0	8	7	4
1828	14	0	12	0	7	0	2	6	6	0	8	7	4
1829	12	9	10	0	6	6	2	6	5	0	6	7	0
1830	11	0	9	0	6	6	2	3	5	0	7	6	6
1831	9	0	7	6	6	3	2	3	4	0	6	6	0

11,543. Have you any further information to give to the committee, or any table to wish to put in?—I have a table here of the earnings of weavers in our employ, their comparative earnings in 1824 and 1831, showing also the quantities of silk consumed at each period. In 1824, I find from our books, that 500 weavers, in one week, worked 620 lbs. of silk, and wages amounted to 370*l.*; the earnings being 15*s.* a week, from

which have to be deducted the usual expenses for a quill winder, loom standing, and other incidental expenses of 2*s.* 6*d.*, their earnings would then be 12*s.* 6*d.*; the quantity of silk used in each loom averaged 1 lb. 4 ounces; the cost of weaving that silk would be 9*d.* per ounce. In 1831, taking the average work of that year, I find that 500 weavers worked up 875 lbs. of silk per week, and that their wages were 171*l.*; the

average earnings of these weavers would be 7s. a week, from which are to be deducted the same expenses of quill winding, loom standing, and other incidental expenses, leaving the net earnings of 500 weavers to be 4s. 6d. per head.

Extracts from Mr. Thomas Johnson's evidence, taken before the Select Committee on the Silk Trade.

11,564. What wages did you pay in 1823, and what in 1832?—The wages for a man in 1823 were 15s.; for a young man from fifteen to twenty, about 8s.; for a young woman from fifteen to twenty, 7s.; children from ten to fifteen, about 5s.; and children from seven to ten, about 2s. 9d. In 1832, the wages of men were about 10s.; young men, 5s. 6d.; a young woman from fifteen to twenty, 5s.; children about 3s.; and the younger children 1s. 6d.; that is for six days per week; but as they have been at a reduced time, the wages have been reduced in proportion.

11,565. What was the number of hands employed in 1823, and what is the present number?—In 1823, there were 3,961, and in 1832, 2,219.

11,566. How many hands are out of employment?—From the best information I can obtain, about 1,700; probably not quite that number; they have been getting a little more into work since the East India Company's Sale.

11,567. How do these hands subsist?—Some on the poor-rate, others by begging, others by thieving, and many of the females by prostitution.

11,577. What would be the effect of a still further reduction of the import duty?—Destruction of the British throwster; we are all but annihilated as it is; our property is made useless. I have a capital of 15,000l. sunk in a silk mill and machinery; the mill is of no more value to me than this piece of paper; it gives me no return. I have not only sacrificed my own labour, but I have sacrificed funds and property which I derive and draw from other sources; it all seems to sink, and I am

keeping this mill in action in hopes of better and improved times.

11,578. When did you erect this mill?—In 1810.

11,579. Is your mill as favourably situated as any other?—It is beautifully situated as a mill, and has water power; nothing can excel the situation.

11,580. Is the labour as cheap with you as in other parts of the kingdom?—Most decidedly.

11,581. Is it as cheap as it is at Manchester?—Cheaper, I should think.

LONDON CORPORATION.

I HAVE always called this the *little* THING; and have always said, that it was more profligately and daringly corrupt than the great thing. The following papers will convince my readers that my opinion was not unfounded. Mr. WILLIAMS has seized the monster by the throat; and if any body can strangle it he will; but it is no easy job; there is more to do than any one would imagine to cope with a monster like this. Is it not monstrous, that the Parliament should suffer this band of men to lay a tax upon all the people on both sides the Thames, even up into Berkshire? Is it not monstrous that, while the Chancellor of the Exchequer cannot take off a penny of the taxes, that large parcels of the taxes should be lent to this band of men, for them to expend in any manner that they pleased? We, who live immediately under them, have their tax-gatherers, of one sort or another, every day at our doors; but, through the means of the Parliament, they reach the whole kingdom. If this be suffered to continue, we shall have gained much indeed by a parliamentary reform! better to have let boroughmongering go on, and not to have had our minds filled with false hopes.

(From the Times, 14. Jan. 1834.)

INQUIRY INTO THE CORPORATION OF LONDON.

(Fifteenth Day, Jan. 13.)

We mentioned in our report of Saturday's proceedings, that notice was taken of a difference between the livery and the common council as to the auditing of the chamberlain's accounts. Without going into the detail of all the evidence given on this subject, we think it will be sufficiently understood by the following outline:—"By the act 11 Geo. 1. a power was given to the livery of London, in common-hall assembled. The same act also gave to the livery the right of appointing auditors of the chamberlain's accounts: of these there are four who are elected for two years, two of them going out every year. The duty of these auditors has hitherto, or until of late years, been considered to be, to ascertain that the chamberlain has proper vouchers for the several sums paid by him. In the year 1829, however, two reforming auditors were appointed (Mr. Williams and Mr. Barrett). On entering upon their office they demanded to have produced before them, not only the warrants or vouchers on which the chamberlain paid the several sums in his accounts, but that they should also be furnished with bills of particulars of those sums, of the nature of the work done, and the prices paid. These particulars having in many cases been appended to the accounts of the chamberlain, for the convenience of his office, many of them were produced by the late chamberlain, Mr. Clarke; but for several of the accounts there were only the warrants on which they were paid. In their next report to the common-hall they noticed the fact, that bills of particulars were not produced for all the accounts. On this a resolution was agreed to by the common-hall, insisting on the right of the auditors to have produced before them full bills of particulars for all the sums paid by the chamberlain. The court of common-council took notice of this resolution, and referred it to a committee of its own body, to examine into this claim of the livery, and to report thereupon to the court. That committee, in its report, protested against the right claimed by the livery to examine the particulars of the chamberlain's expenditure, and stated that the auditors' right of examination went no further than to see that the chamberlain produced a sufficient voucher or warrant for the sums paid by him. It was also a part of the report that the chamberlain (as we understood) should be instructed not to produce any thing more to the auditors than the warrants or vouchers on which he had paid the sums."

When the documents embracing the above facts were read,

Mr. Dillon observed, that if the auditors had not the power claimed by the livery, their appointment was a mere nullity. They were appointed under act of Parliament.

Mr. Woodthorpe.—No doubt they were, but I have no hesitation in saying that the act was a direct infringement on the rights of the corporation.

Mr. Dillon.—Without going into that question, the fact cannot be disputed that this duty has been thrown on the livery by the act of Parliament.

Mr. Woodthorpe.—A duty has undoubtedly been thrown upon the livery, but in my opinion the mistake is as to the extent of that duty. The auditors were appointed to see that the chamberlain had proper vouchers for the sums paid by him, but it was never intended that they should have any control over the nature of that expenditure, which was of money not belonging to the livery, but to the corporation, of which the livery companies as a body do not form a part. Those companies have their own funds, over which the corporation has no control. They have their own halls to meet in, and I contend they have no right whatever to control the city expenditure.

Thus far (in substance) the matter went on Saturday.

At the sitting of the court this morning,

Mr. Williams was examined by the commissioners. The substance of his examination was, that he was appointed one of the auditors, and served for the years 1829 and 1830. One of the auditors of the last year was a common-councilman.

Mr. Ellis asked whether that office was compatible with the duties of a common-councilman.

Mr. Woodthorpe said no man could be more fit for the office of auditor than a common-councilman.

Mr. Scott observed that it was sometimes the practice to elect two aldermen to be auditors.

Mr. Williams continued, that when the auditors, of which he was one, were appointed, the first thing they did was to wait on the chamberlain to examine his accounts. Bills of particulars of some were laid before them, but of others the warrants only were produced. The accounts of 1828 amounted to 176,500*l.*, of all of which they saw the particulars except the sum of 12,758*l.* For this sum, which was in several payments, only the warrants were produced. The auditors also found that the chamberlain had large sums in his hands, and made large payments of sums belonging to the city, and which were levied by act of Parliament; but they were told that they had no right to inspect them. They found that the sums thus raised were, the Sewers' Rate, 12,500*l.*; the Consolidated Rate, for lighting the city, &c. 53,539*l.*; the Orphans' Fund, arising from a duty of 10*d.* per chaldron on coals, 62,582*l.*; the city duty on wines, 4,460*l.*; the items of the sum of 12,758*l.*, for which no bills of particulars were given, were, the sum of 1,600*l.* to the keeper of Newgate; the keeper of Whitecross-street prison, 1,200*l.*; the keeper of Giltspur-street

prison, 1,200*l.*; the keeper of the Borough Compter, 200*l.*; for extra constables by order of the lord mayor, 3,480*l.*; to Mr. F. Temple, the hall-keeper, 1,600*l.*; to the City Lands Committee, 700*l.*; to the other committees of the common-council, 2,250*l.*; to the commissioners of sewers, for a summer excursion, 150*l.*; to the library committee, 327*l.* For these there were only warrants, but no particulars.

Mr. Woodthorpe said that there were not, for these sums were in the nature of petty cash, which was advanced, and the accounts were examined and audited by the common-council themselves.

Mr. Commissioner Ellis said that they did not sit there to decide by what right those sums were paid, but to ascertain what the auditors did, what they claimed to do, and how far that claim was admitted.

Mr. Williams proceeded: The auditors asked to see the accounts of the Orphans' Fund, but they were refused, as these were said to be expenses by act of Parliament, which had named public auditors. They were also refused the particulars of the city accounts. They were told, that there had not been any report of the city accounts since 1788. The one generally in use was that drawn up by Mr. Scott, the chief clerk of the chamber. The auditors had taken notice of the very low rate at which the city lands and tenements were let, and they asked to see the leases; but this could not, it was said, be done, without reference to the chamberlain. They then came to a resolution on the subject, and left the chamber, but on the next day they returned, and the leases were produced. On looking over some of the accounts, they found that several of the articles were charged far beyond the price at which they might have been purchased in the market. For instance, in one case pepper was charged 3*s.* 8*d.* a pound, which might have been supplied at 1*s.* 8*d.* (The particulars of this case, or the amount of the article supplied, were not stated). The auditors also found that there were large balances left in the hands of the chamberlain. The gross balance in the first year that he (Mr. Williams) was auditor, was 142,000*l.*, but of this sum 28,000*l.* appeared as advanced to one of the city accounts.

Mr. Woodthorpe said that this formed no part of the city accounts. He did not know where Mr. Williams got it. It had nothing to do with the corporation accounts.

Mr. Scott concurred in this opinion.

Mr. Williams said they found a charge of interest of 514*l.* to the credit of the chamberlain, for funds advanced from one account to another.

Mr. Woodthorpe, in a subsequent part of the proceedings, stated that it was a common practice for the chamberlain to advance money from one account to another. If this were not done, some of the city works would be at a stand-still.

Mr. Williams said the net balance in the hands of the chamberlain was 114,000*l.*, but it was admitted by Mr. Scott that the balances in the chamberlain's hands at that time of the year were unusually large. On the general facts which he had stated the auditors drew up a report to the livery, which complained of the general bad management and bad letting of the city lands and houses. The city estates consisted of upwards of 6,000 tenements. Of these there were 600 in Maddox-street, Hanover-square, and that neighbourhood, the rent of which was not much above 3,000*l.* a year. These were let on leases renewable for ever, at periods of 14 years, on the payment of renewal fines, not exceeding 7 years' rent; but this was exceedingly low, for some of those houses were again let at 300*l.* and 400*l.* To the lettings in the city the same remark would apply. They were all much below their real value.

The commissioners said that the proper time to go into that part of the case would be when they came to inquire as to the city funds.

Mr. Williams proceeded: When this report was read at the common-hall it gave great offence to the common-council, by which it was referred to a committee. The committee's report was, he must say, full of conclusions drawn from wrong premises. It is stated, among other things, that though the bills of particulars were for the convenience of the chamberlain's office attached to his accounts, it was not because the auditors had any right to examine them. This he (Mr. Williams) must say was wrong from beginning to end. The report of the common-council was presented in January, 1830. The auditors met in four months after, but the chamberlain said nothing about it. They complained that there were no vouchers for many items, and the chamberlain told them that he had got none, as the court of common-council had not produced any to him. They (the auditors) knew, however, that they were chiefly for tavern bills. The preceding chamberlain (Mr. Clarke), who held the office 33 years, had not availed himself of the permission given to withhold the particulars of accounts; but the present chamberlain had refused to produce particulars of some accounts. In 1832 two new auditors were elected; and they, in their report in 1833, disagreed with their two colleagues as to their report, two of them being disposed to take the report of Mr. Scott, and the other two wishing to make such a report as he (Mr. Williams) had made. Each party presented their own report, but the common-hall would not receive either, and referred them back for reconsideration. The livery in common-hall then passed a resolution, expressing their surprise and indignation that particulars of all accounts should be refused, contrary to ancient practice, and ordering the chamberlain not to pay any sum of money out of the city chambers unless the particulars of its application were left with

him. The common-council objected to producing particulars, on the ground that the funds were those of the corporation; but on looking at many of them, he found that the greatest portion of them arose; not only from city lands and houses, but also on taxes and tolls levied on every thing coming into the city, except light and air. It appeared by the standing order of the common-council, No. 47, that no person was at liberty to lay open or publish the accounts of their expenditure without the leave of the court.

Mr. Woodthorpe, in answer to a question from the commissioners, said the accounts were published and printed, and he should not consider that he violated the orders of the court if he gave a copy to a freeman asking for it. He should not deliver it as a matter of course, for the number of copies was limited; but he should not consider that he violated the orders of the court in giving a copy of them.

Mr. Williams said he was sure the freemen would be very glad to hear it. He knew that he could never get a sight of any such accounts until he became auditor. He should consider the appointment to the office of auditor as perfectly a waste of time, unless bills of particulars were produced to them; and he was sure that the exposé which he and his brother auditors had made had produced a very good effect in the several wards. The auditors were allowed a sum of 150*l.* between them, of which 50*l.* was from the Bridge-house estates, and 100*l.* from the corporation funds. This sum, however, must be spent in tavern expenses, and in no other way.

Mr. Woodthorpe.—There is no “must” in the case.

Mr. Williams repeated that they could not obtain it for other purposes. They had not taken any part, not a penny of it, for tavern or other expenses, but as they were anxious to have their report printed, and copies distributed largely amongst their fellow citizens, they inquired whether the expense of such printing would be defrayed out of the 150*l.*; but this was refused, though it would not amount to a fourth of the sum allowed. They therefore took not a farthing of the money; and it now remained to their credit in the chamberlain's office. The only way in which they could draw it would be by incurring expenses at a tavern to that amount. He understood that the expenses of the auditors heretofore had been to an unlimited amount.

A commissioner asked whether Mr. Williams had looked at these accounts as private accounts?

Mr. Williams.—Yes.

Commissioner.—But if you delegated a party to examine your banker's accounts, you would not expect him to look for more than vouchers for the sums advanced?

Mr. Williams thought the cases very different.

After some further conversation of no importance, it appeared from the registry or record, of the common-council, that up to 1800

only 50*l.* was allowed for expenses of auditors. It was then raised to 100*l.*, besides the 50*l.* from the Bridge-house estates.

Mr. Williams had been informed that the auditors used formerly to give splendid entertainments to the lord mayor and aldermen. That was a time when the office was considered of much greater importance than it was at present.

Mr. Woodthorpe.—If mere hearsay is to be the proof, you might as well say that Gog and Magog, of Guildhall, come down from their pedestals when they hear the clock strike. The two accounts are equally imaginative.

A commissioner.—Would the hall-keeper (who has to pay this sum of 150*l.*) object to any expense which the auditors might incur to that amount?

Mr. Scott.—I should suppose not, if it were connected with the expenses incurred in their capacity as auditors.

Mr. Woodthorpe.—Formerly there was a public auditor of the expenses of the corporation, but now the common-council examine the several items of expenditure of their own accounts, and only the vouchers or warrants for the payment go to the chamberlain. All the accounts of expenditure by statute are examined by the committee of common-council, to which the particular act refers it, and the account is annually laid before Parliament. The chamberlain is responsible for any misappropriation. As all the accounts laid before Parliament are printed, they are of course open to examination.

In answer to a question from a commissioner,

Mr. Woodthorpe added, that all tolls taken west of London-bridge are by public acts. The auditing of the Orphans' Fund account is by the public auditors of the country. As to the sum of 12,750*l.*, of which Mr. Williams spoke as being without any bills of particulars, it was a sort of current account of sums advanced for payment of salaries, and expenses in several departments, and was examined once a month. That being the case, the voucher or warrant only is sent to the chamberlain.

Mr. Williams.—It appears that though we, as auditors, did not take a penny for any expenditure, there are in the chamberlain's accounts items of 2*l.* each to the three city carvers, for carving the auditors' dinners. (A laugh.)

Mr. Woodthorpe.—That must be a mistake.

Mr. Williams said he could show it from the chamberlain's accounts.

Mr. Woodthorpe said that there was an old fee paid to the city carvers on certain accounts of expenses being passed, but he was sure the charge in the present instance was a mistake.

Mr. Williams (having looked over some books) brought that book to which he had alluded, but on examining it it turned out that the item was for the year 1827, a year in which

the auditors had consented to eat through their usual allowance for feeding, but could not apply to Mr. Williams and his brother auditors' uneaten dinners.

Mr. Scott said, that during the time (25 years) that he had been in office, the accounts of the year to be examined were prepared in the early part of the then year (the examination each year is generally for the year but one preceding), and due notice was sent to the senior auditor. During his time the accounts had been examined by most respectable men, who on many occasions expressed their approbation of the manner in which the accounts were kept.

Mr. Williams.—That I can confirm. It was a source of admiration to us to observe the excellent manner in which Mr. Scott had kept his accounts, and his great readiness to give every information in his power.

Mr. Scott then shortly detailed the manner in which the accounts are kept in his office. He referred to an account which appeared in the *Times* of the 25. of June, 1830 (an official copy of the report presented by Mr. Williams, as auditor to the common-hall, on the day preceding), and observed that the first part of that account was exceedingly accurate, but that the latter was in many respects very erroneous.

Mr. Williams said he would pledge his right arm for the accuracy of every part of it.

Mr. Scott said that it was the practice, where the chamberlain was in advance on some of the accounts, to charge four per cent. interest, he having a right to the interest of the balances in his hands.

Mr. Woodthorpe asked Mr. Williams if his complaint of low letting extended to tenements west of the "Conduit Mead"?

Mr. Williams replied that it extended to all the city lands and tenements generally, and he repeated his former remark, that unless they supplied the auditors with bills of particulars as to the several accounts, it would be useless to expect any reform in the city expenditure.

Mr. Woodthorpe said, that if they (the livery we understood) would allow the audit to be made by the proper persons they would be more likely to get the reductions spoken of than they were at present.

Mr. Williams.—Since you mention this, I will state a fact, which I otherwise would not have mentioned—that the auditors used to be appointed by the London Tavern.

Commissioner.—How by the London Tavern?

Mr. Williams.—By Mr. Bleaden, its proprietor.

Commissioner.—What interest can the proprietor of the London Tavern have in it?

Mr. Williams.—Why the money (the 150l.) given to the auditors is spent there; it is a sort of prescriptive right for some time. (A laugh). I state the fact as I have heard it, and believe it. I do not mean to say any thing against Mr. Bleaden: he is a very re-

spectable man, and uses no influence in the appointment. (A laugh).

Mr. Woodthorpe.—The fact is, that no interest was taken in the appointment for a long time, and it has been even usual for the two auditors going out to appoint—that was, to name—their successors, who, unless there was an opposition, which has not often happened, were chosen by the livery in common-hall. If there was an opposition, then, of course, the sense of the livery was taken on it.

(From the *Morning Chronicle*, 17. Jan. 1834.)

To the Editor of the *Morning Chronicle*.

Sir,—Having been a reader of the *Chronicle* for a number of years, too many opportunities have been afforded to me of seeing the candour and fairness with which it is conducted, to require any apology for requesting your insertion of a reply to an attack made upon my evidence before the commissioners, on the subject of auditing the city accounts, in a letter signed W. A. Peacock, in your paper of this day.

It does appear, truly, as stated by you, that I have touched a sore place; for it has brought upon both you and myself the ire of two redoubtable corporation champions, who, as surmised by you, have taken the field, no doubt under the belief, that the fuss of the one, and the petty advantage taken by the other of the unavoidable contraction of your report, and a slight error in figures, will deter persons from giving evidence before the commissioners touching the management of the city property, and you from commenting upon such evidence. If their minds be so impressed, mortals never practised upon themselves greater delusion; and if this skirmish has given them so much annoyance, they but little dream of what they will have to endure ere the investigation be concluded.

The evidence I gave before the commissioners was founded on the report I presented to the common hall on the 24. of June, 1830, which you will find in the public papers of the following day. Upon that occasion, a great many common-councilmen were upon the hustings at Guildhall; and the reading of the report, and my address to the livery, produced an effect upon them like that of putting a ferret into a barn infested with rats. They clamoured, and made a great noise, and in whispers on the hustings, denied the correctness of my statements. I challenged them repeatedly to the proof, and called upon them to state openly to the common hall their objections; but none of them came forward. The auditors were most scrupulous not to magnify or overstate any thing; and where there was a doubt, they went below the lowest estimation of the city officers. The auditors were desirous of ascertaining the number of houses belonging to the city estates, and this

could not be done without inspecting the leases, as in many instances several houses were let to one person, and in the chamberlain's book they appeared in one item; for example, the Duke of Grafton holds, if I remember correctly, ten houses, but his rent appears in the book in one item, without any specification of the number of houses.

In order, therefore, to avoid reading all the leases, which could not be done before Midsummer-day, when the auditors were obliged to make their report, they endeavoured to obtain this information from the city officers in attendance upon them. They were told that the number was about 7,000; they were asked if they were sure there were 6,000? Their answer was, undoubtedly. By the same process of inquiry, the auditors ascertained the number of those houses situated within the city to be about 2,000, which are let for 33,365*l.* 4*s.* 5*d.*, averaging less than 17*l.* each per annum. The report then states the mode of letting many of these houses, which are, to a great extent, in the principal streets, and are worth, in most instances, from 100*l.* to 250*l.* a year. It was ascertained by the same means that the Conduit Mead Estate consists of about 600 houses, situated in Hanover-square, Maddox-street, Conduit-street, Bond-street, Saville-row, Grafton-street, Albemarle-street, Boob-street, and other streets in that neighbourhood on both sides of Bond-street, which are let at 3,456*l.* 4*s.* 5*d.*, averaging less than 6*l.* each, subject to a premium every fourteen years, equal to from five to seven years' rent. The report alluded to, contains every thing I stated to the commissioners respecting those estates, word for word, and was agreed to by three auditors, and signed by them, as may be seen by reference to it. In my evidence I have cast no reflection upon any one; I merely give a statement of the amounts as I found them, which is confirmed by two gentlemen who served with me the office of auditors; and yet Mr. W. A. Peacock talks of my statement "having remained uncontradicted." Now, sir, I call upon this Mr. W. A. Peacock, instead of dealing in insinuations, to prove any thing in my statement which he can contradict, and then we shall see to whom the epithet "foul imputation," belongs. Mr. Peacock imputes to me expressions which I have never uttered, and which he cannot prove to have been anywhere imputed to me; but if he will have a little patience, and wait the further progress of the inquiry, I am much mistaken if his challenge will not be answered in a more satisfactory manner than may be agreeable to him. To show the shrewdness and candour of Mr. W. A. Peacock, which is quite worthy of a true corporation man, in quoting your article, in which you say the Conduit Mead Estate consists of 400 houses in Maddox-street, Hanover-square, to which he replies in his note, that that street only contains 39 houses; now, he knew well that that was a typographical error.

This corporation warrior will find he will

have to provide himself with other materials than such a clap-trap, in convincing the citizens of the purity of their corporation.

I will not, upon the present occasion, trespass further upon your column than to observe, that Mr. W. A. Peacock was a member of the Committee of Common Council who drew up the report, and to which his signature was attached, recommending the chamberlain to withhold the production of bills of particulars to the auditors, upon which recommendation the present chamberlain has acted, which in effect, and in fact, renders the ancient office of auditors a mere farce.

I remain, sir,

Your obedient servant,

W. WILLIAMS.

Watling-street, Jan. 16, 1834.

(From the Morning Chronicle of 20. Jan. 1834.)

To the Editor of the Morning Chronicle.

Sir,—I cannot sufficiently admire your disinterested and independent conduct, in allowing the public the opportunity of seeing both sides of such gentlemen as Messrs. Galloway and Richard Taylor. They can see glaring abuses in the state, and, champion like, boldly stand forward to reform them; but, attempt to draw aside the veil that covers their own deformities, and you will immediately bring upon yourself all the charges that it is in their power to invent.

I, as a citizen of London, rejoice in the prospect now before us (by your assistance), of seeing that brought to light which has been kept much too long in the dark.

I hold it to be the duty of every good citizen to assist and support you in this praiseworthy exposition. I will give you, for the information of the public, a few items of expenditure, in the way of eating and drinking, annually expended by the different committees of the corporation. If I am wrong in any amount, the chairman of the committee will be very ready to set me right; and I am only anxious that the public should be made acquainted with the truth.

I begin with the "Committee of City Lands." These worthies are allowed, by an order of their own court, seven hundred pounds, five of which they spend in guttling, and two hundred pounds they put into their own pockets; but, not quite satisfied with this, they vote, in the Court of Common Council, 150*l.* more to give their wives and daughters a trip up the river in the month of August. Mr. Hale, of Cateaton, is the chairman of this committee; he receives all and expends all; and if I am wrong, I am sure he will very readily set me right. We next come to the

"Navigation Committee."—Allowance five hundred pounds per annum, all spent in eating and drinking, but not quite to the satisfaction of the members of the committee, as Mr. Deputy Tickner (the chairman), instead of letting the members of the committee eat

it all themselves, mulcts them of two or three dinners in the summer, and gives a desperate good "flare up" at the year's end, inviting about a hundred of his own friends (one of these dinners will take place on Monday, at Radney's Hotel, at five o'clock, the deputy in the chair—where you or your reporter may just take a peep, and see how we good citizens live; I am sure no objection can be made to your "just popping in"). This committee also have 150*l.* extra in the summer, to give a hop to their ladies on board the navigation barge.

The next committee is "the Bridge House Estates." The allowance seven hundred pounds—five spent in the good things of this life, two put into the pockets of the members of the committee, one hundred and fifty allowed for a summer excursion. Mr. Deputy Westwood is the chairman of this committee, who will answer any inquiries proper to be put to him.

"Gresham Committee."—One guinea for each attendance, one good dinner; the lord mayor of London the chairman.

"Committee of Sewers and Pavements."—Income a direct tax upon the inhabitants of the city, by a poundage on the rack rental. Seven hundred pounds expended annually in feasting, one hundred and fifty for a summer excursion, a piece of plate occasionally voted to the chairman. The last was a tea-service, made by a member of the court, on the committee, and assisting in the vote.

"Committee of Control over the Coal and Corn."—Allowance of five hundred pounds, and one hundred and fifty for the summer fete. Chairman, Mr. Chatfield.

"Committee for General Purposes."—Allowance five hundred, three eaten, two pocketed; one hundred and fifty for the ladies' hop! Chairman, Mr. Deputy Daw. Mr. Galloway is on this committee, and as you are so intimate together, I would refer you to him for some information relating to a snug little job that has just passed in review before him, respecting the new state harness for the lord mayor's carriage. He is so straight-forward and independent a man, that I will not hurt his feelings by forestalling him in telling the story; I feel satisfied he will prefer doing it himself.

"Committee for building New London Bridge and improving the approaches thereto."—(It ought now to be called the Church Demolishing Committee).—This committee has no bound to its expenditure in the eating and drinking line—they seldom meet without a reward. I have no means of knowing exactly, but at the most moderate calculation (with a view to elicit the truth if I am wrong), I should say, upon an average, this committee has expended 1,000*l.* per annum ever since the commencement of the building of the bridge, in lining their insides with every thing that is delicious to the taste. It is now referred to a committee to consider what can be given to the chairman; 5,000*l.* is proposed, but

thought too little by some. He has had a very handsome piece of plate.

Finance Committee, 100*l.* a year.

Nightly Watch Committee, 200*l.* a year.

Cemetery Committee, uncertain.

Blackfriars' Bridge Committee, only beginning.

Cholera Morbus Committee, 100*l.*; a piece of plate to each of the medical officers.

RECAPITULATION.

City Lands' Committee	£700
Excursion	150
Bridge House Estates.....	700
Excursion	150
Gresham	—
Sewers' Lands, and Pavements.....	700
Excursion	150
Navigation	500
Excursion	150
Coal and Corn	500
Excursion	150
General Purposes	500
Excursion	150
London Bridge	1,000
Finance	100
Nightly Watch	200
Blackfriars' Bridge	—
Cholera Morbus	100
Three Pieces of Plate	300
Irish Society	1,200

£7,400

If you have any fear of Messrs. Richard Taylor and Galloway, of course you will not publish this; but if you think the public interested in it, I am sure you will, fearless of any one.

This is only a beginning—"Rotten is the State of Denmark!"—and well may some persons wish to annihilate the *Morning Chronicle*—I fear, Sir, I have trespassed upon your valuable column, and will therefore only subscribe myself,

Your very faithful servant,

A MEMBER OF THE CORPORATION.

Jan. 18, 1834.

(From the *Morning Chronicle* 22. Jan. 1834.)

To the Editor of the *Morning Chronicle*.

Sir,—For the articles which appeared in the *Chronicle* last week on the subject of our "virtuous corporation," you merit the thanks and gratitude of every honest citizen.

I was greatly alarmed for your safety when I was told, as I was reading your article, in which you charge this body with expending annually 400,000*l.*, that it had already been denounced about the purlieus of Guildhall as a "false and foul" statement, which would not be permitted to pass unnoticed; and as one of their officers, a learned LL.D. it is said, can furnish a precedent in the acts of this corporation for pretty nearly every thing done by man since his creation, I made sure they intended to move your article to be a

breach of privilege, as they did on a former occasion, for, as they alleged, similar delinquency, and order you to appear at the bar of their court, and mortal man could not guess what would be their next move; perhaps order you to do penance between Gag and Magog, until their displeasure was appeased; for, let me tell you, it is no trifling matter to come under the ban of this dignified body.

Conceive, sir, my joy, when I saw your deliverance from this durauce, in recollecting that I paid another tax to this corporation, of which you were doubtless aware, which was not mentioned by Mr. Williams, because I presume it does not in any way appear in the chamberlain's account, which I believe is the case. This tax is the Watch Rate, which by authority of an act of Common Council, is levied and expended in the various wards under the direction of the aldermen and common-councilmen; it amounts to about 40,000*l.* per annum, which, with the 354,000*l.* named by Mr. Williams, will make up your sum of 400,000*l.* within 6,000*l.*; this amount you can find pretty nearly, if not quite, in one item of those dues and metages alluded to in my former letter, which prying eyes cannot see in the accounts.

Seeing you secure against the denunciation of having made a "false and foul" statement, and relieved you from the consequences of their wrath, I shall now proceed to enlighten your understanding of this corporation a little further. Your declaration that you had the virtue to resist the bribes which were so cunningly offered to you in the shape of invitations to the city guttles, with a view no doubt, of shutting your eyes and ears to their pretty doings, has relieved me from an apprehension that I should otherwise feel, that if you happened to see what I am going to reveal to you, in the morning after having been in one of those revels, with your head bothered with the fumes of the cookery and wine, the shock might produce some direful consequence to you—perhaps apoplexy.

You have heard, sir, that Fleet-market once existed, and that Farringdon market was lately called into existence. You have also heard that old London-bridge is consigned to the tomb of time, and that its place has been supplied by a new London-bridge. You have heard, likewise, of the vast improvements round about this new bridge, and of the pulling down of the whole of that part of the city situated in its neighbourhood, and of the paying, in very numerous instances, many thousands of pounds for some of the houses, and many thousands more to individual occupiers of those houses, as a compensation for the loss of their trade, in consequence of being turned out of their houses. You have heard of their pulling down a church which stood in their way, and you might have seen scores of men engaged many days in digging out of the churchyard, and strewing about the remains of the dead, shocking the feelings of the sur-

viving relatives of those decently interred, and of the whole neighbourhood.

Now you may see on the site of these, in every direction, new streets, containing hundreds of new houses, and others rising up. Methinks I hear you exclaim, What a blessing it is to have such a corporation! Stay a little; money must be found somewhere to pay for all this. Now, sir, be patient, and keep your temper if you can, while I relate to you where they got the money. In the first place, they mortgaged the Bridge House estates for 750,000*l.*; and after expending that trifle, they borrowed 1,000,000*l.* upon the security of the payment of a tax, for the levying of which they obtained an act of the boroughmonger Parliament. They next borrowed 250,000*l.* for the pulling down of old Fleet-market, and the raising up of the New Farringdon Market. Here is a pretty round sum of two millions sterling which they have got hold of within the last few years; and a wonderful progress has been already made in the expenditure of it; and very soon the last farthing of it, like most things in nature, will be only a thing that once was.

Being a peaceable man, and, as people say, a little nervous (but not from city guttling), and having a great repugnance to violence, I will not at present tell you how large a portion of this two millions will have to be paid out of the sweat and toil of the people of England, owing to the profligacy of Ministers—not the present Ministers—not Lord Grey and his colleagues, mind—and how much of the much greater portion of the remainder will have to be paid, both interest and principal, by a tax on the citizens, and in part on the inhabitants of Westminster, of the metropolitan boroughs, and the metropolitan counties; neither will I tell you how many thousands a year the New Farringdon Market produces into the city exchequer less than the Old Fleet Market, after expending upon it pretty nearly the whole of the two hundred and fifty thousand pounds; and I will not tell you, after costing this immense sum, how much less than one hundred pounds net profit, after deducting the outgoings, this market produced the year before last, for fear the indignation of this corporation-ridden people should move them in a body to Guildhall, and knock the old bloated thing on the head while on its trial. But all—all will come out in due time.

Your obedient servant,

A CITIZEN.

P.S. What an unfortunate people we are, that certain persons held premises on the present site of this Farringdon Market, which they wanted to turn to good account. In the expending of the two millions we have one surety, at any rate, that it has been honestly spent; for the counting of such a sum must have made the fingers too slippery for any of it to stick to them.

From the LONDON GAZETTE,

FRIDAY, JANUARY 17, 1834.

INSOLVENTS.

HUGHES, H., Henry-street, Hampstead-road, carpenter.**WILSON, R.**, Lawrence Pountney-hill, wine-merchant.

BANKRUPTCY SUPERSEEDD.

SANSOM, P., and **T. Rees**, Lombard-street, bankers.

BANKRUPTS.

CLAPHAM, A., Newcastle-upon-Tyne, soap-manufacturer.**COLES, J.**, Maids Moreton, Bucks, miller.**COOPER, T.**, Stafford-row, Pimlico, shoe-maker.**ROUTLEDGE, J. J.**, High Holborn, silkman.**WHITESIDE, J.**, Whitehaven, Cumberland, merchant.

TUESDAY, JAN. 21, 1834.

BANKRUPTS.

ASHBURNER, T., Manchester, grocer.**DUCKWORTH, T.**, Manchester, calico-printer.**DURRANT, W.**, Lindfield, Sussex, brewer.**GARDIE, L.**, Leicester-square, importer of foreign goods.**HANSON, J.**, T. Wardley, and others, Two Brooks, within Tottington, Lowerend, Lancashire, calico-printers.**HOLE, D. B.**, Acre-lane, Brixton, victualler.**MILLS, A. W.**, Carey-street, law-stationer.**PIX, G. B.**, Liverpool, pawnbroker.**RYLAND, H. C.**, Goswell-street, victualler.**SPRINGETT, R.**, late of St. Margaret's-hill, Southwark, hop-merchant.**WANSELL, J.**, Howland-street, Fitzroy-square, dealer in musical instruments.**WRIGHT, J.**, and **J. Wright**, Limehouse-hole, Poplar, ship-chandlers and hop-merchants.

LONDON MARKETS.

MARK-LANE, CORN-EXCHANGE, Jan. 20.—

The tempestuous and contrary winds which have prevailed, have prevented our market from being well supplied with grain. The samples offering to-day were very limited of all descriptions. The millers bought sparingly of Wheat, and only took the fine dry parcels; secondary sorts, and those out of condition, were nearly unsaleable.

In bonded Wheat we heard of no actual business transacting.

Malting Barley was held at the previous terms, and distilling and grinding nominally unaltered. A few purchases were effected on the part of needy customers, but buyers gene-

rally are awaiting larger supplies and anticipating lower prices.

Malt exceedingly dull, but the quotations without variation.

Oats were in very short supply; good fresh Corn was taken at the rates of this day week, but the trade ruled heavy.

Beans met little attention, and were nominally the same in value.

White Peas were heavy, and to effect sales, a decline of full 1s. per qr. was submitted to. Grey must also be noted lower.

Flour, dull sale. Ship qualities sustained, however, no further depreciation.

Wheat 50s. to 59s.

Rye —s. to —s.

Barley 25s. to 27s.

— fine 30s. to 32s.

Peas, White —s. to —s.

— Boilers 40s. to —s.

— Grey 33s. to 37s.

Beans, Small 34s. to 39s.

— Tick 30s. to 34s.

Oats, Potato 24s. to 26s.

— Feed 19s. to 21s.

Flour, per sack 48s. to 50s.

PROVISIONS.

Pork, India, new.... 90s. to 95s.

— Mess, new ... 56s. to 62s. per barl.

Butter, Belfast ... 80s. to 82s. per cwt.

— Carlow 80s. to 84s.

— Cork 73s. to 74s.

— Limerick .. 72s. to 73s.

— Waterford.. 70s. to 76s.

— Dublin 66s. to —s.

SMITHFIELD, January 20.

This day's supply of Sheep and Beasts was moderately good, both as to numbers and quality; the supply of Calves and Porkers but limited. Mutton and Veal sold with some degree of briskness, the former at an advance of from 2d. to 4d., the latter 4d. to 8d. per stone; but with Beef and Pork, trade was very dull, at barely Friday's quotations.

Full three-fourths of the Beasts appeared to consist of about equal numbers of short-horns, Devons, Scots, and Welsh runts: the remaining fourth of about equal numbers of Herefords and Irish beasts, with about fifty Sussex beasts, 100 Town's-end Cows, a few Staffords, &c.

A full moiety of the Sheep were south-downs; about a fourth new Leicesters, in about equal numbers of the South-down and white-faced crosses; and the remaining fourth about equal numbers of old Leicesters, Kents, and Kentish half-breds, with a few pens of old Lincolns, horned and polled Norfolks, horned Dorsets and Somersets, horned and polled Scotch and Welsh Sheep, &c.

About 1,300 of the Beasts, chiefly short-horns, Devons, and runts, with a few Scots, Herefords and Irish beasts, were from Leicestershire, Lincolnshire, and others of our

northern grazing districts; about 950, chiefly Scots and Devons, with a few Norfolk home-breds, and Welsh runts, from Norfolk, Suffolk, Essex, and Cambridgeshire; about 150, chiefly runts and Devons, with a few Herefords, from our western and midland districts; about 80, chiefly Sussex beasts, with a few runts and Irish beasts, from Kent, Sussex, and Surrey; and most of the remainder, including the Town's-end Cows, from the stall-feeders, cow-keepers, &c., in the neighbourhood of London.

MARK-LANE.—Friday, Jan. 24.

The arrivals this week are moderate. The market dull at the prices of Monday.

THE FUNDS.

3 per Cent. } Fri. Sat. Mon. Tues. Wed. Thur					
Cons. Ann. }	87½	88	88½	88½	88

COBBETT-LIBRARY.

New Edition.

COBBETT'S Spelling-Book (Price 2s.)

Containing, besides all the usual matter of such a book, a clear and concise

INTRODUCTION TO ENGLISH GRAMMAR.

This I have written by way of

A Stepping-Stone to my own Grammar;

such a thing having been frequently suggested to me by Teachers as necessary.

1. ENGLISH GRAMMAR.—Of this work sixty thousand copies have now been published. This is a duodecimo volume, and the price is 3s. bound in boards.

2. TULL'S HORSE-HOEING HUSBANDRY; or, a Treatise on the Principles of Tillage and Vegetation. With an Introduction, by WM. COBBETT. 8vo. Price 15s.

3. THE EMIGRANT'S GUIDE. Just now Published, under this Title, a little Volume, containing Ten Letters, addressed to English Tax-payers. A new edition, with a Postscript, containing an account of the Prices of Houses and Land, recently obtained from America by Mr. Cobbett. Price 2s. 6d. in bds.

4. THE WOODLANDS; or, a Treatise on the preparing of the ground for planting; on the planting, on the cultivating, on the pruning, and on the cutting down, of Forest Trees and Underwoods. Price 14s. bound in boards.

5. YEAR'S RESIDENCE IN AMERICA.—The Price of this book, in good print and on fine paper, is 5s.

6. FRENCH GRAMMAR; or, Plain Instructions for the Learning of French. Price, bound in boards, 5s.

7. COTTAGE ECONOMY.—I wrote this Work professedly for the use of the labouring and middling classes of the English nation. I made myself acquainted with the best and simplest modes of making beer and bread, and these I made it as plain as, I believe, words could make it. Also of the keeping of Cows, Pigs, Bees, and Poultry, matters which I understood as well as any body could, and in all their details. It includes my writing, also on the Straw Plait. A Duodecimo Volume. Price 2s. 6d.

12. MARTENS'S LAW OF NATIONS.—This is the Book which was the foundation of all the knowledge that I have ever possessed relative to public law. The Price is 17s. the manner of its execution is, I think, such as to make it fit for the Library of any Gentleman.

13. MR. JAMES PAUL COBBETT'S RIDE OF EIGHT HUNDRED MILES IN FRANCE. Second Edition. Price 2s. 6d.

14. A TREATISE ON COBBETT'S CORN; containing Instructions for Propagating and Cultivating the Plant, and for Harvesting and Preserving the Crop; and also an account of the several uses to which the Produce is applied. Price 5s.

15. LETTERS FROM FRANCE; containing Observations made in that Country during a Residence of Two Months in the South, and Three Months at Paris. By JOHN M. COBBETT. Price 4s. in boards.

16. SERMONS.—There are twelve of these, in one volume, on the following subjects: 1. Hypocrisy and Cruelty; 2. Drunkenness; 3. Bribery; 4. Oppression; 5. Unjust Judges; 6. The Sluggard; 7. The Murderer; 8. The Gamester; 9. Public Robbery; 10. The Unnatural Mother; 11. The Sin of Forbidding Marriage; 12. On the Duties of Parsons, and on the Institution and Object of Tithes. Price 3s. 6d. bound in boards.

A Thirteenth Sermon, entitled "GOOD FRIDAY; or, The Murder of Jesus Christ by the Jews. Price 6d.

17. AN ITALIAN GRAMMAR, by MR. JAMES PAUL COBBETT.—Being a Plain and Compendious Introduction to the Study of Italian. Price 6s.

Price 12s.

**A GEOGRAPHICAL DICTIONARY
OF ENGLAND AND WALES;
CONTAINING**

The names, in Alphabetical Order, of all the Counties, with their several Subdivisions, into Hundreds, Lathes, Rapes, Wapentakes, Wards, or Divisions; and an Account of the Distribution of the Counties into Circuits, Dioceses, and Parliamentary Divisions.

ALSO,

The names (under that of each County respectively), in Alphabetical Order, of all the Cities, Boroughs, Market Towns, Villages, Hamlets, and Tithings, with the Distance of each from London, or from the nearest Market Town, and with the Population, and other interesting particulars relating to each; besides which there are

MAPS;

First, one of the whole country, showing the local situation of the Counties relatively to each other; and, the same is also preceded by a Map, in the same manner, the local situation of the Cities, Boroughs, and Market Towns.

FOUR TABLES

Are added; first, a Statistical Table of all the Counties, and then three Tables, showing the new Divisions and Distributions enacted by the Reform-Law of 4th June, 1832.

JOURNAL

OF

A TOUR IN ITALY,

AND ALSO IN PART OF

FRANCE AND SWITZERLAND;

The route being

From Paris, through Lyons, to Marseilles, and, thence, to Nice, Genoa, Pisa, Florence, Rome, Naples, and Mount Vesuvius;

AND

By Rome, Terni, Perugia, Arezzo, Florence, Bologna, Ferrara, Padua, Venice, Verona, Milan, over the Alps by Mount St. Bernard, Geneva, and the Jura, back into France;

The space of time being,

From October 1828, to September 1829.

CONTAINING

A description of the country, of the principal cities and their most striking curiosities; of the climate, soil, agriculture, horticulture, and products; of the prices of provisions and labour; and of the dresses and conditions of the people;

AND ALSO

An account of the laws and customs, civil and religious, and of the morals and demeanour of the inhabitants, in the several States.

By JAMES P. COBBETT.

Price 6s. a new edition of the

**ENGLISH GARDENER,
OR,
A TREATISE**

On the Situation, Soil, Enclosing and Laying-Out of Kitchen Gardens; on the Making and Managing of Hot-beds and Green-Houses; and on the Propagation and Cultivation of all sorts of Kitchen-Garden Plants, and of Fruit-Trees whether of the Garden or the Orchard.

AND ALSO,

On the Formation of Shrubberies and Flower-Gardens; and on the Propagation and Cultivation of the several sorts of Shrubs and Flowers;

CONCLUDING WITH

A KALENDAR,

Giving instructions relative to the Sowings, Plantings, Prunings, and other labours, to be performed in the Gardens, in each Month of the Year.

By WILLIAM COBBETT.

BLAIR'S GOUT AND RHEUMATIC PILLS.—Of all the valuable discoveries in Science and Art that characterize this eventful age, nothing has so benefited the cause of humanity, nor had its importance so gratefully acknowledged, as Blair's Gout and Rheumatic Pills, the inventor of which, in the pursuit of his professional studies, by a perfectly new and scientific consideration of the nature and cause of this disease, has completely overthrown the old theory of the disorder, and, in the simplest form of the *Materia Medica*, discovered a remedy that has exceeded his most sanguine expectation; as such, and backed with the approbation of many thousands of persons, with a demand for them at home and abroad unparalleled, they are respectfully submitted to the afflicted of the public who have not yet availed themselves of their benefits, being convinced that, in so doing, a duty to the public and humanity will be performed that would be criminal in the neglect. In cases of Gout or severe Rheumatism their effects are truly wonderful, generally giving relief in one or two hours, and often carrying off the attack in two or three days, even when the patient has usually lain up for weeks. Rheumatism, of however long standing, has never failed to give way to a slight perseverance in their use, as well as lumbago, and pains in the head, face, rheumatic fever, &c. As they may be taken without inconvenience or hinderance from business at any time, and by the weakest constitution, no one subject to these complaints should ever be without them.

Sold by Thomas Prout, 229, Strand, London, seven doors from Temple-bar, and all the respectable Medicine Venders throughout the kingdom. Price 2s. 9d. per box.

Printed by William Cobbett, Johnson's-court; and published by him, at 11, Bolt-court, Fleet-street.

COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

Vol. 83.—No. 5.]

LONDON, SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 1ST, 1834.

[Price 1s. 2d.]



TO THE PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

Bolt-court, 30. January, 1834.

MY FRIENDS,

You remember PAINE, baptized "Tom"; for our aristocracy and money-mongers are so frugal that they cannot afford so long a word as "Thomas" in such a case. Our old friend "Tom," who gave tyranny harder knocks than any man that ever lived, concluded his dedication (which he addressed to WASHINGTON) to that thunder-bolt, the first part of the *Rights of Man*, in these words: "That the *new world may regenerate the old*, is the fervent prayer of your most obedient servant, THOMAS PAINE."

This prayer of our old friend "Tom," who was born, let it be remembered, at THETFORD, in Norfolk, is very likely now to be fulfilled. You have been at work in the regenerating of us, ever since you raised the standard of "*liberty, property, and no stamp act*." The sousing which you gave to our long list of heroes in the last war, did still more towards our regeneration. The cheapness of your Government is continually working our regeneration. But, now, you seem to have set about finishing the good work; for, if you root out the accursed, and ever accursed paper money, we are regenerated indeed. If you destroy the accursed thing, we cannot keep it? and, then, freedom will once more be safe in this world. Ever praised and blessed be the name of ANDREW JACKSON: a child compared to him was WASHINGTON, even in war;

but WASHINGTON, with the best of motives, and truest patriotism, suffered himself to be seduced by HAMILTON, into the making of an infernal system of funding and paper money, of which you have, at last, experienced the ruinous, the oppressive, the tyrannical effects.

You, however, want no instruction from me, upon this subject. In another part of this *Register*, I do myself the honour, and my countrymen the great service, of republishing the MEMORIAL OF THE PEOPLE OF NEW YORK TO THE LEGISLATURE OF THAT STATE. That legislature must listen to them; and the paper money must be destroyed. I take this memorial from the "*Working Man's Advocate*," published at New York, on the 4. of this present month of January. And I read, with infinite delight, that, at the same newspaper-office, my works are reprinted, and are for sale. Thus it is, that we assist one another against the monster that would devour us. I concur in every word of this memorial: it is admirable from the beginning to the end: it is the voice of the industrious people of America; it speaks the sentiments of every sensible man in England; and those sentiments must prevail.

In this present *Register*, a copy of which I shall contrive to get to the editor of the paper which contains your memorial, you will find an account of the burnings which are going on in the country in England; you will also find a paper, coming from what is called a "*Labourers' Friend Society*"; and you will find my observations on both these subjects. If any part of you be Englishmen, or even descended from Englishmen, you cannot but feel some degree of sorrow and of shame at seeing this famous country reduced to such a state. Reason will tell you, that there must be a cause adequate to such a tremendous effect; and if you have read my *Paper against Gold*, and my *Protestant Reformation*, you will see that effect traced to its true source. It

is, however, the "History of George the Fourth," which I am now publishing in numbers, which will show you the cup of our calamities brought to our very lips; and, at every step you will find, that the cause of our great degradation and ruin has been the damned paper money.

Your attention I urgently solicit, to these articles which I have now pointed out; and the attention of my English readers, I still more urgently solicit, to that sensible and public-spirited MEMORIAL, which I shall ever deem one of the greatest ornaments of this my publication; and for which I beg you to accept of my most grateful acknowledgments.

That your President may stand firmly to his resolution; that you may stand firmly by him; and that the pillaging, plundering, thieving, desolating, monster of paper money may be destroyed in your country, flesh, blood, sinews, veins, bones, skin, hair, and all; is the sincere prayer of

Your faithful friend,
and most obedient servant,
WM. COBBETT.

RURAL WAR,

AND

LABOURERS' FRIEND SOCIETIES.

THIS war seems to rage with more fury than ever, as appears from the following article which I take from the Suffolk paper. The country papers are full of these horrible accounts; but, in this particular instance, there seems to be general consternation prevailing, pretty nearly as general as would be occasioned by the expectation of the approach of the day of judgment. But, I will first insert the article; and then offer a commentary upon it.

"HALESWORTH, SUFFOLK, Jan. 28.—
"On Friday morning about five o'clock,
"there was another 'Swing' fire in this
"neighbourhood. The fire was in the
"stack-yard of Mr. James Taylor, of
"Spexhall, which is only about two

miles from Halesworth, and is on the
"Norwich road. Owing to timely discovery it was limited to one stack;
"that, however, was a large wheat
"stack, and it was entirely consumed.
"Mr. Taylor, whose property was thus
"designedly destroyed, is the father-in-law of Mr. James Johnson, the minister's-churchwarden of Halesworth,
"whose straw-stack was burnt on the
"night of Christmas-day, and for the
"author of which devastation the extraordinary reward, raised by subscription, of 575*l.* has been offered. That
"reward, as yet, seems to have had any
"thing but the proper and *desired effect*;
"instead of leading to the discovery of the culprits, it appears only
"to have directed blind vengeance
"against parties who were concerned in
"or contributed to the reward of 575*l.*;
"which is offered in bills exhibited in
"all the shopkeepers' windows here,
"and circulated largely in the county.
"Since the reward which was offered for
"the fire at Mr. Johnson's, a threatening letter, of the most decided character, as far as words can go, has been
"sent to Mr. Johnson; and the hostility
"has been extended by setting fire to
"the stacks of one of the principal subscribers to the reward, Mr. F. Robinson, of Dunwich. Mr. Johnson was
"also a subscriber. During the extensive fire at Holton (three quarters of a
"mile from Mr. Johnson's of Halesworth), where so many corn-stacks
"were consumed, the labourers present
"evinced so much levity on their return,
"that it seemed as if they were *coming from a fair*, and not from the destruction of property that had caused so
"much consternation in the country
"around. While the extensive fire of Mr. Prime, of Holton, was raging, the agricultural labourers not only refused to
"assist in subduing the fire, but they occupied the time in the most wanton
"and riotous manner. They entered the
"house of Mr. Prime, and consumed or
"carried off all the eatables that they
"could gain possession of, consisting of
"pickled pork, some gallons of spirits,
"&c. It is expected that a meeting will
"take place in the course of a few days,

"at the Angel-inn, Halesworth, to concoct measures to arrest, if possible, the progress of these dreadful acts of incendiarism, and which have, in spite of the enormous reward offered to detect criminals, so rapidly multiplied, and spread so much alarm around the neighbourhood. It is understood that the Earl of Stadbroke has agreed to take the chair on this occasion. His Lordship promptly forwarded his subscription towards the reward of 575*l.*, namely, 500 guineas from subscribers, and 50*l.* from the Insurance Office."

Reader, do you know any thing of this county of *Suffolk*? It is the *crack*-county of England. It has a parish-church in every three square miles, or less; it is the best cultivated, most ably, most carefully, most skilfully, of any piece of land of the same size in the whole world; its labourers are the most active and most clever; its farmers' wives, and women employed in agriculture, the most frugal, adroit, cleanly, of any in this whole world: it is a county of most frank, industrious, and virtuous people. Its towns are all cleanliness, neatness, and good order. What, then, can these things take place in such a county, without any assignable cause? There must be some cause. We often hear of the negligence, carelessness, wastefulness, idleness, of the people, as being the cause of their poverty and misery. Three years ago, I went *all over the county of Suffolk*. I do not say, nor pretend, that I went into even a majority of the *parishes*; but I could not have gone through less than two hundred out of the five hundred parishes; and I never shut my eyes, except when I do it for the purpose, in order to go to sleep. I not only rode along the roads from town to town, but I went out into the villages, which it has always been my delight to survey. There is one distinctive mark of carefulness and neatness, and that is unbroken windows; windows where the place of glass is not supplied by paper or rags; and I could take my oath that I did not see (and I looked very sharply for it) one single instance of this in this county of *Suffolk*. Why, it is a county

of corn and cattle, the far greater part of which is produced by manual labour; for it is an arable county. It is a county of plentiful produce; a county in which the labours of the people produce, I dare say, seven times as much as they consume.

Such is the county in which scenes, like that above-described, are taking place; and can there be a Parliament in the country, and that Parliament not *inquire into the cause* of such a state of things? I have a letter from *Suffolk*, which quite sufficiently accounts for these horrible transactions, but which I do not publish, because it contains *names*, and because I have not proof of the facts at hand, though I believe all the facts. These facts show, that if the Ministers had followed my advice in the latter part of 1830, instead of contriving, in conjunction with the Tories to prosecute me, we should not now have heard of these things; and it signifies nothing, to talk and to rail; for, if the Parliament cannot find out a remedy for this evil, it had better not meet at all any more; if this thing be let alone, if a remedy be not found, and applied, there will very soon be an end of all the laws of property.

However, I will confine myself at present to a remark or two upon the peculiar circumstances attending these fires in *Suffolk*. They have been attended, not with new circumstances, but with circumstances new in print. We perceive, that a man, who had had a straw-stack burnt on the night of Christmas-day, and who is the parson's churchwarden of *HALESWORTH*, got a subscription for a reward of 575*l.* for the discovery of the offender. Upon twenty occasions I have observed, that this offer of high rewards must necessarily tend to increase the number of fires; because every labouring man knows, though he be perfectly innocent of the crime, and of all intention or desire to commit such crime, this reward may possibly bring him to the gallows. I am not lawyer enough to say, whether such rewards be *legal*; whether the common law of the land do or do not hold them in abhorrence; but this I

know, that they hold out a temptation to poverty so very great, that they can be justified in the eyes of no man of humanity, except upon the presumption, that the working people of England are the most religious, most conscientious, and most sternly virtuous, that ever existed under the sun. What! call the people degraded; call them destitute of morality; call them impious and irreligious; and, at the same moment, tempt them with the sum of 575*l.* if they will but swear that one of their poor neighbours, who was in his bed at the time, set fire to a straw-stack!

Do those who tendered this temptation, consider the magnitude of it; consider its power? Do they consider, that here are twenty-eight pounds fifteen shillings a year for ever; that there is an annuity of fifty pounds a year for the average life of man, after he be come of age? Do they consider, that this offer is made to labouring people, whose year of full wages does not exceed twenty-six pounds for the hardest of hard work, while they are in the prime of life; do they consider, that every man, however poor, and however inoffensive, is extremely singular, if he have not, amongst his neighbours, some man, some woman, some lad, some girl, to entertain spite against him, or against some of his family? Do they consider, how powerfully this reward must operate on that spite; and must they not know, then, in what peril they are placing the life of every working man in the neighbourhood of HALESWORTH? Supposing this mere reason to have no effect upon their minds, have they had no experience of the terrible consequence of such temptations? Have they not heard several magistrates of Essex give it as their opinion, that a man who was hanged for setting fire, was hanged upon false evidence, and for the sake of the reward obtained by the informer; have they not seen, in Kent, a cunning old man give a foolish young man the tinder-box wherewith to set fire, and afterwards come, and get the reward in consequence of the conviction and hanging of that young man? Do they not know the history of THOMAS GOODMAN,

of BATTLE, whose lying pretended confession about me was published; whose confession, got from him by a parson, and by magistrates of Sussex, was proved to be false by a hundred and three witnesses, who signed their names to a declaration, and would add their oaths to that declaration, if necessary? GOODMAN was not offered a pecuniary reward, to be sure; but this we know, that he was sent from LEWES to HORSHAM to be hanged, for having set five fires with his own hand; and, as was proved upon the trial, set them from private malice. We know that *his life was spared*, while a man who had set one fire, and that, too, not from private malice, was taken out of the same jail and hanged. I will stop here to observe, that this affair of GOODMAN must not end, if I live a little longer, without an inquiry into the matter. There were public rewards to a very considerable amount, paid for the detection and conviction of this THOMAS GOODMAN; and the people should know something about the *distribution of that money*. It is pretty curious; but, I think, I am able to prove it, that this the worst of all the incendiaries *had a subscription made for him when he went off on his voyage to Botany Bay*; and that this subscription was made, *in part at least, by those who received public money for his detection and conviction*.

Let that rest there for the present; but these instances, without mentioning the bills of indictment thrown out in Berkshire, the Grand Jury being so clearly convinced of the false evidence of the informers, and of their mercenary and bloody intentions. These instances are quite enough to show, that, to offer high rewards in such a case, is to expose to imminent peril the life of every poor man in the neighbourhood; aye, and of every poor woman, every poor lad, and every poor girl. Doubtless, those who offer the rewards have no desire to put in peril the lives of innocent people: their wish is to get at the guilty; but the innocent people know very well that they do put their lives in peril; they know that, with such a re-

ward published, the life of every one of them is in danger, and they feel resentment accordingly; and, in some cases, really do the thing which the reward was intended to prevent them from doing. In a neighbourhood where one of these rewards is afloat, men are afraid, and naturally afraid, to move about in any direction after it is dark. They do not know how soon another fire may be set; and they do not know how soon the reward may send them to the gallows, especially as this is one of the cases in which circumstantial evidence must be permitted to have great weight. But, there is absolutely no protection to the poor man against the effects of these rewards. The fire-setter himself has only to have been out with a neighbour, in the night on which the fire was set, to go and swear that he saw that neighbour set the fire, the neighbour is hanged, and he has fifty pounds a year for life.

Now, do these tenderers of rewards believe that the working people do not see all this as clearly as I do; and as, I hope, they themselves now will? Do they believe that those whose lives are thus put in peril do not see the danger? And, if they consult their own experience, they will find that they never were put in danger themselves, by any one, without feeling anger against him, her, or them, who had put them in such danger. What! do they suppose that they can put people in peril of their lives, and not excite the hatred of those people, not excite in their bosoms feelings of deadly revenge? They are blinded by their own anger, or they would see that every high reward must necessarily add to the number of fires.

Thus, then, we are not to wonder at the facts stated in this Suffolk newspaper, which facts are these, that JAMES JOHNSON, the parson's churchwarden of HALESWORTH, had a straw-stack burnt on the night of Christmas-day; that a reward was raised by subscription to the amount of five hundred and seventy-five pounds for the detection of the firer of this straw-stack; that the offer of this reward, together with the names of the subscribers, were printed in hand-

bills, which were exhibited in shopkeepers' windows at HALESWORTH, and circulated largely all about the county. That, since the publication of this paper, a threatening letter has been sent to JOHNSON, he being one of the subscribers; that the hostility has been extended by setting fire to the stacks of one of the principal subscribers, Mr. F. ROBINSON, of DUNWICH. Whether Mr. PRIME and Mr. TAYLOR were actually subscribers, the article does not positively state; but, from the context, one would suppose that they were; so that, as I told Sir THOMAS BARING, with regard to his reward offered at MICHEL-DEVER, it was calculated to extend the fires, rather than extinguish them.

But, I must recur to the observation made before, relative to the character of the working people of England, and particularly the country labourers, amongst whom it is *taken for granted* by all the *doctrinaire* crew, in particular, that all sense of morality is wholly extinguished. Mr. HUMPHREY, the other day, spoke of this degradation as an admitted truth; as a matter of course; as a thing as notorious as WELLINGTON'S bullet-proof window-shutters, or as the burnings of Moscow. I admit no such a thing. The working people are not what they were; but it is only because they are poorer and more miserable than they were. Children are not so dutiful to their parents as they used to be; but it is because they see their parents treated like scum, and see them possess nothing. It is because they see their parents standing outside of a window on a Saturday night, to receive their pay, instead of receiving it in the farmer's kitchen with a mug of beer in their hand. The excuse for treating them thus is, an assertion, that they are all become *thieves* and robbers and liars and villains, not to be trusted inside of a house. If this be the case, then, what are we to think of those persons who offer a reward of five hundred and seventy-five pounds sterling to any one of a herd like this; to any one of these wretched beings who will swear that another has been guilty of arson, who will offer fifty pounds a year for life to any one of

these wretches who will take away the life of his neighbour, against whom he may possibly have a grudge at the same time. What should we think of a man who would go in amongst the felons of Newgate, and offer his fortune to any one who would do his oath, convict another of perjury? Yet, monstrous as this is, if it be true that the people be degraded to the point which they are described to be, to offer rewards like that that I have been observing upon, falls very little short of offering such rewards to bands of notorious felons.

However, the fact is, that, besides all these objections to the offer of such rewards, they fail of their object, as is clearly proved by the fact, that there has not been more than one conviction for about forty or fifty fires. This is, however, an argument against the assumed degradation of the people; for there is always a great reward offered; and there always might be a fortune made by villany and perjury; and the fortunes are not made; and the people, though so poor, have not lost all sense of morality and religion.

We are told here of the outrageous behaviour of the working men, and of their boisterous joy at the destruction of the farm-property; and this really is something approaching towards an open war against property; and this, too, observe, in a perfectly agricultural county, cursed with no great overgrown towns; and divided into parishes so numerous, as for the people everywhere to be almost immediately and constantly under the eye of a resident parochial minister. But, the duty of a Government, in such a case, is not to stand and stare, nor to think of punishments, but to work sedulously, and seek out the cause; to resolve to probe the evil to its very source; and then to apply a remedy; and, if a Government be incapable of doing either, then it is unworthy of being called a Government.

The proximate cause is evident enough to all who are not quite blind, or who are not brutal Malthusian philosophers; that cause is hunger and nakedness, want of a sufficiency of food, cloth-

ing and fuel. This arises from several causes, producing a want of sufficiency of pay; but, after this, the causes become less obvious, and require more searching into. It is a truth universal, that slaves will be insolent, disobedient, and faithless, whenever they dare; and, therefore, we are not to be at all surprised at really bad and wicked behaviour amongst men who are half-starved, and who are treated like dogs. During the whole of the regency and reign of George the Fourth, the constant aim of the Ministers and the makers of the laws, appeared to be, to make the lot of the working people as hard as possible; to take from them every little privilege enjoyed by their fathers; to harden the laws affecting them; to make imprisonment more severe; to discover new modes of punishing offences formerly deemed venial; to rely solely upon coercive measures. I have lately had to take a review of the laws passed during that regency and reign. First, I see the horrible new game law, providing transportation for poachers; next comes PERK's new penal code, with death in every line; but what need we more than the fact, that it became felony to take an apple from a tree. The horrible new trespass-law next stares us in the face. Then come STURGES BOURNE's bills, with the hired overseers. This is followed by ELLENBOROUGH's act, improved by LANSDOWNE, under which act poor COOKER was hanged for striking BROWNE BARRING without doing him any bodily harm. To enforce laws like these, the justice of peace and the constable were not sufficient, and out came a Bourton police. All the time crime went on increasing; and there is no man can tell where the increase is to end. If you would know the cause, the real cause, of the present horrible situation of the country, you have nothing to do, but to read the statute book of this regency and reign of George the Fourth: it was that regency and reign that brought the system to its utmost limit; and to the acts of that reign we must look for all that we now behold and lament. It was a reign of coercion;

a reign in hostility to all the principles of English government, and of Englishmen's hearts.

I cannot conclude these observations, without noticing a proposition made in Norfolk, to employ bloodhounds in the detection of incendiaries. In the *Norwich Mercury* of the 18. of this month, the following paragraph appeared :

" *Stack-burning*.—A very simple but certain means of ending this diabolical practice has suggested to our minds, from seeing the noble breed of THE BLOOHOUND or lyme dog still preserved by Mr. COKE, at HOLKHAM. If these dogs were kept and trained, which is by no means difficult, the moment one was brought up to the stack he would take the footing of the incendiary, and hunt him through the world. Their instinct is certain, their baying is terrific, and their strength and speed incomparable. We would not recommend such an expedient in any but such a case; incendiaries deserve to be hunted down, and it would be mercy in the end by the certain prevention of these fiend-like acts. Since this was written, we see that dogs have been employed at Reading to track some thieves."

Since the publication of this paragraph, the proposition has been again made in the same paper, in a more ample and more serious manner. The monster, who is a *black one*, I would lay my life, who makes the proposition, does not put his name. The dogs bred at HOLKHAM, too, by the famous old Daddy, who so foully libelled me, in the year 1823. For fifty years, our souls have been filled with horror at the accounts of hunting down negroes in JAMAICA, by the means of bloodhounds; but to this we are come at last. We had barracks first; next *Bourbon-police*; and now, if the Norfolk tyrants have their will, we are to have bloodhounds. The three B's; barracks, *Bourbon-police*, and bloodhounds! Oh! all will not do: the people of England, do what you will, will not, bloodhounds, or bloodhounds

not, be reduced to the state of the miserable creatures in Ireland.

I hope that Mr. HUME was mistaken when he said that the Ministers had a scheme for altering the poor-laws, and of bringing all the parishes under the control of a central board. Such a scheme might make the matter worse than it now is; but, assuredly, it would not make it better. Why will Lords GREY and ALTHORP; why will Lord MELBOURNE, Sir JAMES GRAHAM, Mr. STANLEY, and Lord JOHN RUSSELL; why will they listen to these Scotch schemes; to this band of *doctrinaires* and political economists, who are perfect fanatics as to every matter of this sort; and who think that nothing is good that is above half-a-year old; and who have nothing to lose, by-the-by, if the people were to be goaded on to burn the mansions, and take possession of the estates? Do not these noblemen and gentlemen know, that a right to parochial relief is as firmly rooted in the minds of the people of England, as their right to live is? Do they not know that this is a great business of life with the working people; that it touches every soul of them; and that, to make any change, having in view the enfeebling of that right, would be a signal for general resistance, as far as they have the power to resist? They do know it; and knowing it, let us hope that they will not, to all the rest of the troubles of the country, and of their own troubles, add any scheme of this sort. If I were to judge from what I see going on in several parts of the country, and a specimen of which will be found in the paper which I shall insert at the bottom of this, I should be disposed to believe, or, at least, to hope, that the noblemen and gentlemen of England have, at last, seen that coercion, that punishment, that harsh treatment, are not the means to be employed to bring the people back to their ancient and proper feeling, with regard to the owners of the land. These proceedings of what is called the "*Labourers' Friend Society*" (they being a specimen of what we see in other places), show that men of sense have, at last, arrived

at a conviction, that the fires are not to be extinguished by the bayonet, by a *Bourbon*-police, or even by blood-hounds. They have sense to know that there are no earthly means of preventing these fires, other than those means which will take the disposition out of the hearts of the people. Prevention is impossible, if the disposition exist: and detection is wholly impossible, except by mere accident. These gentlemen, therefore, labour to remove the disposition, and, to a certain extent, they are sure to succeed.

It is a curious spectacle to behold schemes on foot everywhere for giving the labourers *allotments of land*. Nothing can more clearly show the desperate state of the agricultural part of the community. Strange to behold! A dozen farms moulded into one in innumerable instances. Upon an average, four farms moulded into one within the last forty-three years: the little farms all swallowed up by the big farmers; and now allotments of land are given to the day labourers: so that we have the two extremes, farms on an average of five hundred acres, and labourers with allotments of a rood, or quarter of an acre. This is not the happy state: the happy and proper state was, when farms were from a thousand down to fifteen or ten acres, more and more numerous as they became small; and when the mere labourers, then comparatively few in number, were best off with nothing beyond their gardens and their pig-sties.

But, though the allotment system is not what one could wish, it is hard to say what better could be contrived; and, at any rate, the gentlemen who promote it deserve great praise, because it is sure to do some good, and particularly, because it shows a desire on their part to do good to this description of persons. At an agricultural meeting in the county of Buckingham, the Marquis of CHANDOS is said to have made use of the following expressions, which, in justice to him, I cannot refrain from inserting.

"Our plans of to-day must tend yet more to aid the farmer, by giving such

inducement and reward to the labourer as shall induce him to earn his living without parochial assistance, and thus the parish rates will be reduced, and the farmer relieved. In my own family we have found the allotment system so advantageous, that in several parishes the rates have been greatly reduced, and in one entirely taken off. We have agreed to meet for the distribution of our rewards on Wednesday, the 21. of May, and I hope that we shall then assemble in great numbers, to make the day a festival, and by the distribution of the prizes to the meritorious candidates, prove to the poor that there is a body of men who are careful for their well-doing, and considerate of their condition. The bounty of the Sovereign will then be distributed, and I trust to see a propitious day, and numbers of glad and happy faces. By this means, encouraged as we are by our King in our good work, I hope so admirable an example will be copied all over the kingdom, and the labourer made contented and industrious. (Loud applause). We have been the first to take the field, and the first whom our gracious Monarch has honoured by his notice and encouragement. To create a right spirit amongst the labouring classes is the surest plan by which to ensure the peace and tranquillity of the nation, and the stability of the throne; and we are in duty bound, as Englishmen and agriculturists, to exert ourselves by every means that are open to us, to aid in effecting objects so desirable."

This is very good; and certainly, his Majesty is more likely to extinguish fires in this way than by special assizes, though one of the commissioners were "our right trusty and well-beloved Thomas WILDE." This is very good, a something to stay the plague; and it shows an excellent disposition in the Marquis of CHANDOS; but the Marquis is much too sensible a man not to know that it must be considered as a mere expedient, a mere means of quieting the working people; and that, at last, the monster of the funds must reach his estate. These allotments are

only poor-rates in another form. In the end they are just as costly as the poor-rates themselves. The labourers must either have what they want in wages, rates, or in land; but there is this of wisdom in the allotment system: it keeps the working people in better humour, and that is no trifling matter, when we do not know how soon it may be when the question is to be decided, whether the Jews shall have the estates, or those estates remain with their present owners. Here is the great question; here is the root of all the troubles. Thirty millions a year, to be paid in gold; and an army costing ten millions a year, altogether to be kept up in order to cause the thirty millions to be paid. This it is that is tearing every thing to pieces. How many times have I been accused of a desire to destroy the ancient institutions of the country! I never had such desire in my life; but have laboured all my life, since I have known how to labour in such affairs, to prevent such destruction, by destroying that system of funding and of paper-money which I always knew would destroy them all, unless it were itself destroyed. If this abominable system could break thousands upon thousands of farmers in America; if it could cause a want of employment there, what must it do here? It is here, at this time, actually breaking up the foundations of this ancient Government: for though there is no distinct proposition to take the tithes and parsonage-houses and glebes, and sell them for the benefit of the fundholders, that is the real meaning of the proposition; and, when the dissenters call upon the Ministers to abolish the church establishment, they really call upon them to give up its revenues to the Jews, though they themselves mean no such thing. It is not religion that is at work, but the tax-gatherer: the tithes and church-rates are a charge; there are so many charges that the people are unable to bear them all; by getting rid of these, they have more means to pay the taxes that go to the fundholders; so that, in fact, the monster comes unseen, and devours this great pillar of the state; and, when it

is too late, the parsons will discover, that I, whom they have so long, and by all sorts of foul means, endeavoured to destroy, am the only man who ever had the courage to propose the only measure by which they could possibly have been preserved.

The Ministers may resist for awhile; but they will not resist long; and it would not be worth while for them to resign their places, in order to avoid doing the deed; because somebody else must do it, if they do not; and, if the noblemen and gentlemen preserve their estates from the devourings of the same monster, they must owe the preservation, not to barracks, *Bourbon*-police, and bloodhounds; but to the goodwill of the working people who are their natural allies; and who have been alienated from them by that treatment which ought to be put an end to as speedily as possible.

At the first meeting of the committee of the Labourers' Friend Society, for the northern division of the county of Northampton, held at the White Hart Inn, Kettering, December, 23, 1833, present, Lord Viscount Stopford, Hon. Colonel Stopford, Sir Arthur De Capell Brooke, Bart., T. P. Maunsell, Esq., A. A. Young, Esq., John Booth, Esq., P. Pain, Esq., Rev. R. Yevers, Rev. F. L. Weatherall, Rev. J. Weatherall, Rev. H. Corrie, Rev. J. Hogg, Rev. H. Harris, Rev. P. Harris, Rev. I. L. Sutton.

The following resolutions were proposed for the adoption of the society, by Sir Arthur De Capell Brooke, and the objects embodied in them, were forcibly recommended by him to its attention:

Resolved: First, That the Labourers' Friend Society shall not confine its operations to the establishment, extension, and improvement of the land-allotment system, but will direct its exertions to the promotion of any measures that may tend to the general improvement of the labourer, and that its at-

tention shall be most anxiously turned to the reformation of his moral habits and character; in effecting which the mutual assistance and co-operation of the landed proprietors, and the clergy in particular, will be indispensably necessary.

2dly. That such co-operation be most earnestly requested by means of a general circular, addressed not only to them, but to every one who may have it in his power, in any way, to forward the views of the society.

3dly. That the society will do every thing in its power to induce landlords to effect improvements generally in the habitations of the lower classes, with a view of encouraging domestic habits; experience having confirmed it as an undoubted fact, that in proportion as the poor man finds his cottage more or less comfortable, so will he be found to be, in the same ratio, a frequenter of the alehouse and beer-shop. One most important object to which attention should be directed is, that in every cottage there should be, at the least, two sleeping apartments, with a view of preventing those scenes of indelicacy and of immorality, it is to be feared, which must result from nine and ten persons, and often more, of both sexes, and all ages, married and single, almost sleeping together. The general economy of the cottage should, besides, be carefully attended to, with regard to neatness and cleanliness, convenience of arrangement, healthiness, and comfort, &c.

4thly. That the society will do every thing in its power to effect a repeal of the Beer Bill, or such alterations as shall neutralize its most baneful and destructive influence on the minds and character of the labouring population.

5thly. That a main object of the society be the encouragement and promotion of all village societies tending to benefit the poor man, in order to revive the feelings of independence and forethought once so conspicuous in the English peasantry. Among these may be named Provident Institutions, Coal Clubs, Clothing Societies, and many others of a beneficial nature; also the inducing the labourer to place a certain

sum monthly, however small, in the Savings Bank; in order to promote the latter object, the society should endeavour by all means to effect the establishment of a Savings Bank at Kettering. Loan societies should also be formed, on the plan of supplying the poor and industrious labourer with temporary loans, should he want to purchase a pig, seed, wheelbarrow, tools to cultivate his allotment, or for the purpose of assisting him in any difficulty, distress, or embarrassment. Such loans would, in innumerable cases, be productive of the greatest benefit to the poor.

6thly. That the attention of the society be directed to the better providing the poorer classes with fuel during the winter months; the general supply of this necessary article being so scanty, precarious, and expensive, that the poor in this part of the county suffer very greatly in consequence. It is well known, that the climate of Northamptonshire generally is cold and damp, particularly in the northern part of it, principally on account of the large tracts of woodland, and the nature of the soil: Notwithstanding the former circumstance, wood fuel is extremely dear, from the difficulty and expense of carriage; the common price of good faggots, even in the forest district, being often as high as threepence halfpenny when retailed. Coal again is very dear at all times of the year, but particularly in the winter season, and parish officers in scarcely any instances, laying in a supply for the poor in the summer time; on this account, as also the very great expense of carriage, from the distance, coal is often as high as 1s. 8d. and sometimes 1s. 10d. per hundred. At this price the poor man cannot afford to purchase but a small and very insufficient quantity, and when it is considered how very inferior his clothing is, both with regard to quantity and quality, to that of his richer neighbour, how much scantier his supply of food, how much colder his humble dwelling, and how much more exposed he must necessarily be to the weather at all times, with at the same time, so di-

minished a stock of fuel, it may easily be conceived how very much the labourer suffers from cold and damp, during the inclement season of the year, to the great detriment both of his health and of his family, the latter being so dependent upon the former for support.

It is to the scarcity and dearth of fuel that the lawless habits of the labouring population in the forest villages, may, in a great degree be traced, from their being driven to the woods from childhood to procure fuel; from the wood-stealer, the transition to a poacher's life, is, in a woodland country, easy and almost natural, and from the latter to the gallows. If every farmer would render assistance by way of carriage towards obtaining a winter's supply of coals for the poor in the summer months, while they are cheap, it would afford the greatest comfort and relief to the labouring population in general. Should parish officers possess no convenient place of deposit, arrangements might be made for stowing the coals at the wharf, and drawing them away as wanted.

7thly. That the society shall direct its attention to the establishment of parochial associations, for the purpose of giving every possible encouragement to the honest and industrious labourer, by the institution of small annual prizes and rewards, for independence of parish relief, diligence, industry, and good conduct, the general economy and state of the labourer's cottage, the bringing up of his family, and cultivation of his cottage allotment.

8thly. That the exertions of the society would have a most beneficial tendency towards promoting both the social and moral welfare of the labouring classes, if directed to the dissemination of information really useful to the poor man, suitable to his station in life, and of which he might avail himself to the increase of his comforts and those of his family; such information should be imparted in plain country language, familiar to his ears and adapted to his capacity; it might also be interspersed most advantageously with

simple moral precepts and advice, conveyed in a friendly manner, and directed chiefly against the crimes and vices to which the lower orders are usually addicted, as poaching, thieving, drunkenness, sabbath-breaking, bad company, swearing, &c.

9thly. That the society will use its most strenuous endeavours, and exert its utmost influence in impressing parochial officers, farmers, and proprietors in general, with the deep importance of discouraging pauperism, of making every possible distinction between the moral, the industrious, the sober and well-disposed labourer, and the worthless, the idler, the poacher, and the habitual frequenter of the alehouse and beer-shop; to give the utmost encouragement and reward to the first, and to check, to watch, and to punish the latter by every means in its power: in a word, to make all possible discrimination between good and bad character, and the line of separation which ought ever to exist, far more distinctly marked and attended to than it is at present.

10thly. That the influence of the society shall be beneficially exerted, with a view of exciting reciprocal feelings of kindness, good-will, and gratitude between the poorer classes and those whom Providence has placed in superior stations, to convince the agricultural labourer, that the latter, while desirous that their own conduct shall afford a proper example, are really anxious to better his condition, and to remove every just cause of discontent, seeking only in return, and which they are determined most resolutely to exact and require, obedience to the laws, and an improvement in his moral habits and feelings.

Resolved unanimously: That the committee approve of the principles contained in the above resolutions, and that they be printed for immediate circulation.

HISTORY OF GEORGE THE FOURTH.

I HAVE just published the thirteenth number of this work. Dr. BLACK called the first numbers of the PROTESTANT REFORMATION "pig's meat." That "pig's meat" had a great hand in producing what we now behold with regard to the church; and this new trough full of "pig's meat," which will be brought to a close in seven more numbers, will, or I am very much mistaken, produce something of the same sort with regard to this whole system of sway. It was the transactions of this regency and reign that brought down the system, or that gave it the blow under which it is now staggering. The acts of the reign of GEORGE the Third were sometimes outrageously violent, and sometimes outrageously foolish; but it was in this regency and reign of the fourth GEORGE, of "the Sovereign," as they used to call him; it was the transactions of this regency and reign that inflicted the final blow; and we are just in the right time for giving a history of them, because we have had time to feel their effects, while we are not so far from them as to have forgotten them; and while a large part of the actors are still alive. This present number thirteen begins the history of "the Sovereign's" war with the United States of America. This war, though it took place only a few years back, is a matter of which the people of England know no more than they know of what is passing in the moon; and they never did know any more about it. It took place amidst events nearer home; and the base press, and the crafty Government, and the deeply-interested navy and army, kept all the facts totally hidden from the people. The histories of the war which have been written and published in America have never been republished here. It is high time that this history be made known to the people of England. They feel how England is sunk, and how America has risen; but they do not know the why and the wherefore of all this. They feel the weight of the accursed debt;

but they do not know that the war of "the Sovereign" caused seventy millions of that debt, and created that powerful American navy which now makes the teeth of some folks chatter in their heads.

I intend to have some copperplate prints to this History.

1. The Frontispiece, exhibiting "the Sovereign" pulling up a large minnow at the end of a silver rod, and caught by a golden hook, and standing in a golden gondola, on Virginia Water, exciting the admiration of Lady CONYNNGHAM, "Lord" BLOOMFIELD, Sir WILLIAM KNIGHTON, and the "Right Honourable" Col. M'MANON, while the "Right Honourable" Sir HERBERT TAYLOR, in the act of writing down the exploits of the sovereign.
 2. Marshal NEX coming out to be shot, with the capitulation of PARIS tied about his neck.
 3. The House of Commons, standing up with hats off, and clapping hands, receiving CASTLEREAGH on his arrival from the Continent, after the fall of NAPOLEON.
 4. CASTLEREAGH, in his last great act, at NORTH CRAY, in Kent.
 5. The gateway of "the sovereign," costing seventy thousand pounds; a chopstick sitting on one side, and a weaver on the other, dining upon potatoes and salt.
 6. Soldiers shooting HONEY and FRANCIS at the funeral of the Queen.
 7. The frigate JAVIA knocked to pieces by the "bits of bunting."
 8. The battle of NEW ORLEANS.
 9. The famous battle on the Serpentine-river, where the American ships were all captured by the English, just about the time that the Americans were capturing all the English on Lake CHAMPLAIN: which last scene will be exhibited in another compartment of the same picture.
- These, and some others, I intend as embellishments to this mess of "pig's meat," for I am determined to do all possible honour to the History of the Reign of "THE SOVEREIGN." I do not promise to give these little pictures,

but I wish to do it, and think I shall do it. The contents of the thirteenth number are as follows:

CHAP. VI.

AMERICAN WAR. — Grounds of it. — Tyranny of impressment. — Motives of English Government. — Their deadly hostility to freedom. — Their employing Captain Henry as a secret agent in the United States. — Their treatment of Americans whom they had impressed. — Their shutting of them up in a prison on Dartmoor. — Their determination to destroy freedom in America. — John Wilson Croker's Manifesto. — Devastation of the towns and villages and plunder of the farm-houses on the American sea-coast. — Bloody works of our allies, the savages at French-town, on the River Raisin. — Sacking of the little town of Hampton, in Virginia. — Burnings at Washington. — Gross delusion of the people of England.

ANTI-BANK MEMORIAL.

To the Legislature of the State of New York, in Senate and Assembly convened:

The memorial of the undersigned, citizens of the said state, respectfully represents—

That it is with regret and alarm we have witnessed a course of legislation prevailing in this state, destructive of the equal rights of its citizens, depriving industry of its just reward, creating aristocratical distinctions, and thus at war with the republican principles of our Government. We allude in particular to the practice of chartering banks, with the privilege of issuing paper money, and with other privileges denied to all but the favoured few whom the legislature see fit to indulge at the expense of the many, which has given birth to the most stupendous system of fraud ever permitted in an intelligent community of citizens claiming equal rights;

for by it the fruits of industry are wrested from the producer, and given to the idler and the speculator, without the value of an hour's useful labour in return. Its deplorable effects are deeply felt at this very moment: we present the singular and humiliating spectacle of a community rich in all that constitutes true wealth, yet on the verge of moneyed bankruptcy, which has not been brought on us by any national or domestic calamity, the loss of a market or the failure of crops, but solely by our iniquitous and absurd money system.

Before entering upon the injustice and impolicy of the paper-money and banking system of this state, we request the attention of our representatives to the following extracts from the constitution of the United States:

The 5th paragraph, section 8, article 1, declares that Congress shall have power "to coin money, regulate the value thereof, and of foreign coin, and fix the standard of weights and measures." The first paragraph, section 10, same article, decrees, "No state shall enter into any treaty, alliance, or confederation; grant letters of marque and reprisal; coin money; emit bills of credit; make any thing but gold and silver coin a tender in payment of debts; or law impairing the obligation of contracts."

Nothing can be plainer than these provisions of the constitution, giving Congress power to coin money and regulate its value, forbidding the States to emit bills of credit, or to make any thing but gold and silver a legal tender. This was a foundation for the circulating medium of the country that our revolutionary fathers rightly supposed would give a solid basis for exchanges and contracts in the community, particularly when they fortified it still further, by declaring that no state should pass any law impairing the obligation of contracts.

These honest and wholesome guarantees for maintaining a sound currency (with the exception of coining) have been more or less violated by the State of New York for the last forty-two years. In 1791, the first bank was

chartered—the first of those SEVENTY-ONE institutions in this state, which, under its authority and patronage, “emit bills of credit,” issue paper money, and, instead of Congress, regulate the currency of this state, by contracting or expanding issues; thus raising or lowering the value of money, and by that operation “impairing the obligation of contracts.”

With this simple statement of the case—a statement that cannot be contradicted—we might call upon a patriotic republican legislature to commence the work of restoring the people their constitutional currency, by a speedy repeal of the charters of those paper-money institutions, and withdrawal of their notes from circulation.

If the constitution is to be trampled upon by the very authorities solemnly sworn to “support” it, what reasonable hope can there be that the people should respect that instrument, or obey the enactments under it? They may wisely begin to calculate the value of a paper constitution as well as paper money, if they must bear the burdens it enjoins while deprived of the benefits it ought to confer. It is the height of mal-legislation to occupy unconstitutional ground. We have seen the outraged rights of a minority rouse a whole state to arms against the union, before its constitutional grievances were met with measures of redress.

But the pernicious effects of the system are as clear as its unconstitutionality, and imperiously demand from the legislature of a free people its total abolition. We will briefly notice some of its most prominent evils, in connexion with its injustice and impolicy.

The legislature, by chartering banking institutions, to emit bills of credit, places the circulating medium of the state in the hands of speculators, who at their pleasure can change the value of all its property; and by taking advantage of these changes, can and do enrich themselves on the losses and sacrifices of their fellow-citizens, thrown in their power by the curtailment of accommodations previously extended to profusion. These vacillations of the cur-

rency, so destructive in their effects on the honest industry of the community, are perhaps generally caused by events over which the banks have no control, but in order, to save themselves, sacrifice those who deal with them; and the injury is felt more or less by every person except the few who have the means to profit by the general distress.

This view of the subject, no doubt, induced the following observations from the Safety Fund Commissioners, in their report to your body, in January, 1833:

“We must expect commercial embarrassments, deranging the accustomed business of the community, prostrating the credit of individuals, and subjecting the banks to extensive losses. We must not always expect to be peculiarly favoured with abundant crops and good markets. Too much currency, even in prosperous times, is an evil. It encourages profuseness of expenditure, and extravagance of living, hazardous speculations, and improvident investments. In some degree it enhances prices, particularly of those articles which are not the subject of exportation, and prepares the community, by making them familiar with plenty, to suffer far more severely by the scarcity, which in the ordinary alternations of business is sure to follow. It is the transition from a profusion to a scarcity of money that creates distress; and it is clear, that the more paper currency there may be afloat, the greater will be the distress by reducing it to that amount at which it can be sustained by the specie of the country. The man who has but lately invested his capital in property, and finds it suddenly depreciated in value, perhaps to the extent of his whole fortune, will look to the bank fund with but little satisfaction for the payment of the small amount of bank notes which he may happen to have in his pocket.”

These truths, coming from the quarter they do, are entitled to the most serious consideration. It would be the grossest injustice to place the property of the people on such a precarious foundation, even if the state possessed the consti-

tutional right to create a paper currency; but its utter impropriety is manifested in the fact that the regulation of the currency is one of the most important and delicate prerogatives of sovereignty, and as such is vested solely in the general Government, and confined to specie; while states are not only prohibited from issuing bills of credit, but even from coining. It has been a singular infatuation in the people of our state to permit for so long a period the worst violations that could be perpetrated on this point of the constitution; for if the privilege of coining had been usurped by the state, the coin would circulate for nearly its worth, or produce nearly its value for sale; and if corporations had been granted the privilege by the state, and became bankrupt, the holders of their coin would lose but little, if any, by their failure. A celebrated writer in favour of banks has observed, "A bank that keeps on hand a sufficiency of specie to meet all its debts, can never divide 6 per cent. interest." A reason of this character no doubt influenced our first speculators to violate the constitution rather by printing paper than by stamping gold and silver.

Our Government has not only given a tremendous power into the hands of a few monopolists and speculators, but has consented to receive their promissory notes in payment of taxes! These favoured individuals are permitted to make money of paper, while other citizens are not only forbidden that, but even to make money from gold and silver. By controlling the circulation of the state, this moneyed aristocracy are enabled to tax industry to an amount one third more than all the expenses of the state Government. The banks in the safety fund realized a profit from 1832 to 1833 of 2,253,663 dollars over and above their expenses; and if those not under the fund stand in the same ratio of profit and expenses to their capital, it will give a total of 3,041,707 dollars, clear of expenses. The aggregate capital of the 74 banks in the state amounts to 28,681,460 dollars; yet it appears from the commissioners' re-

port that the amount due from the community to those banks "varies but little from 53,000,000 dollars," and we pay interest on that at about 6 per cent. A real capital of 29,000,000 dollars let out by private capitalists at 6 per cent. would yield them but 1,440,000 dollars, while the community pays to the privileged companies, for rather less than that sum, 3,180,000 dollars. Now admitting, what nobody can believe, that they ever possessed 28,681,460 dollars solid capital, (as the 58 banks in the safety fund at their last annual exhibit only showed 1,792,000 dollars in specie), the people pay 1,440,000 dollars more to these privileged corporations than they would have to pay to private individuals; and if we take into account that probably not one third that amount in real money would be needed to do all our present business, and that from competition among capitalists the rate of interest would be reduced—the saving to the people of this state would be immense; besides the security of a circulating medium which would be out of the power of interested individuals to tamper with and free from the danger of being seriously affected by commercial vicissitudes; to this might be added the proceeds of the useful labour of those citizens now, by means of banks, subsisting on the labour of their fellows.

One of the worst evils flowing from our paper money and banking, is the introduction and support of a demoralizing and ruinous system of credit, that now governs all business, and makes a game of hazard of the pursuits of industry. This credit, however, is the very life of paper banking; as by it the arbiters of our fortunes, the paper-money monopolists, levy their oppressive tax; by it their favourites obtain the means to crush opponents in business, and extract from the industrious the fruits of their labour without giving a righteous equivalent; by it the rich are enabled to increase their wealth from four to ten fold, without rendering society any valuable service, while labour is depressed in a corresponding degree; it is the cause, directly and re-

motely, of a large amount of litigation, leading to poverty, distress, and ruin of mind and morals, as well as property. We conclude this part of our subject, by giving the views of a committee of our legislature in 1818.

"Of all *aristocracies*," said they, "none more completely enslave a people than that of *money*; and in the opinion of your committee, no system was ever better devised, so perfectly to enslave a community, as that of the present mode of conducting banking establishments. Like the Syren of the fable, they entice to destroy. They hold the purse strings of society: and by monopolizing the whole of the circulating medium of the country, they form a precarious standard, by which all property in the country, houses, lands, debts, and credits, personal and real estate of all descriptions, are valued; thus rendering the whole community dependent on them; proscribing every man who dares to expose their unlawful practices; if he happens to be out of their reach, so as to require no favours from them, his friends are made the victims. So no one dare complain.

"The committee, on taking a general view of our state, and comparing those parts where banks have been for some time established, with those that have none, are astonished at the alarming disparity. They see, in the one case, the desolations they have made in societies that were before prosperous and happy; the ruin they have brought on an immense number of the most wealthy farmers, and they and their families suddenly hurled from wealth and independence into the abyss of ruin and despair.

"If the facts stated in the foregoing be true, and your committee have no doubt they are, together with others equally reprehensible and to be dreaded, such as that their influence too frequently, nay, often already begins to assume a species of dictation altogether alarming, and unless some judicious remedy be provided by legislative wisdom, we shall soon witness

"attempts to control all elections to offices in our counties, nay, the elections to the very legislature. Senators and members of assembly will be indebted to the banks for their seats in this capital, and thus the wise end of our civil institutions will be prostrated in the dust of corporations of their own raising."

An important mischief arising from the paper-money system, is the depreciation of specie in occasions, which being the basis of exchange between us and foreign countries where little depreciation exists, it follows that as money prices of commodities (labour included) are so much higher here than there, they have a very serious and extensive advantage over us. Such a state of exchange, could it be continued, would leave us in helpless dependence upon foreigners for many necessities as well as comforts of life. Congress, to enable domestic productions of labour to compete in our market with foreign, have thought proper to enact a bill of taxes called the tariff, a measure considered by some states so unconstitutional, unjust, and oppressive, that it has alienated their affections from the union, and has induced one state to oppose its execution by violent means. Had the currency of the country continued specie, as the fathers of the constitution intended, there would have existed no necessity for taxing one portion of the community to support another. The industry of a nation but lightly taxed, could triumphantly cope with another overwhelmed with demands from its Government. Thus the labour of our country is obliged to sustain the difference between a high and a low tariff, with the additional expense of its collection as well as the heavy tax raised by the privileged makers of paper money, which in this state alone amounted last year, as before said, to upwards of 8,000,000 dollars. On this question the Bank and Commissioners, in their report, 1833, observe, "It is believed, that at present, manufacturing capital is neither considered so safe nor productive as bank stock, and it might be worthy of the investiga-

"tion of the political economist to inquire how far, if at all, the necessity of protecting domestic industry, which is alleged to exist, may be due to ensure a large increase of bank capital throughout the union since the tariff of 1828, and to the expanded, if not overloaded state of the paper currency." Congress have ordered a gradual reduction of the tariff, which, when it shall come fully into operation, should our present bloated paper-money system remain, or be increased, will produce serious distress, no matter how industrious and economical the population. Goods will be imported cheap; and the mechanic will be unable to manufacture so as to compete with foreigners; his wages will be reduced to the lowest point, and that being found insufficient, he must give up his business, or live a beggar, not able to support and educate his family. Perchance even the refuge of the wilderness may be denied him, by Government's asking high prices for our public lands. How much sooner will this occur should Congress do justice to the country, and sweep away the petty paper incorporations that have such an illegal existence! or if they should collect their duties in specie, a measure we conceive them bound by the constitution and their oaths to carry into effect. With a receipt of from twenty to thirty millions, the Government may do much towards maintaining the legitimate circulation of the country.

By the third section of the act modifying the tariff, passed March 2, 1833, it is provided after the 30th day of June, 1842, that duties on imports shall be collected in ready money; and such duties shall be laid as may be necessary to raise a revenue for an economical administration of the Government, the value of the articles to be assessed at the port of entry. The principles of this act furnish powerful arguments why state legislatures should retrace the erroneous steps of their predecessors, and return to the honest and constitutional currency. Should we do this, when Congress, in 1842, shall enforce cash payment of duties, we shall be able to meet the

crisis without a shock; but should we continue in the reckless unconstitutional path in which we have run the last six years, during which thirty-six banks and seven millions of paper have been thrust on the people of this state; or should we even remain stationary, the distress when that crisis arrives will be unparalleled, unless anticipated by a previous explosion from commercial fluctuations, failure of crops, &c.

We shall notice the only argument deserving any attention in favour of paper money, which is, that there would not be specie enough to facilitate exchanges between citizens. In complete refutation of this assertion, it is barely necessary to advert to the well-known fact, that the prices of things under ordinary circumstances, are regulated by the amount of money in circulation, whether paper or metal; and further, that the difference is merely in name, if ten dollars under the constitutional currency should purchase as much as one hundred dollars of our spurious money does now.

Though we have not mentioned many points in the political, social, and moral welfare of the community, which are ruinously affected by the gambling nature of our false money system, we have adduced facts and arguments sufficient, we think, to stimulate an honest legislature to arrest the evil, and commence the work of reform.

We therefore ask our representatives to examine the supreme law of the land, contained in the national and state constitutions, and abstain from the exercise of powers not granted. We ask them to refrain for ever hereafter from granting special privileges to any citizen or citizens over the rest, as being the very essence of aristocracy.

We ask to be relieved from the paper-money system, because it is unconstitutional; because through it we are compelled to pay an enormous tax; and instead of benefiting us, makes the value of all property fluctuating, and involves every citizen more or less in the ruin occasioned by the failure of speculations in which banks themselves, or their customers, may be engaged; be-

cause it meddles most injuriously with the industry of the community, being the sole prop of the present extensive and pernicious system and distribution of credit, fostering monopolies, and adding to the oppression of those who labour; because, if persevered in, it must finally lead to results as disastrous as the depreciation of the old Continental paper money, whereby thousands of the honest and industrious were despoiled of the laborious savings of years, and precipitated from a state of comfort to poverty and want, and because it has been a constant and fruitful source of corruption at the fountains of legislation, and a destroyer of the purity of elections.

MR. HARVEY.

I TAKE the following from the *Essex Mercury*. It has excited my surprise; but I will make a remark or two upon it, when I have inserted it, desiring my readers to look at the names of my lords the benchers.

(From the *Essex Mercury*, 28. January, 1834.)

DECISION OF THE BENCHERS OF THE INNER-TEMPLE ON MR HARVEY'S CASE.

Inner Temple—Bench Table, Thursday, 23. Jan. 1834—At a Special Meeting of the Masters of the Bench of this Society, to take into consideration the renewed application of Daniel Whittle Harvey, Esq., to be called to the Bar, accompanied by a copy of his petition to the Judges;

PRESIDENT:

Edmund Henry Lushington, Esq.,
Treasurer,

- * Joseph Jekyll, Esq.,
- * Sir James Scarlett, Knight,
- * Sir Charles Wetherell, Knight,
- * William Harrison, Esq.,
- * Sir Alexander Croke, Knight,

* These gentlemen were benchers in 1821, but Sir Charles Wetherell took no part on that occasion. We are not certain whether his father-in-law, Sir Alexander Croke, was at that time a bencher.—Ed.

The Right hon. Sir Edward Hyde East, Bart.,
Sir Robert Baker, Knight,
John Wyatt, Esq.,
The Right Hon. George Rose, Knight,
Henry Bickersteth, Esq.,
John Williams, Esq.,
Frederick Pollock, Esq.,
Horace Twiss, Esq.,
The Hon. Charles Ewan Law,
Thomas Coltman, Esq.,
Francis Ludlow Holt, Esq.,
Henry Hall Joy, Esq.,
Philip Courtenay, Esq.,

Upon taking into consideration the renewed application of Mr. Daniel Whittle Harvey, to be called to the bar, and the evidence adduced in support of the same, and the arguments of the learned counsel thereon,

"It is unanimously resolved—That the bench do not see any sufficient reason to alter the resolution of the bench, communicated to Mr. Harvey by the treasurer of the society, on the 13. of November, 1821, against his application to be called to the bar.

"EDWARD H. MARTIN,

"Sub-Treasurer."

We have been favoured with the above resolution of the bench of the Inner-Temple, as the same has been communicated to Mr. Harvey. When read with attention, the artfulness of this resolution is as palpable as its harshness, not only to Mr. Harvey, but to a very considerable minority of the benchers. It is not stated that the "benchers" unanimously resolved, but that the "bench" did. This resolution, we have reason to believe, was preceded by a preliminary understanding that, whichever way the benchers decided, and whatever might be the division, the final decision itself should be treated as the unanimous decision of the bench. To illustrate this:—A motion is made in the House of Commons, and, upon a division, carried. It would be perfectly consistent in the minority to concur in a vote that such a motion had been carried; and in the present instance we have reason to believe that there was a bare majority even in favour of the

qualified resolution, that "sufficient reason" did not appear to alter the former resolution of 1821; and if those who voted upon that occasion, and were now virtually called upon to denounce themselves, or rather to do an act of tardy justice, had not interfered, and that actively, the resolution upon the present occasion would have been the reverse.

It would have been satisfactory to the public, to know how it happened, that the strong evidence now brought forward, which could not be adduced before, came to be regarded by these gentlemen as insufficient to affect an opinion necessarily formed in its absence; that opinion involving sentence of everlasting banishment against an individual, from a profession his talents would adorn.

My surprise has not been excited by the decision of my lords; but by Mr. HARVEY's having condescended to submit any thing relative to his character to this group of people. Eternal damnation is, doubtless, very bad; but I would run the risk of it, at any rate, rather than voluntarily submit a decision on my character to HORACE TWISS and his comrades. I would engage to prove, let me call for persons and papers and records, and give me the power of clipping off ears in case of perjury; I would engage to prove, that all that has ever been *alleged* against Mr. HARVEY; not been proved; there has been nothing worthy of the name of proof; but all that has ever been alleged against him does not amount to a fifty-thousandth part of what I can prove of fellows who have half their life-time been living upon the public money. Aye, and of scores of them, too. What! Mr. HARVEY, such a man as Mr. HARVEY, condescend to put the decision upon his character at issue before a bunch of fellows like this! This is what surprises me; I am not at all surprised at the decision of my lords the benchers; but surprised that *any man*, and particularly so clever a man as Mr.

HARVEY, should have voluntarily submitted his character to the judgment of these people. Some time ago, Mr. HARVEY published a pamphlet, which, I think, was addressed to BROUGHAM, that ranting Edinburgh Reviewer, in which he stated, that BROUGHAM had promised him, and given him, in fact, the place of solicitor to some board, I have forgotten what board; and that he, BROUGHAM, afterwards informed him that he could not have the place, because Mr. MAULE would not consent to it! Does the reader know who and what this MAULE is? A few years ago he wore, pretty constantly, not a coronet upon his head, but a black pen behind his ear, which he drove in all sorts of hard and rough work for some master-attorney, whose name I have forgotten; and that this MAULE is now what they call "Solicitor to the Treasury"; and that he had to go in person and meet my attorney to strike the jury, by which the Whigs had the wisdom to cause me to be tried in 1831. Now, in the relationships of life, supposing men and things to be in their proper places, this MAULE is to the Lord Chancellor much about that which my cow-boy is to me, when I am at my farm. I mean, not the chap that milks the cows, and weans the calves; but the little heedless dog to whom the cow-milker is duly, morally, and legally authorised to give a flicking, now and then. To get at this boy, I go down through the carter, the thrasher, the cow-herd, and the under-carter. To come in contact with MAULE, BROUGHAM must go down through Lord GREY, Lord ALTHORP, that delightful group, called the Lords of the Treasury, Mr. SPRING RICE, and, I believe, another or two afterwards. Now, suppose Mr. HARVEY to come to my farm, and suppose me to invite him to dinner; and suppose him seeing the dinner carried into the room where we are to dine. Then suppose me to come to him, and say: "Pon my soul, HARVEY, I am very sorry for it; but, really, you must go and get a dinner where you can, for my cow-shag will not suffer you to dine here." Suppose this, now, would not Mr. HARVEY

say, "Away with your excuses, you damned hypocrite"? No, perhaps he would not swear; but he would certainly say: "You hypocritical scoundrel, why don't you tell me that your shepherd's dog objects to my dining here?"

Mr. HARVEY has sought a public employment: somebody must have public employments; and very few men are more fit than Mr. HARVEY: at any rate, it is his taste; and he has a perfect right to pursue it, if he choose. But, the way to great riches or place without complete servility, is too difficult a road to travel. When I came from America in the year 1800, my writings in that country, together with the capacity I possessed, put it in my power to have been almost the fashioner of my own fortune; for, though GEORGE ROSE and Co. could not possibly calculate upon my having *thirty-four years of such stuff in me*, they saw that I had a good deal; and it was very desirable for them either to have it on *their* side, or to make it *not to be*. JOHN REEVES, who was always sincerely my friend, asked me, the second time I saw him, what course I intended to take with the Minister-people: "because," said he, "you should understand that we have two distinct courses here: one is to *kiss* their —, and the other is to *kick* them. I pursue the former course, as being by far the most profitable, as well as the most pleasant: you must do what you like." "Then," said I, "*I shall kick*." "Well," said he, "I wish you well through it; but you will have a rough time of it, I can tell you that." Never was any thing truer: he reminded me of it, when he came to see me in NEWGATE. REEVES died, they say, worth two hundred thousand pounds; and if I die worth the same sum, *cutting off all the noughts*, it will be very well; for I have led a happier life than REEVES ever led, and my name will be remembered, and frequently in men's mouths, for ages yet to come. I have had numerous and powerful enemies, and have them still; but I trust that it will be

said of me, that no man ever even attempted to do me serious injustice without receiving punishment from me of some sort or other, and in a greater or less degree.

Now, Mr. HARVEY does not appear to have resolved to *kick* them; and he could not bring himself to the act of *kissing*. Whether he will now do the former, I cannot tell; but I trust that he never will again degrade talent by submitting his character to the lovely tribunal above named.

TOTAL REPEAL OF THE MALT DUTY.

A petition, of which the following is a copy, has been prepared, and will be shortly submitted for the signatures of the inhabitants of this town and vicinity.

To the honourable House of Commons of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland.

The humble petition of the inhabitants of the town and county of Kingston-upon-Hull and its vicinity,

Showeth,—That your petitioners beg leave to represent to your honourable House, that in their opinion, of all the burdens borne by your petitioners, the duty imposed upon malt appears to be one of the heaviest and most oppressive, particularly when the system of restrictions, regulations, and penalties adopted by the legislature, for securing the said duties, are taken into consideration, which prevents the maltster "from doing as he pleases with his own," and which restrictions, &c., materially increase the price of the article, and decrease the price of barley. The maltsters being surrounded with no less than from sixty to seventy penalties in the process of malting, which may be incurred by him in the course of fourteen days, amounting to several thousand pounds.

Your petitioners further beg leave to state, that the malt tax is partial and unjust in its bearing, and exorbitant in amount, compared to the consumption and means of the consumers, being upwards of seventy per cent. above the

price of barley; and taking the population of the kingdom in the year 1753, at six millions and a half, who consumed four bushels and twenty-six pints of malt by each person, at that period; and comparing the population of the present time, with the consumption of malt and the quantity manufactured, it will readily appear that each person now only consumes one bushel and fifty-six pints of malt, or thereabouts; therefore, they further beg to observe, that if the consumption of malt had kept pace with the increase of population, it would have created an additional demand for barley, and rendered a great benefit to the agriculture of the kingdom, together with an increased demand for labour.

We, therefore, your humble petitioners, entreat your honourable House, as an act of policy, justice, and humanity, to take this, our petition, into your most serious consideration, and grant us relief, viz., a total repeal of the malt duty, and the restrictions upon the manufacture thereof, and your petitioners, as in duty bound, will ever pray.

RURAL AFFAIRS.

COBBETT-CORN.

FOR, in spite of the parsons and the bull-frog farmers, this *shall* be the name of it, and *must* be the name of it. This corn now bids fair to stand the very first on the list of good things in England. The flour of this corn is now sold at fourteen shillings a bushel, while the finest wheat flour is not much more than half the price. The flour is sold in packages, under the name of "*Indian Golden Potenta*," at No. 2, ARTHUR-STREET, leading from London Bridge to the Monument. It was sold for *sixpence* a pound; that is to say, at the rate of twenty-eight shillings a bushel; but it is now sold at *eightpence* a pound, in consequence of the great demand, and of the short supply; that is to say, at the rate of one pound seventeen shillings a bushel. The vender

very honestly calls it "*a preparation, made from Cobbett-Corn*." I see the Corn now in all the seedsmen's shops, and I see it in the shops at *Covent Garden*; and it is absolutely necessary to distinguish it by the name of *Cobbett-Corn*; because there is American corn in the market, and French corn, which is not only mere rubbish compared to my corn in point of quality; but, if bought to plant, must wholly disappoint the person who plants it, seeing that it will not ripen in England; and, indeed, it is a totally inferior thing altogether.

I have formerly noticed that there are two sorts of this corn, the large and the small, which latter has been cultivated to any extent, this last year for the first time. The small is earlier than the large; but I do not think that it can be made to bear so great a crop. Lord VERNON has taken great pains in the cultivation of both sorts of corn; and I have one plant of the small corn now to be seen at my shop in *Bolt-court*, grown by his lordship, which is a perfect prodigy of vegetation. It has six complete fine ears, which contain not less than *six ounces of fine flour*, sufficient to make a pudding of considerable size. With great care five tons of the finest flour may be produced from one statute acre of land, which is six times as much as can be produced by the means of wheat.

Besides the value of this plant as a producer of food, whether for man or for other animals, it is exceedingly valuable as yielding the means of making good and sweet beds and pillows, which, it is very well known, it does make in the West Indies, Portugal, Spain, Italy, and in all the countries where the plant grows. My Lord VERNON has taken the pains to have a pillow made as a specimen, and has had the goodness to give it to me to be shown to the public at my shop, where it is deposited for that purpose.

I have always contended, that, if the cultivation of this corn succeeded in England, the introduction of it, and the causing of it to be generally cultivated, would be the greatest benefit that any one man ever conferred upon any one

country; ten million times surpassing in value all the inventions of machinery and steam; but, this honour does not belong to me, except in as far as relates to all manner of exertions to spread a knowledge of the thing throughout the country, and to urge people on to the cultivation. Those who have read my "TREATISE ON THE CORN," know that the large sort was introduced in 1826, by my eldest son (WILLIAM), who brought an ear from the Continent, and who first planted it at KENSINGTON. They know that it was he that urged me to try it upon a large scale at BARN ELM, in Surrey. They now ought to be told, that he also introduced the *small corn* four years ago; that he gave some to Mr. THOMAS POYNTER, of Fulham, and that from Mr. POYNTER my Lord VERNON got some seed, which he has cultivated with such surprising success. I never was a plagiarist, not even to the smallest extent: if I have made use of thoughts which I have acquired in conversation, I have always contrived, somehow or other, to give them not as my own; I must not, therefore, rob my own son. I know that this corn will make the greatest of all revolutions in the agriculture of this country. I am sure that it will make an addition of one-third to the produce of the food in all that part of England which is south of the town of NORTHAMPTON. A farmer in Lancashire has grown a crop of this corn every year; and he has the boldness (he is a *Lancastrian*, observe) to *challenge me*; but I speak far within bounds, when I speak of all that part of England, south of the town of NORTHAMPTON. This, then, is a prodigious revolution in this greatest of all human affairs. It must reflect lasting honour on the man who introduced it; and that honour will belong to WILLIAM CORBETT, my eldest son, who has taken more pains about this matter than many and many a man, even Jew or Quaker, would have taken in the gaining of a fortune as great as man could possess. He has now got land, and all the means of giving effect to every wish that he has relative to this corn; and, if he live until this year be out, I am con-

vinced that his proceedings of this year will *plant this corn for ever as the greatest product of England*.

As I said before, I now see it in all the seedsmen's shops. I sell it at my shop, both sorts, though I have very little to sell. Great injury will arise to those who plant American or French corn; because it will not ripen; and because it is, comparatively, poor stuff, if it do. The best way is to get it from a neighbour, or from some one who has grown it in England. If you buy of seedsmen, purchase it *in the ear, and with the husk still attached to it*; this will be a proof of its having been raised in England, and that will be enough. To know how to carry on the cultivation well, you must read my "*Treatise on Cobbett-Corn*"; but upon a small scale this is not necessary.

LOCUST SEED.

I have now some of this seed, which I warrant to be of the right sort, having received it from the banks of the *Susquehannah*, which I sell at eight shillings a pound. A pound of seed, according to my instructions in the book called the "*Woodlands*," will yield from eight to ten thousand plants.

LOCUST TREES.

I have about ten thousand, which are very fine, which have been *removed*, and which I sell for five pounds a thousand, packed securely up, and delivered at any wagon, or any wharf, in London.

GARDEN-SEEDS.

I notified last week, that I should not, in future, make any distinction in price, whether a single bag or a number of bags, a single pound or a number of pounds, were sold; and that the prices would be as follows:

Deep red mangel wurzel seed 9d. a pound; true, sound, and fresh.

Swedish turnip seed, which I warrant to be the finest and truest that ever was raised in England, 9d. a pound.

Bags of seed for large gardens (the seeds tied up in paper bags, and those

sewed up in a canvass bag), with a printed list of the seeds in the inside, along with a manuscript card of my writing, with the following words on it, "Garden seeds, raised at Normandy farm, in 1833, by Wm. Cobbett," 25s. each.

Bags for small gardens, having all the same sorts of seeds, but in half the quantity of the preceding, with printed list and card the same, 12s. 6d. each.

PRECIOUS MATTER.

FOR many years I have said, that the corruption, the jobs, and all sorts of abuses, were worse in the city than at WHITEHALL and ST. STEPHEN'S. When Mr. ARTHUR received the freedom of the city, I besought him not to deem it a thing of any value. It is the most scandalous scene of jobbing that ever existed in the world; and, until Mr. WILLIAMS was in the Common Council, the public were kept profoundly ignorant of the whole matter. Patriot, in the city, means plunderer. I take the following article from the *Morning Chronicle* of Saturday last. It has made my blood boil, to think that I am thus used by this crew. The great Government is a mild and innocent and modest thing compared with this band of cormorants. Only think of the poorest of the poor people of London being taxed to the amount of 12,000*l.* a year on their potatoes which are brought to the wharfs! At no time did the boroughmonger Parliament stand so much in need of reforming as this corporation stands in need of it now. Only think of its having a sort of "*national debt*." Only think of its having a "*national faith*," as an excuse for taking away our earnings. Like the great Government, it has taxes direct and indirect. God give me despotism in name to live under, rather than subject me to this corporation. To it, however, I am subjected; and extricate myself from the subjection I will, if I can.

(From the *Morning Chronicle*, 25. Jan. 1834.)

At the Court of Common Council, on Thursday last, Mr. CHARLES PEARSON presented a petition from the potato salesmen, complaining of the enormous expense attending the landing of potatoes in the port of London, which was referred to the Committee of General Purposes.

In our report of the proceedings of the Common Council, we merely mentioned the presentation of the petition. We understand, however, that the statement produced a considerable sensation. The petitioners complained first of the metage, which was 1*s.* 4*d.* a ton. Another item of which they complained was the excessive amount charged by the porters for landing the potatoes, who had a monopoly from the corporation. Every porter pays 34*l.* 1*s.* for his freedom, besides other sums, amounting in all to from 45*l.* to 50*l.*, and for this he indemnifies himself at the expense of the community. The petitioners stated, that in Liverpool, Hull, and other out-ports, potatoes could be landed for 1*s.* a ton, and there was therefore no reason why more should be demanded in London. As the quantity of potatoes imported into London was not less than seventy thousand tons, here was a burden on a necessary of life of 3,700*l.* for metage, and 9,000*l.* for portage, amounting in all to upwards of 12,000*l.*

A scene followed the presentation of the petition which deserves some notice. Mr. R. Taylor rose and said he thought the grievance complained of by the petitioners was one which ought to be removed, and the petition should, therefore, have his support. Mr. Taylor then referred to the readiness which had been shown to afford information to the Corporation Commissioners on all matters connected with the corporation, with a view to obtain the correction of abuses, which there was no disposition in that court to protect, and, therefore, he could not but feel indignant at statements which had been made on that subject in the *Morning Chronicle* by several individuals who ought to have known better. On this

Mr. Williams arose, and requested Mr. Richard Taylor to name the members of that court to whom he alluded. He was not the author of any of the statements in the *Morning Chronicle*, with the exception of one to which his name was attached, but he had read them all, and his impression was that they were all true. He wished Mr. Taylor would, however, point out any of the statements which were calumnious, that he might be able to give a positive answer. Mr. Richard Taylor, however, remained silent; and on being further pressed to name the persons to whom he alluded, he answered, "The editor of the *Morning Chronicle*." Mr. Williams animadverted on the difference between "several individuals," and "the editor of the *Morning Chronicle*"; but Mr. R. Taylor here came to "a lame and impotent conclusion."

When we find individuals in the city receiving lordly incomes from such sources as the melage of potatoes, we need not be surprised that hitherto city patriots have carefully avoided interfering with city abuses, which have been, as it were, "tabooed." The commerce of London has already suffered greatly from many heavy charges; and though, in consequence of the notice of the subject during the discussions on the coal trade, and on some other occasions, an improvement took place, yet there is much still to be remedied. A man who receives 3,700*l.* a year must have many friends, and candidates for city honours will think twice before they cross him. There are many large incomes in the city derived from the public; though it requires considerable local knowledge to ferret out the various sources from which a single income may be derived, as the same individual fills often a variety of apparently incongruous offices. However, as an effectual demand from without has been made on the city, reform can no longer be staved off; and it is gratifying to know that the conventional silence, on certain topics, which so long prevailed in the Common Council, is now at an end; and that independent men have found their way, who have no other desire than to put

an end to the abuses, from which two millions of inhabitants now suffer.

When we are on the subject of abuses, we cannot help reverting to the subject of Farringdon-market, which, when it is thoroughly understood by members of Parliament, will, we trust, be made the subject of serious charge against the last Ministry. Improvement is a specious word. Almost all the municipal corporations throughout the country were great patrons of improvement. We are not prepared to say that there may not be cases in which it is allowable to devote public money to improvements, though we believe the most of the cases in which public money has hitherto been so applied, are little better than jobs. The pretext for cutting the Caledonian Canal, was finding employment for the Highlanders, that they might not be forced to emigrate. The pretext for expending millions in canals in Canada, was the military security of the colony. In Ireland large sums have been from time to time expended in public works, to furnish relief for the poor, whom the landowners turn out to starve. But though the justification of such expenditure may be very questionable, there is still something like justification. But we are utterly at a loss to know what justification Government can have for advancing money for aiding the citizens of London to job a new market. We trust Mr. HUME, and other vigilant guardians of the public purse, will inquire into the history of this advance, which is curious. But before further observation, we will just state what was the advance of Government to the city for the Farringdon-market, and what is the return received for the advance:

250,000*l.* was borrowed of Government for erecting Farringdon-market, and the improvement of Farringdon-street; which latter consisted of pulling down Fleet-market, repairing the sewer, and re-paving the street in which it stood. This sum, within a mere trifle, was expended upon these objects. A very large portion was expended in buying up the houses which stood upon the site of the new market, and in giving compensa-

tion to the occupiers, for loss of trade, &c.

The compensation Government is to receive for the 250,000*l.* is—

For twenty-seven years,	£.	s.	d.
from 1831, per annum	11,500	0	0
Arising from pumps or aqueducts	350	0	0
Half the profit of the market in 1832	2	6	11

Which was represented to Government as certain to produce at least 1,500*l.* per annum. After the expiration of 27 years, no more money is to be paid, either in the shape of interest or the principal. By this transaction the Government has sacrificed 250,000*l.* of the public money, on the consideration of receiving for it less than $4\frac{3}{4}$ per cent. interest for 27 years.

The New Farringdon-market produced in 1832	1430	3	8
Deduct for various expenses, repairs, and outlays	1425	9	10

Leaving a net profit of only

4 13 10

Old Fleet Market produced in 1828, which is an average of former years	3032	0	5
Deduct for various expenses, repairs, and outlays	714	15	14

Leaving a net profit of

2317 4 7

So, then, we find the Duke of Wellington has been so liberal to the city as to make it a present of 250,000*l.*, for an annuity of 11,500*l.* for 27 years, and 350*l.* a year, and 2*l.* 6*s.* 11*d.* Nothing is so easy as to calculate the value of an annuity of 11,500*l.* for 27 years, and the value of the two rents of 350*l.*, and 2*l.* 6*s.* 11*d.*; and whoever makes the calculation will find that the Duke of Wellington has made a present of a large sum of public money to the city. It is no justification of his Grace that he was duped by the city jobbers. He was, no doubt, assured that the Farringdon-market would turn out a more profitable concern than the Manchester railroad; but we humbly submit that it is

not the business of Government to speculate in investing money to advantage. No more money should be taken from the people than what is absolutely necessary to carry on the public business of the country and the charge on the debt, and what remains after paying the interest should be applied towards the discharge of the principal. But we have heard that the Corporation of London is not the only one to which questionable advances have been made by the late Government.

We have stated merely in gross that a sum of 250,000*l.* has been literally thrown away. But there is a proverb, that fools throw away money, and wise men pick it up. Now though we cannot say much for the wisdom of the Duke of WELLINGTON in making a present of so large a sum to the Corporation of London, yet we should be surprised if the money did not find its way into the pockets of very shrewd people. It sometimes happens that the application of money throws light on the motives of projectors; and in order that no necessary information calculated to elucidate the subject, which we can obtain, may be wanting, we will, on a future day, lay the particulars of the application before our readers, observing, by the way, that we do not mean to blame the wise men who made hay while the sun was shining.

The city of London had large revenues of its own, and the magnificence of its establishments might be justifiable so long as it was supported out of its own estates. But having exhausted its legitimate income on improvements, its magnificence is now, like many other burdens, thrown on the inhabitants of the metropolis and surrounding country. Let us inquire, for instance, into the sources for meeting the expenditure connected with London Bridge. The Bridge House Estate was mortgaged for building New London Bridge, and making the approaches thereto, for 750,000*l.* After this sum was expended, 1,000,000*l.* more was borrowed for making the approaches, for which four per cent. interest is to be paid. The payment of both interest and principal is secured by

a duty of *eightpence* per ton for coals brought into the port of London, which amounts to from 70,000*l.* to 80,000*l.* a year, and the levying of this duty is secured by act of Parliament. These are large sums to be at the disposal of a city Parliament. The whole population of the city does not exceed 100,000; and a majority of the Common Council was returned by three or four thousand individuals. The representatives, then, of three or four thousand individuals, have, we see, a tax levied from two millions of people at their disposal. This is a matter that demands inquiry; and it cannot be treated with indifference.

The following are the particulars of the potato duty alluded to by us:—

Yearly importation, not less than 70,000 tons, pay for metage 1 <i>s.</i> 4 <i>d.</i> per ton.....	£ 4,700
The landing of potatoes in the out-ports is not more than 1 <i>s.</i> per ton, while in the port of London it is 2 <i>s.</i> 4 <i>d.</i> difference	4,700
	£9,400

The whole charge on the importation of potatoes is as follows:—

Metage (a sinecure—as no duty whatever is done) on the annual import, 70,000 tons	£ 4,700
Porterage for landing, 2 <i>s.</i> 4 <i>d.</i>	8,100
	£12,800

Edinburgh, 25. January, 1834.

DEAR SIR,—I have sent you a copy of the *Scotsman* newspaper, dated January 25, 1834. In that paper you will see that Dr. CHALMERS has been quoting passages from a late number of your *Register*, addressed to the "*Hampshire Parsons*." Dr. CHALMERS is the great pillar of our national church, and is Professor of Divinity in the University of this city. The circum-

stance of his quoting your writings, at a late meeting of Presbytery, has excited a good deal of astonishment.

Please to take notice of the garbled manner in which the Doctor quotes you. He begins with, "I was a sincere churchman;" then he omits this part of the sentence, "not that I had any particular attachment to its doctrines or its ritual; not because I thought that belonging to its communion made men better than those who did not belong to its communion"; then he goes on, "but because experience has convinced me," &c., quoting consecutively till he arrives at the paragraph beginning, "But in proportion as I was its friend, I was of necessity the enemy of those pluralists and non-residents who were paving the way for its destruction," &c. This the Doctor omits, because it would not have been very palatable to some of the pluralists whom he was addressing.

He then skips over six columns of excellent matter, and alights upon your description of what an established church ought to be, forgetting at the same time to point out to his hearers how unlike both the English and Scottish church establishments are to that description, and how likely it is that both of them will be swept away by the force of public opinion, from the very circumstance of their not bearing any resemblance to that description. It is a great pity that the learned Doctor, instead of quoting only two passages, did not read the whole letter; or, if he could not do that, he might at least have given the following sentence. One minute more would have sufficed.

"Is there any man who has the impudence to say that this establishment was ordered by Jesus Christ, or by his apostles? Oh, no! We know very well who it was ordained by; we have the acts of Parliament to refer to; and we know very well that that which an act of Parliament can make, another act of Parliament can unmake."

"The law! Does she talk of the law? Does she say that she founds

"her right on the law? Agreed. We know, alas! too well, that she now has this law; but we have the happiness to know that acts of Parliament are not eternal, and that that which the law has done, the law can undo. In short, we are all a mass of dissenters together; and one sect has no more right to the tithes and the edifice of the church than another sect, other than the right given by the law, which may rightfully be repealed at any time that the Parliament may choose to repeal it."

The whole thing shows that your writings are more extensively read than your enemies are willing to allow, and that they find their way into certain quarters, of which the public in general have very little suspicion.

In case you have not met with the following passage relating to Indian Corn, I beg to extract it, as it may be of some use. It is from "The Tyrol, with a Glance at Babaria, by H. D. Inglis." It was published last year by Whitaker and Co, Ave-Maria-lane.

The author is speaking of the Tyrolese peasantry, and of the great use they make of Indian Corn as an article of diet. He then says,

"The cultivation of Indian corn has made some noise in England; and has excited some interest, owing to the idea, that its cultivation would ameliorate the condition of the lower classes; and there have been, in fact, two parties in this matter; one asserting its great advantages, and its adaptation to the climate of England; and the other denying both. I am no agriculturalist, and am able only to state facts. As to the advantages of the cultivation of Indian corn, I can only say, that throughout the valley of the Inn, it is considered the most useful and the surest produce; and that the peasantry who live upon it, are the finest peasantry in Europe; and with respect to its fitness for the climate of England, I would only observe, that the climate of the Upper Tyrol is most uncertain. Its centre is *two thousand feet* above the level of the sea; and its winters are ex-

tremely severe; and, although from its more southern latitude than England, the heats of summer are great, the summer is late; as some proof of which, I may state, that near the end of June, I was under the necessity of having a stove lighted in the hotel at Insprack. I do not know how these facts bear upon the probable success of Indian corn in England; but if Indian corn be supposed to require a milder climate than that of England, I think the success of Indian corn in the Upper Tyrol, proves this to be an error. The same fruits that come to perfection in the southern parts of England, will not ripen in the Valley of the Inn."

I am sorry I cannot give the page, as I have not the work at present by me, and am only copying from a large extract given in a periodical publication.

I am, very respectfully,
your most obedient servant,

Wm. Cobbett, Esq., M. P.

From the LONDON GAZETTE,

FRIDAY, JANUARY 24, 1834.

INSOLVENTS.

BRADLEY, W., Newgate-street, linen-draper.
MAYLARD, T., Tring, Hertfordshire, draper.

BANKRUPTS.

ADAMS, A., Mare-street, Hackney, linen-draper.
BORRON, J. A., Cadishead, Lancashire, merchant.
CLARK, T., sen., Swinford, Leicestershire, cattle-salesman.
HAMMOND, T., London-wall, and Milton-street, Fore-street, Cripplegate, farrier.
LAMB, B., Stones-end, Newington, corn-dealer.
LAMPLOUGH, C., Bridlington, Yorkshire, linen-draper.
RAMSAY, D., Gloucester-road, Old Brompton, nurseryman.
SHEARCRAFT, J., Howland-street, Fitzroy-square, tailor.
WHEATCROFT, J. & M., Sheffield, joiners'-tool-manufacturers.
WILSON, R., Lawrence Pountney-hill, wine-merchant.

TUESDAY, JAN. 28, 1834.

INSOLVENTS.

BROWNE, J., Stroud, Gloucestersh., coach-maker.
WATSON, J., jun., Park Gate Works, Rotherham, York, iron-manufacturer.
WHITE, T., Houndsditch, carrier.

BANKRUPTS.

EDGE CUMBE, J., Bath, cooper.
ELLIAMAN, G., late of Watford, Herts, grocer.
FORSTER, W., Liverpool, tailor.
HUGHES, H., Henry-street, Hampstead-road, builder.
MARSHALL, R., Newcastle-upon-Tyne, merchant.
MORRIS, R., South Hamlet, Gloucestershire, corn-factor.
M'CALL, A., Manchester, merchant.
PARKER, T., Manchester, victualler.
PHILLIPS, R., jun., Chiswell-street, Finsbury-square, auctioneer.
ROSE, W., Bromsgrove, Worcestershire, inn-keeper.
SADLER, W. T., Norwich, innkeeper.
STOCKLIN, G., and T. Wakelin, Keilworth, Warwickshire, comb-manufacturers.
VENABLES, W., Lamb's Conduit-street, draper.
WHITEHEAD, J., and P. Fryer, Barton-upon-Irwell, cotton-spinners.
WOOSTER, T., and Son, Coal-exchange, coal-factors.

LONDON MARKETS.

MARK-LANE, CORN-EXCHANGE, Jan. 27.—We were rather more liberally supplied with grain this morning from Essex and Kent, and particularly from Suffolk. Although some of the vessels were anticipated, and the cargoes had been sold, yet we had a good many fresh samples offering. The condition of the Wheat exhibited strong proofs of the length of its voyage, and the samples generally were extremely cold and rough, and attracted little attention on the part of the millers. Fine dry selected parcels realized fully Monday's quotations, but all other descriptions were nearly unsaleable. A little inquiry still existed for low-priced bonded Corn.

The supply of Barley was large, and as there were a few purchasers at market, the trade was extremely heavy, malting descriptions receding 1s. per qr., and distilling and grinding 1s. to 2s., and a good deal left on hand at the close of the day.

Malt remains extremely difficult to quit.

Oats in good supply, and the sale slow and dull at rather lower rates than those realized this day week.

Beans moved off at Monday's rates.

White Peas as well as Grey hung on hand,

though they might have been bought on rather lower terms.

Flour was very dull, but prices were unaltered.

Wheat	50s. to 59s.
Rye	—s. to —s.
Barley	25s. to 27s.
— fine	30s. to 32s.
Peas, White	—s. to —s.
— Boilers	40s. to —s.
— Grey	33s. to 37s.
Beans, Small	34s. to 39s.
— Tick	30s. to 34s.
Oats, Potato	24s. to 26s.
— Feed	19s. to 21s.
Flour, per sack	48s. to 50s.

PROVISIONS.

Pork, India, new	90s. to 95s.
— Mess, new	56s. to 62s. per barl.
Butter, Belfast	80s. to 82s. per cwt.
— Carlow	80s. to 84s.
— Cork	73s. to 74s.
— Limerick	72s. to 73s.
— Waterford	70s. to 76s.
— Dublin	66s. to —s.

SMITHFIELD, January 27.

This day's supply of Beasts, and, for the time of year, Sheep, was moderately good, both as to numbers and quality; its supply of Calves and Porkers rather limited. Trade was, with each kind of meat, very dull. With Veal at a depression of from 4d. to 6d. per stone; with Beef, Mutton, and Pork, at Friday's quotations.

Full three-fourths of the beasts consisted of about equal numbers of short-horns, Devons, and Scots, and the remaining fourth of about equal numbers of Herefords, Welsh runts, and Irish, with about fifty Sussex beasts, as many Town's-end Cows, a few Staffords, &c.

Full three-fifths of the Sheep were South-Downs, about one-fifth new Leicesters, in about equal numbers of the South-Down and white-faced crosses, and the remaining fifth about equal numbers of old Leicesters, Kents, and Kentish half-breds, with a few pens of old Lincolns, horned and polled Norfolks, horned Dorsets and Somersets, horned and polled Scotch and Welsh Sheep, &c.

About 1,300 of the beasts, chiefly short-horns, Devons, and Welsh runts, with a few Scots, Herefords, and Irish beasts, were from Lincolnshire, Leicestershire, and other of our northern grazing districts; about 950, chiefly Scots, with, perhaps, 200 short-horns and Devons, and about 100 home-breds from Norfolk, Essex, and Cambridgeshire; about 150, mostly Devons and runts, with a few Herefords and Irish beasts, from our midland and western districts; about 80, chiefly Sussex

beasts, with a few Devons and runts from Sussex, Surrey, and Kent, and most of the remainder, including the Town's-end Cows, from the stall-feeders and cow-keepers, &c. near London.

MARK-LANE.—Friday, Jan. 31.

The arrivals this week are large. The market dull, and the prices rather lower than on Monday.

THE FUNDS.

3 per Cent.	Fri.	Sat.	Mon.	Tues.	Wed.	Thur.
Cons. Ann.	88½	88½	88½	88½	88½	88½

COBBETT-LIBRARY.

New Edition.

COBBETT'S Spelling-Book (Price 2s.)

Containing, besides all the usual matter of such a book, a clear and concise

INTRODUCTION TO ENGLISH GRAMMAR.

This I have written by way of

A Stepping-Stone to my own Grammar;

such a thing having been frequently suggested to me by Teachers as necessary.

1. ENGLISH GRAMMAR.—Of this work sixty thousand copies have now been published. This is a duodecimo volume, and the price is 3s. bound in boards.

2. TULL'S HORSE-HOEING HUSBANDRY; or, a Treatise on the Principles of Tillage and Vegetation. With an Introduction, by WM. COBBETT. 8vo. Price 15s.

3. THE EMIGRANT'S GUIDE. Just now Published, under this Title, a little Volume, containing Ten Letters, addressed to English Tax-payers. A new edition, with a Postscript, containing an account of the Prices of Houses and Land, recently obtained from America by Mr. Cobbett. Price 2s. 6d. in bds.

4. THE WOODLANDS; or, a Treatise on the preparing of the ground for planting; on the planting, on the cultivating, on the pruning, and on the cutting down, of Forest Trees and Underwoods. Price 14s. bound in boards.

5. YEAR'S RESIDENCE IN AMERICA.—The Price of this book, in good print and on fine paper, is 3s.

6. FRENCH GRAMMAR; or, Plain Instructions for the Learning of French. Price, bound in boards, 5s.

7. COTTAGE ECONOMY.—I wrote this Work professedly for the use of the labouring and middling classes of the English nation. I made myself acquainted with the best and simplest modes of making beer and bread, and these I made it as plain as, I believe, words could make it. Also of the keeping of Cows, Pigs, Bees, and Poultry, matters which I understood as well as any body could, and in all their details. It includes my writing, also on the Straw Plait. A Duodecimo Volume. Price 2s. 6d.

8. MARTENS'S LAW OF NATIONS.—This is the Book which was the foundation of all the knowledge that I have ever possessed relative to public law. The Price is 17s., and the manner of its execution is I think, such as to make it fit for the Library of any Gentleman.

9. MR. JAMES PAUL COBBETT'S RIDE OF EIGHT HUNDRED MILES IN FRANCE. Second Edition. Price 2s. 6d.

10. A TREATISE ON COBBETT'S CORN; containing Instructions for Propagating and Cultivating the Plant, and for Harvesting and Preserving the Crop; and also an account of the several uses to which the Produce is applied. Price 5s.

11. LETTERS FROM FRANCE; containing Observations made in that Country during a Residence of Two Months in the South, and Three Months at Paris. By JOHN M. COBBETT. Price 4s. in boards.

12. SERMONS.—There are twelve of these, in one volume, on the following subjects: 1. Hypocrisy and Cruelty; 2. Drunkenness; 3. Bribery; 4. Oppression; 5. Unjust Judges; 6. The Sluggard; 7. The Murderer; 8. The Gamester; 9. Public Robbery; 10. The Unnatural Mother; 11. The Sin of Forbidding Marriage; 12. On the Duties of Parsons, and on the Institution and Object of Tithes. Price 3s. 6d. bound in boards.

A Thirteenth Sermon, entitled "GOOD FRIDAY; or, The Murder of Jesus Christ by the Jews. Price 6d.

13. AN ITALIAN GRAMMAR, by MR. JAMES PAUL COBBETT.—Being a Plain and Compendious Introduction to the Study of Italian. Price 6s.

14. PROTESTANT "REFORMATION" in England and Ireland, showing how that event has impoverished and degraded the main body of the people in those countries. Two volumes, bound in boards. The Price of the first volume is 4s. 6d. The Price of the second volume 3s. 6d.

Price 12s.

**A GEOGRAPHICAL DICTIONARY
OF ENGLAND AND WALES;
CONTAINING**

The names, in Alphabetical Order, of all the Counties, with their several Subdivisions, into Hundreds, Lathes, Rapes, Wapentakes, Wards, or Divisions; and an Account of the Distribution of the Counties into Circuits, Dioceses, and Parliamentary Divisions.

ALSO,

The names (under that of each County respectively), in Alphabetical Order, of all the Cities, Boroughs, Market Towns, Villages, Hamlets, and Tithings, with the Distance of each from London, or from the nearest Market Town, and with the Population, and other interesting particulars relating to each; besides which there are

MAPS;

First, one of the whole country, showing the local situation of the Counties relatively to each other; and, then, each County is also preceded by a Map, showing, in the same manner, the local situation of the Cities, Boroughs, and Market Towns.

FOUR TABLES

Are added; first, a Statistical Table of all the Counties, and then three Tables, showing the new Divisions and Distributions enacted by the Reform-Law of 4th June, 1832.

**JOURNAL
OF
A TOUR IN ITALY,
AND ALSO IN PART OF
FRANCE AND SWITZERLAND;**

The route being

From Paris, through Lyons, to Marseilles, and, thence, to Nice, Genoa, Pisa, Florence, Rome, Naples, and Mount Vesuvius;

AND

By Rome, Terni, Perugia, Arezzo, Florence, Bologna, Ferrara, Padua, Venice, Verona, Milan, over the Alps by Mount St. Bernard, Geneva, and the Jura, back into France;

The space of time being,

From October 1828, to September 1829.

CONTAINING

A description of the country, of the principal cities and their most striking curiosities; of the climate, soil, agriculture, horticulture, and products; of the prices of provisions and labour; and of the dresses and conditions of the people;

AND ALSO

An account of the laws and customs, civil and religious, and of the morals and demeanour of the inhabitants, in the several States.

By JAMES P. COBBETT.

Price 6s. a new edition of the
**ENGLISH GARDENER,
OR,
A TREATISE**

On the Situation, Soil, Enclosing and Laying-Out of Kitchen Gardens; on the Making and Managing of Hot-beds and Green-Houses; and on the Propagation and Cultivation of all sorts of Kitchen-Garden Plants, and of Fruit-Trees whether of the Garden or the Orchard.

AND ALSO,

On the Formation of Shrubberies and Flower-Gardens; and on the Propagation and Cultivation of the several sorts of Shrubs and Flowers;

CONCLUDING WITH

A KALENDAR,

Giving instructions relative to the Sowings, Plantings, Prunings, and other labours, to be performed in the Gardens, in each Month of the Year.

By WILLIAM COBBETT.

**A NEW
FRENCH AND ENGLISH
DICTIONARY.**

In two parts. Part I. French and English.—Part II. English and French. By WILLIAM COBBETT, M.P. for Oldham.

**THE CURSE
OF**

PAPER MONEY AND BANKING,

Or, a short History of Banking in the United States of America, with an account of its ruinous effects on Landowners, Farmers, Traders, and on all the industrious classes of the community.

By W. M. GOUGE, of Philadelphia, in 1833. To which is prefixed an Introduction by WM. COBBETT, M.P., for Oldham. Price 4s. 11, Bolt-court, Fleet-street, and all Book-sellers.

THIRD and FINAL GLASGOW LOTTERY.—Tickets and Shares for the Final Portion of the GLASGOW LOTTERIES, authorised by Parliament, are now on Sale at BISH'S OFFICES,

13, Cornhill,

27, Poultry,

138, Regent-street,

The Drawing takes place on the 22d of July next, on which day the whole or the Series authorised by Parliament will be finally determined.

In the Lottery just finished, BISH and his Agents sold both the Grand Capitals and every other Prize in the Scheme above 10000. (except one) ALL IN SHARES; and in the preceding Glasgow Lottery more than two-thirds of all the Capitals, and all in Shares, which were distributed all over the various parts of the United Kingdom.

"COLES'S TRUSS IS THE BEST."

I am ready to subscribe to the truth of this assertion, which appears on the front (I will not say ornaments his establishment at Charing Cross) and I can do it from personal experience. Having in the course of thirty years tried a great many trusses, I have recommended Coles's Truss to several persons, particularly professional characters, and intend, if I live, to continue to do so, being convinced, that in promoting the general adoption of Coles's Patent Trusses, I am serving a meritorious mechanic and the cause of humanity.

THOMAS RICHARDSON.

West Hendon House, near Sunderland.

1st Month, 10th, 1834.

I can subscribe to a similar testimonial, after having tried several other trusses without experiencing its complete prevention.

THOMAS EDMONDS.

Wycombe, Bucks.

1st Month, 21st, 1834.

Sir,—I have been wearing trusses of different kinds for the last thirty years, but never found one of them to keep up the rupture effectually, until thirteen months since I purchased one of your patent: and, although my rupture came down in a most frightful manner then, it has never come down since, nor have I scarcely the appearance of ever having had such a complaint. At my age, 77 years, I do not intend leaving off wearing a truss, and I know too well the importance of your ingenious contrivance to keep the world in ignorance of it.

JAMES SHARE, Commander, R. N.

19, Bury-street, Bloomsbury,

28th May, 1832.

Colonel Francklin informs those who have ruptures, that he has been wearing trusses thirty years, and he never met with but one individual who was master of the complaint. He has likewise an elder brother, a Colonel in the Honourable East India Company's service, who has worn a similar kind of truss for many years, who can say the same. Mr. Coles of Charing-cross, is the individual alluded to.

Blackheath, July 16th, 1832.

Sir,—Having the misfortune to rupture myself several years ago, I purchased one of Salmon's self-adjusting Trusses, which, although it afforded me considerable relief, did not entirely keep the rupture in its place, particularly when I had to stand for any length of time. I felt a disagreeable gnawing pain, attended with a bearing down of the hernia, so that I was frequently unable to wear the truss. In mentioning to a friend what I had suffered, he strongly advised me to try one of your patent, which I did, and found to my great comfort, that it kept up the rupture effectually, without producing any of those painful sensations which I had endured while

wearing the ball and socket truss, and I can now stand or walk for hours together without the least pain or inconvenience, in fact, as well as though I had never been ruptured. I send you this statement to make what use of it you please.

I am, sir, your obedient servant,

WILLIAM MATTHEWS,

Quarter-Master, Royal Artillery.

Woolwich, Sept. 12th, 1832.

A gentleman at Lloyd's Coffee House has also sent Mr. Coles a similar testimonial of his case, which had been of thirty years' standing.

Sir,—While serving the office of first lieutenant of a line-of-battle ship off Toulon, in 1809, I had the misfortune, through extreme fatigue, to bring on a rupture. Since that period I have tried every description of truss which came to my knowledge, but I never succeeded in supporting the hernia effectually until 1831, when I purchased two of your Patent Trusses; and it is but justice to own that no descent has occurred since I have worn them, and I freely give you liberty to publish this testimonial in favour of your excellent invention.

I am, sir, yours obediently,

J. P. BAKER, Commander, R. N.

28, Duke-street, Manchester-square,

Oct. 17, 1832.

Sir,—Seven years ago I applied to you to stop a rupture, which I have laboured under upwards of fifty years, which was as large as a man's head, which you accomplished with apparent ease, when no person that I had previously consulted, was able to stop it a single day. I am now 86, and am entirely free from any external appearance of the complaint. My object in writing this testimonial, is, not merely to express my gratitude for the services you have rendered me, but to guard my fellow sufferers against the use of imperfect trusses.

GEORGE CARPENTER.

24, Regent-street,

21st October, 1832.

A surgeon of the R. N., about 60 years of age, who had been wearing trusses of several different kinds, employed one of Coles's manufacture, and ere he had half worn it out, threw it aside, and left his trusses in London, while he made a tour on the continent. Being at sea and exposed to severe weather, a sea sickness brought on the complaint, and he was compelled a second time to wear his truss, and after wearing it about twelve months, has again been perfectly cured, and does not wear a truss.

Sir Astley Cooper knows a case which had been getting worse for thirty years, and which had escaped a hundred times a day, and does not escape from Coles's Truss.

SIR,—In November last I purchased one of your Patent Trusses. I was then suffering severely from a hernia of thirty-six years' standing, which has escaped from my truss twenty or thirty times in a day. I am now happy to state, that it never escaped from your truss; and I have no hesitation in pronouncing it to be of more value, when compared with any truss I had previously worn, than gold when compared with silver.

I am, Sir, your obedient servant,
WILLIAM MINTRAM.

No. 7, Burlington Arcade,
July 12th, 1833.

COLONEL GREEN hesitates not to acknowledge, that the trusses furnished to him by Mr. Coles have effectually put a stop to his malady. He cannot say that of any other truss which he has worn for the last thirty years.

No. 3, Windham-place, Montagu-square,
August 27th, 1833.

SIR,—Having worn trusses for twenty years, and suffered the most excruciating pain of strangulated hernia, which occurred while wearing my truss, and, without a doubt, should have lost my life, but for the great skill and attention paid me by Mr. Mayo in the operation. And, notwithstanding I had the best medical aid, and, as I supposed, the best trusses that could be procured, my rupture continually increased, and escaped from every truss that I had employed, until I had yours; and am happy to state, that I now feel perfectly comfortable, and more secure, under every position of the body, than at any period, either before or since I underwent the operation.

I am, Sir, with gratitude, yours, &c.,
JOHN QUICK.

No. 70, Great Titchfield-street, Marylebone,
June 14th, 1833.

SIR,—About twelve months since I purchased one of your Patent Trusses for my father, Lieutenant Munro, who has worn trusses thirty years, and such is the estimation in which your truss is held by him, that he would not part with it for the value of all the trusses he had previously worn.

I am, Sir,
your very humble servant,
A. T. MUNRO,
Lieut. and Adjut. Royal Horse Guards.
Tain, 21st Sept. 1833.

John Berthwick Gilchrist, Esq. has published his case. He had been a great sufferer for many years from rupture, and he says that none of the Truss-makers in Germany, Belgium, France, Switzerland, nor in England, except Mr. Coles, ever made him an efficient truss, whose professional abilities, he adds, combined with his truly scientific discovery justly entitles him to universal confidence.—See Doctor, No. 69.

* * * Read the case of William Cobbett, Esq. published in Boyle's "Court Guide" for Jan. 1833—4.

INDIAN PEARL AND GOLDEN POLENTA.—These beautiful preparations from Maize, or Cobbett-Corn, dressed as finely as wheaten flour. The Pearl is made from the white corn, and the Golden from the yellow.

"In my family, and of course under the direction of my wife, we have in the first place, suet puddings boiled; batter puddings; Yorkshire puddings, baked under the meat; and baked puddings, in which the corn supplies the place of ground rice. We have all these puddings in the greatest perfection, made wholly of corn flour. The corn flour is more nutritious, pound for pound, than the wheat flour; this is proved by the fact, that it requires a greater quantity of water or milk to make it into dough."—Cobbett's Treatise on the Corn.

Prepared and sold, wholesale and retail, by E. H. Bell, 2, Arthur-street, London Bridge; and to be had of Morrell, Avelling, and Bentham, Piccadilly; E. and W. Ball, Bond-street; W. Lazenby, Lambs Conduit-street; Eagles-ton, Newgate street; Harvey, Oxford-street; C. Butler, Cheapside; T. Sharp, Bishopsgate-street; Nicol and Co., Fenchurch-street; Timbs, Blackman-street, Borough; Barclay and Sons, Farringdon-street; and at the shops of the most respectable Italian warehousemen, grocers, druggists, corn-chandlers, &c.

CHEAP CLOTHING!!

SWAIN AND CO., Tailors, &c.,
93, FLEET-STREET,

(Near New Bridge-street.)

BEG the attention of the public to their extensive stock of goods for the present season, which they supply at the following prices:—

FOR CASH ONLY.

	£.	s.	d.
A Suit of Superfine Clothes.....	4	18	0
Ditto, Black or Blue.....	5	10	0
Ditto, Imperial Saxony.....	6	0	0
Petersham Great Coats.....	3	3	0
Baragan or Velveteen Shooting } Jackets.....	1	10	0
Cobbett's Cord Trowsers.....	1	2	0
A complete Suit of Livery.....	4	10	0

SPANISH, OPERA, and WALKING CLOAKS, LADIES' HABITS AND PELISSES, and CHILDREN'S DRESSES, and every other article in the trade made in the most elegant manner.

I recommend Messrs. Swain and Co as very good and punctual tradesmen, whom I have long employed with great satisfaction.
WM. COBBETT.

Printed by William Cobbett, Johnson's-court; and published by him, at 11, Bolt-court, Fleet-street.

COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

Vol. 83.—No. 6]

LONDON, SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 21st, 1834.

[Price 1s. 2d.]



TO
LORD ALTHORP;

ON THE AMERICAN PAPER-MONEY.

Bolt court, 3. February, 1831.

MY LORD,

TOWARDS the close of the last session of Parliament, I, as bookseller and part book-maker, did myself the honour to send you a little book, entitled *The Curse of Paper-Money; or, a Brief History of Banking in the United States of America*. This book, which I dedicated to the Speaker of the House of Commons, and to which I prefixed an introduction of my own, exposed to your lordship the monstrous mischiefs produced in the United States by the use of paper-money. I am sure that your lordship would read the book with great attention; I am also sure that it would produce a great effect upon your mind; and, great numbers of gentlemen having purchased the book, I am not without hope that it will have produced a proper effect upon the minds of others.

The picture presented to us in that book; the desolation produced by the paper-money, in a country before so happy and almost without debt; the enormous increase of crime in the city of Philadelphia, in which I had lived for eight years, without ever having heard of a burglary or a theft; the multitude of "paupers" in those counties of Pennsylvania in which the name of pauper had never been heard of, when I was a resident there; the name given to the few persons who stood in need of

township relief, being that of "poor persons," such as it stands in the just and benignant act of Queen Elizabeth, which was the real glory of her reign, and which was, for two hundred years, the boast of England.

This picture was, perhaps, the most interesting that statesman ever fixed his eyes on. What are treaties with foreign powers; what are negotiations and diplomatic intrigues; what are all the pride of letters and of arms, when put in competition with that science, a knowledge of which teaches rulers how to make a people happy! Here, then, in this picture, we have an account of that which made a people miserable, from having been the happiest in the world; which made a people criminal, from having been the most innocent in the world; which made want prevail where scarcely a human being existed who was not in possession of plenty; which introduced the use of the word "pauper" into a country where it had never before been pronounced. In this little book we see legislative assemblies, consisting of grave and sensible men, representing the foundations of society as actually breaking up, and not knowing how to go to work to arrest the dreadful progress; we hear judges proposing to the legislature to pass laws to justify the breaking of contracts between man and man; we hear other judges recommending the passing of laws not to suffer any money contract between man and man to be binding, unless first sanctioned by a court of justice: and all this, in a country with the cheapest Government upon earth; with a sensible and brave people, who had but the other day been able to fight England single-handed, without ever talking of a suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act.

Upon beholding these effects, one is tempted to ask what great changes in the course of nature can have been at work in the producing of them; whether some convulsion of nature, some change in the seasons, some discrete com-

municating insanity as well as imbecility of frame; one is tempted to ask whether the Almighty has not interfered immediately, as in the case of the plagues of Egypt; and, when the answer is, that nothing of this sort has happened; that the dreadful sufferings and disgrace have arisen solely from the creating of a set of vagabonds, and the allowing of them to make paper-money, and to augment and diminish the quantity of it at their pleasure, we feel indignation resembling that which we feel when we see a group of chopsticks dining upon potatoes and salt, while a sinecure man and his troop of sinecure women and children, lie lolling back in his carriage as he goes by them, and return their bow with a haughty inclination of the head.

Where a country is borne down by taxation; where we almost see the farmer's, the tradesman's, or the artisan's dinner taken from his table, and handed over before his face to the pensioner, the sinecurist, or the whiskered receiver of dead-weight money; where we see this, we can account for the misery of a people; we are not surprised to see the mutton-bone come to and go from the tradesman's table, till it has not an atom of swallowable matter left either on the outside or on the inside of it; we are not surprised when we empty out the labourer's bag, and find cold potatoes and a wisp of salt; but, when we see a people who know hardly any thing of taxes, who have no soldiers, English or German, to cram; who know nothing of gateways costing seventy-five thousand pounds; who have no half-pay people to look through panes of glass costing five pounds a piece, and who are waited upon by waiters in silk stockings; a people who would knock a man down, if he were to propose to them to pay taxes to the Government, in order that the Government might lend the money to city-jobbers, that they might pull down houses and make "improvements," and provide themselves with everlasting guttling and guzzling; when we see a people who would no more submit to have their houses rummaged by excisemen, than

they would submit to be boiled in oil; when we see such a people reduced to the state described by the little book before mentioned, we have great difficulty in bringing our minds to the belief that the evil can have been produced by so contemptible a cause as that of paper-money.

We deceive ourselves, however, here: the cause is not *contemptible*: it is mighty: it is tremendous in performing works of mischief. It appears a trifling and inoffensive thing in itself, especially if you be not compelled to take the paper-money and to pass it; for, in this case, it would appear that the people like it, and who is to say, that that which they like is not for their good? This is the cheat; this is the fraud; and the fraud is extensively mischievous, because it is hidden. The business of law-making is two-fold; it is to punish the guilty; but, only because this is necessary to the protection of the innocent. The wrong-doer ought to be punished; but it is not less the duty of the law-giver to protect the innocent against wrong being done to them. What would be thought of a government that neglected to endeavour to preserve the people against the evils of idleness, drunkenness, prostitution, adultery, and other moral offences? Yet, it might be said, "The people like these: why not suffer them to have what they like?" But, the paper-money work goes farther than these: what would be thought of a Government, if it proclaimed that it highly approved of the existence of a great number of cunning men, who should be constantly at work in cheating the rest of the community; in overreaching them; in living luxuriously on their labour; in heaping riches together for themselves, from the earnings of the rest of the community; in practising an invention, by which they must naturally get away men's estates, without giving any thing of value for them? What would be thought of a Government that should openly profess its desire to see all this? Yet this is in reality done by every Government that permits the existence of a paper-money. In America, the debt is now become

COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

Vol. 83.—No. 6]

LONDON, SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 21st, 1834.

[Price 1s. 2d.]



TO
LORD ALTHORP;

ON THE AMERICAN PAPER-MONEY.

Bolt court, 3. February, 1831.

MY LORD,

TOWARDS the close of the last session of Parliament, I, as bookseller and part book-maker, did myself the honour to send you a little book, entitled *The Curse of Paper-Money; or, a Brief History of Banking in the United States of America*. This book, which I dedicated to the Speaker of the House of Commons, and to which I prefixed an introduction of my own, exposed to your lordship the monstrous mischiefs produced in the United States by the use of paper-money. I am sure that your lordship would read the book with great attention; I am also sure that it would produce a great effect upon your mind; and, great numbers of gentlemen having purchased the book, I am not without hope that it will have produced a proper effect upon the minds of others.

The picture presented to us in that book; the desolation produced by the paper-money, in a country before so happy and almost without debt; the enormous increase of crime in the city of Philadelphia, in which I had lived for eight years, without ever having heard of a burglary or a theft; the multitude of "paupers" in those counties of Pennsylvania in which the name of pauper had never been heard of, when I was a resident there; the name given to the few persons who stood in need of

township relief, being that of "poor persons," such as it stands in the just and benignant act of Queen Elizabeth, which was the real glory of her reign, and which was, for two hundred years, the boast of England.

This picture was, perhaps, the most interesting that statesman ever fixed his eyes on. What are treaties with foreign powers; what are negotiations and diplomatic intrigues; what are all the pride of letters and of arms, when put in competition with that science, a knowledge of which teaches rulers how to make a people happy! Here, then, in this picture, we have an account of that which made a people miserable, from having been the happiest in the world; which made a people criminal, from having been the most innocent in the world; which made want prevail where scarcely a human being existed who was not in possession of plenty; which introduced the use of the word "pauper" into a country where it had never before been pronounced. In this little book we see legislative assemblies, consisting of grave and sensible men, representing the foundations of society as actually breaking up, and not knowing how to go to work to arrest the dreadful progress; we hear judges proposing to the legislature to pass laws to justify the breaking of contracts between man and man; we hear other judges recommending the passing of laws not to suffer any money contract between man and man to be binding, unless first sanctioned by a court of justice: and all this, in a country with the cheapest Government upon earth; with a sensible and brave people, who had but the other day been able to fight England single-handed, without ever talking of a suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act.

Upon beholding these effects, one is tempted to ask what great change in the course of nature can have been at work in the producing of them; whether some convulsion of nature, some change in the seasons, some discrete com-

municating insanity as well as imbecility of frame; one is tempted to ask whether the Almighty has not interfered immediately, as in the case of the plagues of Egypt; and, when the answer is, that nothing of this sort has happened; that the dreadful sufferings and disgrace have arisen solely from the creating of a set of vagabonds, and the allowing of them to make paper-money, and to augment and diminish the quantity of it at their pleasure, we feel indignation resembling that which we feel when we see a group of chopsticks dining upon potatoes and salt, while a sinecure man and his troop of sinecure women and children, lie lolling back in his carriage as he goes by them, and return their bow with a haughty inclination of the head.

Where a country is borne down by taxation; where we almost see the farmer's, the tradesman's, or the artisan's dinner taken from his table, and handed over before his face to the pensioner, the sinecurist, or the whiskered receiver of dead-weight money; where we see this, we can account for the misery of a people; we are not surprised to see the mutton-bone come to and go from the tradesman's table, till it has not an atom of swallowable matter left either on the outside or on the inside of it; we are not surprised when we empty out the labourer's bag, and find cold potatoes and a wisp of salt; but, when we see a people who know hardly any thing of taxes, who have no soldiers, English or German, to cram; who know nothing of gateways costing seventy-five thousand pounds; who have no half-pay people to look through panes of glass costing five pounds a piece, and who are waited upon by waiters in silk stockings; a people who would knock a man down, if he were to propose to them to pay taxes to the Government, in order that the Government might lend the money to city-jobbers, that they might pull down houses and make "improvements," and provide themselves with everlasting guttling and guzzling; when we see a people who would no more submit to have their houses rummaged by excisemen, than

they would submit to be boiled in oil; when we see such a people reduced to the state described by the little book before mentioned, we have great difficulty in bringing our minds to the belief that the evil can have been produced by so contemptible a cause as that of paper-money.

We deceive ourselves, however, here: the cause is not *contemptible*: it is mighty: it is tremendous in performing works of mischief. It appears a trifling and inoffensive thing in itself, especially if you be not compelled to take the paper-money and to pass it; for, in this case, it would appear that the people like it, and who is to say, that that which they like is not for their good? This is the cheat; this is the fraud; and the fraud is extensively mischievous, because it is hidden. The business of law-making is two-fold; it is to punish the guilty; but, only because this is necessary to the protection of the innocent. The wrong-doer ought to be punished; but it is not less the duty of the law-giver to protect the innocent against wrong being done to them. What would be thought of a government that neglected to endeavour to preserve the people against the evils of idleness, drunkenness, prostitution, adultery, and other moral offences? Yet, it might be said, "The people like these: why not suffer them to have what they like?" But, the paper-money work goes farther than these: what would be thought of a Government, if it proclaimed that it highly approved of the existence of a great number of cunning men, who should be constantly at work in cheating the rest of the community; in overreaching them; in living luxuriously on their labour; in heaping riches together for themselves, from the earnings of the rest of the community; in practising an invention, by which they must naturally get away men's estates, without giving any thing of value for them? What would be thought of a Government that should openly profess its desire to see all this? Yet this is in reality done by every Government that permits the existence of a paper-money. In America, the debt is now become

next to nothing, and the taxes required for the expenses of the Government are so inconsiderable, as to be seriously felt by no man; yet, see the mischiefs which even in such a state of things can be effected by this tolerated swindle! If, then, such mischiefs can be effected in the United States, what must be the magnitude of the mischiefs here, where the taxes add a hundred fold to the power of paper-money in the doing of mischief! The American people complain of the MONOPOLIES, which are engendered by this system of paper; and a prodigious mischief these monopolies are. What can be more wicked than to give to any body of men the power of raising and of lowering prices at their pleasure, and to give to one individual, who is connected with banking, the power of purchasing that which is wanted by his neighbours, and who could purchase it, or share of it or part of it, out of the honest means which they possess, if he had not the fraudulent means of purchasing away from them.

I have often complained, and I do complain, of the weight of the taxes; but, burdensome as they are, they would be bearable, were there no other burden attached to them, the monopolies arising out of them cost the country more than a very large part of the taxes themselves. I have often had to state the cost of the malt-tax and the hop-tax. The former, from which you receive into the Exchequer about four millions and a half a year, costs the people more than thirteen millions a year. There are the license, the exciseman, the restrictions, the penalties; but, besides these, there is the monopoly, and, without the paper-money, this monopoly could not exist. With regard to the hops, the monopoly is still greater and more mischievous in degree. Here is a tax, that generally yields next to nothing in clear money; and yet it costs the country two or three millions a year. It is the same in every thing: sugar, tallow, the power to make and lend paper-money, gives to a few persons such an advantage over all the rest of the community, that all the rest are in a great degree their slaves.

Upon the face of the thing, it is an impudent fraud. It is an obtaining of something valuable for nothing valuable: it is taking the produce of the land and the land itself away from the possessors, and giving them nothing that is valuable in exchange: it is, in short, a licensed and crafty system of fraud, by which a people are beggared, without perceiving the cause of their beggary; and, when it has been tolerated for any length of time, nine-tenths of those who carry on the fraud regard it as a thing, not only legal but laudable. The natural tendency of paper-money is to draw property into great masses, to make a few persons very rich, the community in general very poor, and totally to destroy the harmony and happiness of the people.

These opinions of mine, which are, indeed, no more than the opinions of other Englishmen, in great numbers, from the first moment of the establishment of the Bank of England to the present hour, have now been proved to be true beyond all possible question. In England the sufferings of the people, the disturbance of property, the want of employment, the deterioration of morals, had a duplicate cause to be ascribed to. We always had to say, that the poverty of the main body of the people; that their excessive misery was ascribable to the great weight of taxation, co-operating with, and aggravated by, the existence of a paper-money, issuable in whatever quantities the paper-money makers chose. The chief outcry, therefore, with us has been against the taxes; against the burden of taxation; people in general not perceiving how that burden was aggravated by the paper-money. In the case of PEEL'S bill even, though the thing was so plain, comparatively few persons saw it. Had there been no taxes, or none worth speaking of, PEEL'S bill would not, as it is now, have been producing the terrible ruin that it is producing in 1834. In short, the bill never would have been necessary in any degree. It is in America where we see the mischievous nature of paper-money: there is a country without taxes worth

speaking of; without those tithes, which are said, now-a-days, to be injurious to the cultivation of the land; without a standing army in time of peace; without pensioners, sinecure placemen, or any of those numerous causes that afflict us; there is a country in which, fifty years ago, heinous crime was hardly known; and thefts and robberies were so very rare, as to be looked upon when they occurred as something very extraordinary. Look at the book, my lord, which is mentioned at the outset of this letter: and that you have looked at it, I cannot but believe; and in that book you see, that all the great evils with which a country can be afflicted, have been brought upon America by paper-money; so that this curse is of itself sufficient to ruin a country. What must such a curse be, then, when in existence in a country like England at this time!

But it was not with a view of repeating these ten-thousand times stated sentiments of mine that I now took up the pen to address your lordship; but with the view of laying before you my opinion of the probable consequences to us of the demolition of the paper-system in America. An Englishman, who is still an Englishman though living at New York, has recently written to me, and given it as his opinion, that the struggle that is now going on between real property and industry on the one side, and the paper-money phalanx on the other side, will end in a total demolition of the paper-money in that country. He tells me that popular indignation against the paper-money grinders is at a very great height. He tells me that "*banker*" is become a term of reproach, synonymous with that of "*Jew*." I know very well how things go in America. I have witnessed several distinct attempts to create a sort of aristocracy of one kind or another. These attempts have always crept on towards success, but have never attained it. It is some time before the people are aroused into general alarm; but when once they are, the popular cause is sure to prevail. WASHINGTON, who was lucky all his life, and who deserved to be lucky, was

still more lucky in his death; for if he had lived but a very few years, nay only one year longer, he would have seen the principal acts of his administration reprobated by the people.

My correspondent has this passage in his letter. "If this (the demolition of the paper-money), were to take place, it would produce injury to nobody, except those who plunder the people by monopoly, which monopolies are created by the false money. It will not operate like your PEELE'S bill; because our debt is gone, and we have no fixed payments to make. The labouring man will get three quarters of a dollar instead of a dollar for his day's work; but he will get for that three quarters of a dollar, just as much meat, drink, and clothing, as he can now get for a dollar. I need not tell you this, who have so often ridiculed the notion, *that the quantity of money ought to be in proportion to the amount of pecuniary transactions in a country*; but it gives me pleasure to tell you, that this matter is clearly understood by every working-man in the United States of America; while they all see, clearly, that it is they who have to keep the bankers, their clerks, their carriages, their fine houses, and their expensive families. This being the case, I leave you to guess whether there be not a strong probability of the destruction of this paper-system; and, if this destruction take place, *let your Lord ALTHORP look sharply about him.*"

So say I, my lord. If that destruction should take place, you must look sharply about you. The commercial cities of the United States of America are little less closely connected with England than Liverpool is with London. Cash payments in reality taking place there, would have more effect upon our pecuniary concerns, than the total abolition and prohibition of bank-notes in Scotland and Ireland put together. Now, what would be the effect of a law to suppress bank-paper in Ireland? A great drain upon the Bank of England for gold. And what the effect of that? A lessening of the quantity of bank cur-

rency in circulation. And what the effect of that? A great and general lowering of prices. And what the effect of that? The taking away of the remnant of the estates of the landowners and giving them to the fundholders.

This is, therefore, a matter of prodigious importance to us. The distance of the United States is nothing. I need not tell your lordship how great, and how intimate, and how naturally and necessarily permanent the commercial connexion between the two countries is: I need not tell you this, because you know it as well as I do; but I beg leave to remind you of the *great drain upon the Bank of England*, which must necessarily be occasioned by a return to specie currency in America. Your lordship is, I trust, not of the PETER M'CULLOCH school: you have too sound a head upon your shoulders to talk about the advantages of a "cheap currency, mon"; and to think that a nation can gain, and continue to be permitted to gain, by using paper, while its neighbours use gold. You must see, in short, that a portion of the real money now spread over the world, must be drawn to America to supply the place of a demolished paper-money: you must know, too, that that portion must be large: you must know that the quantity will be in proportion to the valuable things possessed and dealt in by the United States. And, therefore, you must know, that, in the case contemplated, the drain upon England for specie must be very large, probably four times as large as the drain would be, in consequence of the abolition of a paper-money in Ireland.

The warning of my correspondent, therefore, and his advice, "that you look sharply about you," is by no means impertinent. For, I would beg leave to ask your lordship, how this great drain of specie from England is to be met, except in one of two ways: namely, *first*, by a diminution of the quantity of bank-paper, producing all the effects above enumerated; or by a *Bank-restriction*; as it has been seriously called, and the history and mystery of which, I perceive, the people of America

are reading in a new edition of my "PAPER AGAINST GOLD." And, I pray you, my lord, to let me stop here a little, to indulge in a small portion of that "*egotism*," which the "race that write" accuse me of. Let me do, like the girl, who, having the misfortune to be accused, took the resolution of not being accused for nothing. Well, then, let me boast that, from one end to the other of the republic of America, "PAPER AGAINST GOLD," (which I wrote while I was in jail for writing about Hanoverian troops, drawn round English local militia-men at the town of ELY, while they were flogged); let me boast, that this nice little book, written by me, for the purpose of taking vengeance on the system, under which I was suffering, is now sent forth in cheap editions in America, and is assisting the natural good sense of the people of that country, to urge their rulers to put an end to abominable cheats, frauds, and robberies, of paper-money; and, my real opinion is, that, if the members of both Houses of Parliament were all to take that book and read it through with attention, it would be impossible for this paper-system to exist for two years longer: it is the cause of all our troubles, all our distresses, and of all those odious inventions which have supplanted the institutions of England. In this book is told the whole story, from the enactment of the Bank, at the Revolution, up to the date of the report of the Bullion Committee in 1810. The history, the mystery, the roguery, the profound hypocrisy, the monstrous iniquity, of paper-money, are all there developed; and, if the nobility, gentry, and clergy in England have not had the courage to look at it, they are now tasting the effects of it; and they will taste the effects of it still more largely, if the people of America should persevere and extinguish the monster in their country.

Upon the supposition that they should do this, the drain before-mentioned upon our real money must take place; the drain will extend itself to every part of the civilized world; prices must fall in all countries; but the fall will be greater

in this than in any other, because its share of the currency of the world is much greater than that of any other; and because its connexion with America is so close. It must produce a great diminution of the quantity of the currency in England; it must add greatly to the value of money in England. It must make the present fifty millions of taxes worth more than they are now, by perhaps twenty millions a year. We are now paying the fundholders two for one, we shall then pay them three for one; and this is what cannot be done, if there were a soldier at every ten yards, placed along the streets and the roads, and a Bourbon-police station in every village, and a POPAY in every other house.

There is the other alternative to be sure: PETER McCULLOCH's "*cheap currency*": paper not payable in gold: assignats as neat as ever were made in the world. But come once to them, and away go every thing that the twenty-two years' war was professed to be intended to preserve. In spite of any and of every earthly force, the gold and the paper will come into open war. Your lordship's legal tender is a little beginning; it is the entering wedge which, driven up to the head, will shiver every thing to pieces. How, in the midst of these works, any part of this Government is to stand, I cannot perceive. It will be impossible to discharge the paper in gold; and when it becomes worthless the holders of it will go to things of value, find them where they may.

Thus have I laid before your lordship my opinions relative to the effects upon us, of the probable demolition of the paper-money in America, which abolition I do most earnestly pray may speedily take place. In the book which I mentioned at the outset of this letter, and a copy of which I thought it my duty to send to your lordship, it is shown, not by paragraphs in newspapers; not by the contents of pamphlets; but by the reports of committees of the legislative assemblies all over the United States, that this accursed instrument of specious fraud has actually taken farms, by thousands upon thousands,

from honest and industrious, and even prudent men; and has turned out their families to be mere labourers, at the best; and will you not, then, begin to consider of the means of delivering England from this scourge? I hold it to be next to impossible for a paper-money to be totally abolished in the United States; and for a paper-money, payable in gold, to be payable in England; and, as I firmly believe, that the abolition will take place in the United States, I must think that it is incumbent on your lordship, in particular, to be well and resolutely prepared to meet that event. Already steps of importance have been taken towards that abolition: the lowering of the tariff has been judiciously provided for: the State of Pennsylvania (one of the largest and richest) has prohibited the circulation of all notes under five dollars, whether of that or any other state. As silver is the great currency of that country, even this alteration will produce a depreciation of the paper in the other states, unless its quantity be diminished. If nothing under ten pounds in the way of notes were suffered to circulate in Northamptonshire, the counties round it must soon diminish their quantities of paper, or Northamptonshire would take away all their gold. In short, the paper-system seems to have gone on till it can go very little further; and, as great events, and great changes in the world, have almost always depended upon decisions taken in the minds of particular men; so it appears to me, that it will very much depend upon the decision of your lordship, whether this Government shall destroy the paper-money, and live itself; or, whether, by its efforts to preserve it, it should be dragged down into ruin along with it.

That your decision may lead to the former result, is the sincere and most anxious wish of

Your most obedient

and most humble servant,

WM. COBBETT.

Feb. 6, 1834.

P. S. My Lord,—I could not expect, and I did not expect, a yielding of your lordship to my proposition in the House

of Commons, relative to the agricultural state of the country. I expected no result but that which took place; but I thought it a duty perfectly imperious, that I should do something specific upon the subject. I now insert below articles which I have taken from the newspapers relative to this matter, and particularly an account of the proceedings of a meeting of noblemen and gentlemen in the county of Suffolk, and of which meeting I was not at all apprized *yesterday*. Is it possible for us to behold what is here presented to us without setting to work, at once, with a determination to alter this state of things? To say, or to act as if we said, that we are unable to discover any remedy for these evils, appears to me, to be to abandon our power and our character. I am as little interested in the well-being of agriculture, I am as safe amidst the rural turmoils, I am exposed to as little loss by those turmoils, according to my own estimate of things, as any porter that carries a load along the streets of London; yet, precious as my time is to me, necessary as the profitable employment of it is to my enjoyment of life, and little of that time that I may have left, I would cheerfully devote one whole year of it to the discovering of an effectual remedy for these terrible evils, and this shocking disgrace upon our country.

The case is more pressing than any that ever presented itself before to any body of men. Your lordship will find Sir THOMAS GOOCH saying: "Some *immediate* measures must be adopted, "or one-half the corn-stacks in the "country will be burned down before "we do any thing"; and yet his Majesty has told us, that the "*country is in a state of tranquillity*"!

Your lordship has only to read the account of the proceedings of this meeting to be convinced that the country is, in fact, in little short of a state of *open war between the rich and poor*. One nobleman recommends the employing of the London police; and grounds his recommendation upon the assertion, "that the fires proceed from a dangerous and extensive combination"; another nobleman recommends the ap-

pointment of new and vigilant officers; and a "*book*" to be kept, wherein to insert the names of suspicious characters in the district. A PARSON recommends "the employment of CONFIDENTIAL AGENTS in the various "places in a district, to observe *who came in, and who went out*; and to "watch the conduct of all suspicious "characters." And, my lord, this is "*old England*," is it? A *Bourbon-police* and *spies*, to be employed in the villages!

A Hampshire paper tells us, as you will see, that the farmers of a parish in that county, have determined to reduce the wages one shilling a week, until the incendiary is discovered, though the account of the fire tells us, "that nothing "could exceed the indignation of the labourers when they first heard of the "act; nor their exertions in endeavouring to allay the flames." What wild work is this! And ought the country to be left to go on at hap-hazard, amidst this strife of hunger against property, and of passion against passion? We are told here, that the labourers of the parish were zealous in endeavouring to extinguish the flames; but that another body of labourers, supposed to come from another parish, assembled at midnight, opposite the house of the sufferer, used the most violent language, and told him, that this was only a beginning, and that he "himself should be next burned in his bed"! While this is going on in Hampshire, the flames are lighting the atmosphere in *Durham*; and there is no question in my mind, that the fires are more general, more extensive, than they were when the special commissions were appointed in 1830. These evils are greatly aggravated by the folly of the aggrieved parties, in constantly dealing out their execrations upon the incendiaries; and in never proposing any one measure for bettering their lot. It should be clearly understood, and never out of gentlemen's minds, that they have no defence against this mode of attack, any more than they can have against the pestilence; and all the contrivances of this meeting in Suffolk will answer no other purpose than that of

extending the flames, even if they could be put into execution; and put into execution, however, they cannot be.

These gentlemen clearly know not what to be at. They have nothing in view, and do not seem to think of anything, but *force, restraint*; PUNISHMENT of some sort or other; and I am sure that this, instead of lessening the number of fires, will augment that number. However, I shall have done my duty with regard to this matter.

There is yet one thing which might possibly make the danger greater than it now is; and that is, a *Malthusian* alteration of the poor-laws. I have read in the public papers something which is there said to be instructions for the preparing of poor-law bills; and from this paper, which I do most sincerely hope has nothing of authenticity about it, it would appear that the intention is openly avowed, of adopting such measures as shall gradually accustom the working to COARSER FOOD THAN THAT WHICH THEY NOW LIVE UPON! I do hope that there is no scheme of this sort in agitation; for such a scheme, and openly avowed, would produce consequences which must make every reflecting man tremble but to think of. However, I will say no more about this at present, and hope I never shall have occasion to do it again.

MEETING IN THE COUNTY OF SUFFOLK, RELATIVE TO INCENDIARY FIRES.

A meeting, convened for the purpose of taking into consideration the best means to be adopted to check the progress of incendiary fires, which have lately increased to an alarming extent, was held on Tuesday last, at the Angel Inn, Halesworth, pursuant to the following requisition:

"We, the undersigned, owners and occupiers of land in the Hundred of Blything and of the parishes adjoining, viewing with horror the unparalleled atrocities lately committed by some villanous incendiaries, give it as our opinion that no means should be left

untried to discover the offender or offenders who have thus destroyed several stacks by fire. For that purpose, we give notice that a general meeting of the Hundred of Blything will be held at the Angel Inn, in Halesworth, on Tuesday, the 4. of February next, for the purpose of establishing a committee, to inquire into the best mode of putting a stop to such horrors."

The requisition was signed by Earl Stradbroke, Lord Huntingfield, Sir Thomas Gooch, and about ninety other gentlemen.

Lord STRADBROKE (having been requested to take the chair) observed, that incendiary fires having prevailed in the county, the meeting was called with the view to adopt the most effectual mode to put a stop to them. Several plans had been proposed to check the evil, but he suggested that a committee should be formed, with power to act as they might think proper; that they should have permission *to apply to London for the assistance of the police*; and should also consult with the magistrates in the county. He also recommended that the committee should be allowed to expend any sum they might consider reasonable for expenses, and rewards for apprehending incendiaries. As far as he was enabled to trace the cause of these incendiary fires, it was to be attributed to a bad and dangerous spirit of combination. Though only a few persons appeared to be concerned in those fires, it was well known that many manifested a different disposition than that of sorrow, when they witnessed these acts of destruction. (Hear, hear).

Sir THOMAS GOOCH said he was one of those gentlemen who subscribed to a reward for the discovery of the persons who destroyed Mr. Johnson's property by fire. As that reward had not been used, he suggested that it should be added to the sum offered on the present occasion (570*l.*), and he apprehended the whole sum would be sufficient to meet all expenses.

Some discussion here took place relative to the functions of the Association by whom the Committee were to be

appointed for the purposes mentioned by the noble Chairman, and it was suggested that no person should be allowed to become a member of the Association unless he had previously insured his stock. Mr. Cooper observing that as the fires were caused for the purpose of destroying property, insurance must have the effect of defeating the plan of the incendiary.

The CHAIRMAN asked if it was the intention of the meeting to exclude a person from the Association who did not insure?

"Certainly," replied several voices in the room.

Mr. GIRLING said, that unless parties were insured they would come round to their neighbours and call upon them to subscribe to cover a loss which they had sustained by an incendiary fire.

Lord HUNTINGFIELD observed, that as he held a great stake in the county, he begged to submit that a committee, consisting of about forty-five persons, should be appointed. That, under the superintendence of vigilant, active officers, a night patrol should be formed, or the present constabulary force increased, for those who were in office were a parcel of old women, and could only say *bo to a goose*. (A laugh). Any three of the committee should have power to appoint watchmen or extra constables. A book should be kept, in which the *chief officer should enter the names of suspicious characters, and any suspicious circumstances which might occur in his district*. The fund to pay the expenses of this establishment should be raised by the contributions of the inhabitants of the parishes where the officers were to be stationed. In many instances it might be necessary to send for the assistance of a police officer from London, to examine into the circumstances of any particular fire, in which case his lordship proposed that the expenses of the police officer should be defrayed by the parish.

The Rev. Mr. SHERIFF said, it was his wish to establish central bodies to meet at stated times, once a month. Those bodies to have power to appoint *confidential agents in various places in a*

district to observe who came in, and who went out; to watch the conduct of all suspicious characters, and particularly (said the Rev. Gent.) to watch those who lived without working in the day, and those who did not sleep at night.

Mr. GIRLING inquired how the money was to be raised? If in the shape of a rate, it would be illegal, and any one might appeal against it.

After some discussion had taken place on this point,

Sir THOMAS GOOCH said, the plan proposed by the noble Lord (Huntingfield) was too complicated to be acted upon. Some *immediate measures* (said the hon. Baronet) *must be adopted, or one-half the farm stacks in the county will be burned down before we do any thing.* (Hear, hear, hear). In reply to an observation made by the Chairman, as to raising the fund to meet the necessary expenses, the hon. Baronet said that 1,000*l.* would be sufficient, and it could easily be raised by subscription.

Lord HUNTINGFIELD then proposed that the promised reward for the discovery of the persons who destroyed Mr. Johnson's property by fire should be withdrawn, and the money applied to the purposes for which they had then assembled.

An objection, however, having been made to that arrangement,

The CHAIRMAN observed, that the subscription was so large, that it was feared it would tempt some persons to give evidence against innocent individuals. He thought that a reward of 200*l.* was sufficient.

Colonel BRUCE, a magistrate, said, that if parties came before him, and gave evidence against any person of having caused an incendiary fire, he should consider it his duty to award the informing party the promised reward of 575*l.* It was a reward promised with the view of discovering the actual offender, and the first person who gave the necessary information would be entitled to it. (Cries of "yes, certainly").

Lord HUNTINGFIELD said, it was the opinion of the magistrates that no more incendiary fires would take place in that part of the county, as they considered

they had secured the man who had caused all the mischief. (Hear, hear).

Other gentlemen having spoken against the withdrawal of the subscription, several rules for forming an association to prevent incendiary fires were passed, and a committee appointed to meet immediately.

Mr. LENNY then directed the attention of the meeting to reports of incendiary fires, which had appeared in several of the metropolitan papers, and also in the provincial journals. Those reports were extremely incorrect, and calculated to produce great mischief, and he could not avoid expressing his abhorrence and regret that persons were found imposing upon the daily journals by transmitting such statements. In the notice that was given of the fire at Mr. Johnson's, a sneer was made at that gentleman, and he was called the minister's churchwarden. It was also stated, that the persons who assisted to extinguish the fire, and also the fire at Halesworth, were pelted with stones and wounded. No such thing, however, took place. Another false insertion was made in stating that Mr. Johnson had received an anonymous letter; and it was also untrue, that at Mr. Prince's fire, the labourers carried off by force pork and liquor. The statements that were made relative to the fire at Mr. Robinson's, at Dunwich, were equally incorrect. He was sorry to state that the individuals who invented these false statements had increased a bad spirit, which might have prevailed. It was asserted in those reports, when Mr. Robinson's and Mr. Prince's property were destroyed by fire, that those gentlemen had contributed to the reward that was offered; but that was another false statement, and calculated to produce an erroneous impression. He concluded by moving a resolution, expressing the regret of the meeting that those untrue reports had appeared in some of the London and country papers which he named.

The CHAIRMAN observed, that, no doubt, in all places wretches were to be found who, for the sake of mischief, would forward to the papers such re-

ports as those complained of. He was convinced that the notice which had been taken of it that day would have the proper effect, and he recommended that no further notice should be taken of the matter. (Hear, hear).

Mr. GIRLING remarked, that the London papers might be imposed upon; but the same excuse could not be made for the journals published in the county, the conductors of which should have made inquiries before they published such language.

The resolution having been seconded, it was put to the show of hands, and the numbers being equal for and against it, Mr. Lenny withdrew it.

The business then terminated; and on the motion of Sir T. Gooch, the meeting proceeded to take into consideration the state of the

AGRICULTURAL ASSOCIATION.

Sir THOMAS GOOCH proposed that the association, which was now attached to one particular interest, should be incorporated with the East Suffolk Association. He considered that a petition to Parliament from such a body would have more weight than a petition from any particular hundred or parish. In alluding to the depressed condition of the agricultural interest, he observed, that if Government did not protect them they would be entirely ruined, and the country would become what Bonaparte said it was, "a nation of shopkeepers." He wished the Whigs to have fair play; but he also wished the agriculturists to be a match for them, if the Whigs attacked them; and be enabled to convince Government that they would not be ground to dust without fighting for it. (Cheers).

Lord HUNTINGFIELD observed that the newspapers were clamorous for an alteration in the corn laws, and the people of London wished to have the taxes on houses and windows repealed, as it was almost the principal part of their property. They did not care a farthing for the corn laws. The cry for an alteration in those laws proceeded from a base democratic spirit in the country, that wanted cheap bread for its fellows,

no matter what injury the agriculturist sustained. If encouragement was given to foreign produce, some of the land in this country would not be cultivated. He was sure it was not the intention of Ministers to create a free trade in corn, or to interfere with the condition of the corn laws, and he was satisfied that Mr. Poulett Thomson had altered his tone since his visit to Manchester. He was anxious to have a county meeting on the subject, and he was confident that a petition from that body would be attended to in Parliament. (Hear).

Sir THOMAS GOOCH, in alluding to the distressed condition of the country, said it was to be attributed to the *perpetual tampering with the currency and the corn laws, which had destroyed confidence, decreased capital, and reduced commerce.*

A long conversation then took place respecting the mode in which the affairs of the Agricultural Association should in future be managed, and it was agreed that the association should be attached to that formed in East Suffolk.

Thanks were then voted to the Chairman and to Lord Huntingford, and the meeting separated.

We learn from the *Hampshire Telegraph* that the incendiary spirit has been at work in the parish of Tilshead, and that two ricks of field hay, the produce of forty acres, have been consumed. "Nothing," it is observed, "could exceed the indignation of the labourers when they first heard of the act, nor their exertions in endeavouring to allay the flames. Suspicion attaches to a particular individual, who was openly accused by the labourers, and the fellow skulked off amidst the execrations of all that were present. While the workmen of Tilshead acted thus praiseworthy, a body of men, supposed from Imber, assembled in front of Mr. Gidding's house at one o'clock in the morning, and used the most violent language, telling him that this was only the commencement, and that he himself should be next burnt in his bed."

And then follows this curious an-

nouncement: "The farmers of the parish have determined to reduce wages one shilling per week until the incendiary is discovered!"

A second incendiary fire broke out on the premises of Mr. Burnip, of Offerton, near Sunderland, on Wednesday last. He had kept a constant watch on his premises since the former fire up to Tuesday, when he discontinued. Fourteen stacks were either totally destroyed or rendered useless, namely, nine of wheat, two of oats, one of beans, and two of hay.

OPENING OF THE PARLIAMENT.

4. February, 1834.

THIS was the anniversary of the day on which I enlisted for a soldier in the 54th Regiment of Foot; and I could not hear the cannons fire without recollecting that act of my life; and I could not see Sir EDWARD KNATCHBULL in the House (which I did when the cannon was firing) without recollecting seeing him (a pretty little boy) in a green coat or jacket, led by his father, walking along before the line, on the parade at CHATHAM, while I was standing in the ranks, with a cap and feather on my head; and with a good "brown Bess," as we used to call it, against my shoulder. What delight Providence seems to have in showing its power over us, and tossing us about in this sort of way.

KING'S SPEECH.

"My Lords and Gentlemen,

"In calling you again together to discharge your high duties, I rely with entire confidence on your zeal and diligence, on your sincere devotion to the public interest, and on your firmness in supporting on its ancient foundations and in the just distribution of its powers the established constitution of this country. These qualities eminently distinguished your labours last session, in which more numerous and more important questions were under the consideration of Parliament than at any former

period of similar duration. Of the measures which in consequence received the sanction of the legislature, one of the most difficult as well as important, was the abolition of slavery; and the manner in which that beneficent measure has been received throughout the British Colonies, and the progress which has already been made in carrying it into execution in the island of Jamaica, afford me just grounds for anticipating the most favourable results. Many other important matters still remain for your consideration; and the reports which I will order to be laid before you by the Commissioners of Inquiry into the state of Municipal Corporations, into the administration and effects of the Poor-Laws, and into the state of the ecclesiastical revenues and patronage in England and Wales, cannot fail to afford you much valuable information, by which you will be enabled to judge of the nature and extent of any existing defects and abuses, and in what manner the necessary corrections may, in due season, be safely and beneficially applied.

"It has been the constant aim of my policy to secure to my people the uninterrupted enjoyment of the blessings of peace. In this I have been much assisted by the good understanding which has been so happily established between my Government and that of France; and the assurances which I receive of the friendly disposition of the other powers of the Continent, give me confidence in the continued success of my endeavours.

"I have, however, to regret, that a final settlement between Holland and Belgium has not yet been effected, and that the civil war in Portugal still continues.

"You may be assured that I will be careful and anxious to avail myself of any opportunity which may afford me the means of assisting the establishment of a state of security and peace in countries, the interests of which are so intimately connected with those of my dominions.

"Upon the death of the late King of Spain, I did not hesitate to recognise the succession of his Infant Daughter; and I shall watch with the greatest solicitude the progress of events which may affect a Government, the peaceable settlement of which is of the first importance to this country, as well as to the general tranquillity of Europe.

"The peace of Turkey, since the settle-

ment that was made with Mehemet Ali, has not been interrupted; and will not, I trust, be threatened with any new changes.

"It will be my object to prevent any change in the relations of that Empire with other Powers which might affect its future stability and independence.

"Gentlemen of the House of Commons,

"I have directed the estimates for the ensuing year to be laid before you. They have been framed with a view to the strictest economy, and to such reductions as may not be injurious to the public credit. I have confidence that I may rely on your enlightened patriotism, and on the cheerful acquiescence of my people for supplying the means that may be required to uphold the honour of my crown and the interests of my dominions. The accounts which will be laid before you of the state of the revenue as compared with the expenditure, will be found most satisfactory.

"My Lords and Gentlemen,

"I have to lament the continuance of distress amongst the proprietors of land, although in other respects the state of the country, both as regards its internal tranquillity and its commerce and manufactures, affords the most encouraging prospects of progressive improvement.

"The acts passed in the last session for carrying into effect various salutary and remedial measures in Ireland are now in operation, and further improvements may be expected to result from the commissions which have issued on the important objects of inquiry. I recommend to you the early consideration of such a final adjustment of the tithes in that part of the United Kingdom as may extinguish all just cause of complaint, without injury to the rights and properties of any class of my subjects, or any institution in church or state.

"The public tranquillity has been generally preserved, and the state of all the provinces of Ireland presents, upon the whole, a much more favourable appearance than at any period during the last year. But I have seen, with feelings of deep regret and just indignation, the continuance of attempts to excite the people of that country to demand a repeal of the legislative Union.

"This bond of our national strength and

safety, I have already declared my fixed and unalterable resolution, under the blessing of Divine Providence, to maintain inviolate by all the means in my power.

"In support of this determination I cannot doubt the zealous and effectual co-operation of my Parliament and my people.

"To the practices which have been used to produce disaffection to the state, and mutual distrust and animosity between the people of the two countries, is chiefly to be attributed the spirit of insubordination which, though for the present in a great degree controlled by the power of the law, has been but too perceptible in many instances.

"To none more than to the deluded instrument's of the agitation thus perniciously excited is the continuance of such a spirit productive of the most ruinous consequences; and the united and vigorous exertions of the loyal and well affected in all of the Government, are imperiously required to put an end to a system of excitement and violence which while it continues is destructive of the peace of society, and if successful, must inevitably prove fatal to the power and safety of the United Kingdom."

After some debate, Mr. HUME moved the following amendment.

"That this House will take into its immediate and serious consideration the state of the church, as regards its temporalities and the maintenance of the clergy, in order to remove the complaints which have arisen from the collection of tithes and church-rates, with a view to such a change of system as shall give effectual relief, not only to the members of the established church itself, but especially to persons who conscientiously dissent therefrom, so as to carry into full effect the spirit of his Majesty's most gracious recommendation at the opening of the first session of the present Parliament."

The House divided on this amendment, when there appeared,

Ayes..... 39

Noes..... 191

Mr. HUME moved another amendment, which was negatived without a

division. Mr. Grattan moved an amendment which was also negatived without a division. After this Mr. O'CONNELL moved, that the three last paragraphs of the speech be omitted, upon which the House divided, when there appeared,

For Mr. O'Connell's amendment 23

Against it..... 189

Majority 166

LORD ALTHORP

AND

MR. SHEIL.

I HAVE inserted below every thing that took place in the House of Commons relative to this matter; and very interesting and important it is; for its effect on the minds of the people of England must and will be very great. The reader will observe that the sum and substance of the matter is this: that Lord ALTHORP said, I was told that more than one Irish member, who was the most violent in his opposition to the Coercion Bill, and who voted against it, did, in private, utter very different sentiments with regard to that bill; I believe the fact; I will not tell the name of my informant; but take the responsibility upon myself. Being asked by Mr. SHEIL, whether HE were one of those Irish members, he answered YES, the honourable and learned Gentleman is one of them; that is to say, I do believe that he did utter in private, sentiments very different from those he uttered in the discussions on the bill, and in hostility to his votes on that bill; and I am responsible for this my belief. Divers attempts were made, as the reader will see, to induce Lord ALTHORP to deviate, in some shape or another, from this declaration and this avowal of responsibility; but, from the beginning to the end of the proceeding, all these attempts failed. He never could be induced to utter one single word to palliate, in the smallest degree, that which he had said at the outset. He stuck

firmly to his belief, and to his personal responsibility for that belief; and, which struck me as something rather singular, he spoke to none of his colleagues, nor any of them to him during the whole of the discussion. He might be wrong in his belief, and I hope he was; but never did man in this world conduct himself in a more plain, frank, and honourable manner. There might be something indiscreet, to say the least of it, in making the statement that was made by Mr. HILL at HULL; but, it was made; and it was brought back to Lord ALTHORP, by Mr. O'CONNELL; and, as he said, at the request of Mr. SHEIL; so that, whatever be the ultimate consequences, they are by no means to be ascribed to Lord ALTHORP: he was compelled to speak out in the manner that he did; or to expose himself to the charge of having acted a mean and dastardly part. I wish that an inquiry into the matter may satisfy him that his belief was not well-founded: it will be to be deeply lamented if the contrary should be the result; but, such having been his belief, he would not have acted the part that became him, if he had not told the House that it was his belief.

Mr. O'CONNELL would now call the attention of the House to a statement made by the hon. and learned Member for HULL, and which had appeared in all the newspapers of the British dominions. It appeared from it that Government possessed, and put in play, a species of secret machinery, for the purpose of obtaining votes. He should like to know what this secret machinery was; and he trusted that he should not find that the King's Government or the noble Lord had been guilty of the unpardonable offence of obtaining votes by any thing so dishonourable as secret machinery. He said all this mainly for the purpose of giving the noble Lord (Lord ALTHORP) an opportunity of repudiating the statement. The hon. and learned Member then read the following extract from a speech said to be delivered by Mr. Hill, at a dinner at HULL: "It is impossible for those not actually

"in the House, to know all the secret machinery by which votes are obtained. I happen to know this (and I could appeal, if necessary, to a person well known and much respected by yourselves), that an Irish Member, who spoke with great violence against every part of that bill, and voted against every clause of it, went to Ministers, and said, 'Don't bate one single atom of that bill, or it will be impossible for any man to live in Ireland.' 'What,' said they, 'this from you who speak and vote against the bill?' 'Yes,' he replied, 'that is necessary, because if I don't come into Parliament for Ireland, I must be out altogether, and that I don't choose.'" Such a member as this would be no loss to that House, and still less would he be a loss to Ireland. The constituents of Ireland that sent such a personage to that House, had an indubitable right to know distinctly who he was. He would add, that he believed that the assertion contained in the extract he had just read, was totally untrue, and that no Irish member had ever made any such communication to any member of the Government. This was his opinion, and Ministers should say what was theirs, since the affair had not been as yet cleared up. Before he concluded, he would ask the noble Lord whether Government possessed a secret mode of obtaining votes, and whether they ever asserted they had; and whether the assertion contained in the extract, or any such assertion, was true, of a communication of the species described having been made to the noble Lord, or to any of the King's Cabinet Ministers?

Lord ALTHORP: The hon. and learned Gentleman has put two questions to me. He has asked whether I or any other of his Majesty's Ministers have had a communication such as that mentioned in the extract he has just read, from an Irish member who had spoken violently against the Coercion Bill, and who had voted against it. To that question, as far as I am personally aware, I answer in the negative, and I believe that none of my colleagues have ever made an

assertion to the contrary. With respect also to what had been stated about a secret manner employed for obtaining votes by Ministers, I never made such a statement, and as far as I am aware, no such mode is employed, and I believe that no Cabinet Minister ever made any such statement as that there was. I am placed in the same position as my hon. and learned Friend, and it is not my fault if my answer be short. Again, I repeat, that no one of the Irish members made any such statement to me, but still I have reason to believe, that more than one Irish member who spoke violently against the Coercion Bill, and who voted against it, did, in private conversation, use very different language. (Loud cries of hear, hear, and much confusion).

Mr. O'CONNELL: I am astonished at the noble Lord's statement, but I think he is shrinking from my question. Why not give names? (A cry of "produce him," which came from the Irish members).

Lord ALTHORP, in reply to Mr. O'Connell: I am not shrinking from the question.

Mr. O'CONNELL: If I have made use of the expression, shrinking, I beg leave to retract that word. He thought that the question he had asked meant more, and that it required a fuller answer, otherwise he would not have made use of the word shrinking. He would now ask, who told the noble Lord what he had stated to be his belief?

Lord ALTHORP: I am *responsible* for what I have said, and what I believe, and I am now ready, if I am called upon, to give up the name, otherwise I shall not.

Mr. O'CONNELL: Then, is it I? I call upon you in the name of every Irish member—(laughter, and oh!)—at least, I call upon you in the name of every Irish member present, to give up the name.

An honourable Member (Mr. Finn it was understood): And I ask the noble Lord whether he means me?

Lord ALTHORP answered, that it was neither Mr. O'Connell nor Mr. Finn.

Here about half a dozen of the Irish

members rose, seemingly to put the same question, among whom was Mr. Sheil.

The SPEAKER interfered, and said, that he was quite certain hon. Members would see the difficulty into which the House had been brought by the spirit and manner in which the present discussion was conducted. He begged to be permitted to say—and he meant no personal offence to any party—that he was extremely sorry this question was asked at all. It was a question not the less likely to excite the feelings of the public, though it was not of a public character. No question ought to be asked in that House unless it related to public matters, and unless it involved the public character of a member or members of that House. What was said in private conversation could never, in that House, be made the basis of public discussion.

Mr. O'CONNELL: I hope the House will bear with us, and not allow our characters to be involved by preventing us from making any further inquiries.

Mr. HUME (who rose to order) said, that he remembered upon one occasion defending the hon. and learned Member who sat below him (Mr. O'Connell) from a charge made against him for words he had uttered out of that House, and he then contended that such charges could not be properly made. He held, that whatever might occur in private conversation could not afford matter for discussion in that House. He put it to the House now, as he did formerly, whether if they were allowed to speak and ask questions about every thing that happened out of doors, they would ever see an end to their discussions. He was aware of the delicate situation in which certain hon. Members were placed, and he should be most happy to see some explanation by which they could get out of it. However, after the observations of the Speaker, he would ask any hon. Member how he could persevere in putting such questions, or in following up such a line of discussion?

Mr. O'CONNELL asked to be allowed to say, that the question was one of great importance, since it concerned the

constituents of the Irish members. It was highly important that these constituents should know whether their representatives had been consistent, and whether they had in that House acted in conformity with the opinions they had expressed to their electors. It was for this reason he continued, and pressed upon the noble Lord to answer the inquiry of any other hon. member, particularly when he saw that the third person who rose was his hon. and learned Friend beside him (the member for Tipperary). It was for this reason that he hoped the noble Lord would answer any other questions. A charge had been brought against the whole body, and as yet two only of that body had vindicated themselves. He considered it but fair and right that they all should be allowed to vindicate their conduct in that House, and they could only do so by adhering to the question before them. He called upon the noble Lord to name the individual, and he hoped the noble Lord would answer to his call on the present occasion.

Mr. HENRY GRATTAN contended that the discussion ought to be allowed to proceed, since there was a charge against a member of that House. If it were not allowed to proceed, he should feel it his duty to move that the speech which contained the obnoxious passage should be read.

Mr. SHEIL: The noble Lord (Lord Althorp), in answer to a question put by the hon. and learned Member for Dublin, and put at his (Mr. Sheil's) instance, stated two things. He stated that no Irish member who had spoken or voted against the Coercion Bill, made any communication similar to that already alluded to, either to him, or, as far as he was aware, to any other cabinet Minister. The noble Lord also stated, that not only no Irish member had made any such communication to any member of the administration, but that even no Irish member had suggested to any Minister anything of the sort even in the shape of a recommendation. So far then there was a clear admission that the charge, as it was originally made, was unfounded. He saw that there

was an hon. Gent. on the opposite side who gave an intimation that he differed from such a supposition as this. He appealed to the hon. Gentlemen, and begged them to restrain such dumb intimations, and indeed all intimations of any sort, until they had heard all to the very end. The right hon. the Chancellor of the Exchequer had clearly and most distinctly admitted that no such communication had been transmitted to him, which admission amounted to, and was a strong argument, that no statement whatsoever of the kind had been made to any one.

LORD ALTHORP: I meant to make *no such full admission*: what I meant to say related to *cabinet* Ministers. I distinctly said that no communication or message of the sort alluded to had ever been made to a *cabinet* Minister.

Mr. SHEIL: Was any part of such statement or assertion communicated to them? (No, no! from the ministerial benches). There was another part of what the noble Lord stated which required explanation, namely, that part in which he said that one Irish member or more had expressed in conversation opinions on the Coercion Bill different from those they had publicly expressed in that House. The noble Lord stated that he was so informed, that he would not give up the name of his informant, but would take on his *own responsibility* the statement on which his belief was founded. Since the name of the informant was not to be got at, he would ask the noble Lord *whether* he was one of the Irish members or more who had expressed opinions as he had said in private conversation. He asked the noble Lord if he was one of those Irish members?

LORD ALTHORP: *Yes, the honourable and learned Gentleman is one of them.* (Loud cries of hear, and cheering).

Mr. SHEIL: And I, on the other hand, in the face of my country, and I would add, provided I be not guilty of an expression of irreverence, in the presence of my God, declare that the individual who gave the noble Lord such information has belied me, and has been guilty of a scandalous calumny. However,

as the noble Lord has given an intimation, which he has even repeated, that *he believes* the statement, and takes on himself *the responsibility* of such belief, I shall of course say not a single word more.

Mr. O'CONNELL then rose and said, that after the statement made by the noble Lord, regarding the assertions made by the honourable and learned Member for Hull, he (Mr. O'Connell) felt it his duty thus publicly to retract the expressions made use of by him towards that honourable and learned Gentleman.

Mr. HILL then rose and said, that it *so happened* that he had *unguardedly* made use of words at a *public meeting at Hull*, which being *without premeditation* did not *make any great impression on him* till his attention was drawn to it by the sensation it created. Upon this he looked into the published reports of it given in the newspapers. He found three reports published which differed materially from each other, and though he could not trust entirely to his memory as to the exact expressions used, he thought he could confidently say that his words were not those stated.

An Irish Member then asked if he was one of those alluded to? (The question created some laughter, and loud cries of "No, no," and we heard no answer given).

The SPEAKER then said, that it was impossible he could allow the discussion to terminate in its present state; and much as he regretted that an honourable Member had considered it his duty to bring the subject under the consideration of the House, and regretting also the manner in which the noble Lord had thought it necessary to answer the question, joining also with the honourable and learned Member for Hull in his regret, that so much public feeling and private pain had ensued from the expressions made use of (as that honourable and learned Member said) *unguardedly*, but which expressions conveyed charges against members of the House which were serious in themselves, but ambiguous. He said, however, this without imputing any improper motives to the

honourable and learned Member. (Hear, hear, hear). He thought it, however, his duty to suggest, that as the case had been brought under the consideration of the House, as an appeal had been made, and the subject was thereby brought within their jurisdiction, and the House could interfere, it should not be permitted for the parties concerned to carry it to any tribunal, but that the matter should be settled entirely within the walls of the House. He was sure that there was no old member in the House but would acknowledge that if the speeches of members during a debate were picked up and made the subject of proceedings out of the House, there would be an end to all freedom of debate, of the dignity of the proceedings of the House, and of their usefulness in the public service. (Hear, hear, hear). He hoped, therefore, that whether the question were now set at rest or not, it should not be touched by either party, but within the walls of the House (hear, hear).

Mr. O'CONNELL was happy to have the high authority of the Speaker for what was passing in his own mind. He could not but think it would be unbecoming that this subject should pass without a public investigation; and he, therefore, hoped that he would be allowed to bring forward to-morrow (this day), as the first business of the day, a motion for the appointment of a committee of investigation; and he accordingly now gave notice of that intention. He was sure that no one could be more delighted than his friend (the member for Tipperary), that an investigation should take place; for he (Mr. O'Connell) had no doubt but he would come out of it triumphantly. (Hear, hear). He could assure the honourable and learned Member for Hull, that had he known of the domestic affliction to which he had alluded, he (Mr. O'Connell) would have smothered his feelings for a time, however he might have been goaded by them. He thanked the honourable and learned Member for having accepted of his apology. He (Mr. O'Connell) was not a person whom the honourable and learned Member could have called upon

to give satisfaction in any other way; and he had, therefore, thought it his duty to be the more emphatic in his concessions! (Cheers).

The SPEAKER then again rose, and hoped that the House would coincide with him in the course which he was about to pursue. He felt so strongly the responsibility of the situation in which he was placed, that he was most anxious that the House would agree with him in asking from the hon. Member an acquiescence in the decision of the House.

Mr. SHEIL said that the noble Lord, at the outset of his declaration, had stated, without being called upon, and by anticipation, or before he was asked any question, that he took upon himself the *responsibility*, that he stood as the representative of the person who alleged the truth of the statement. (Loud cries of no, no!). The noble Lord had certainly said that he would take upon himself the responsibility of the statement, that more than one Irish member had expressed different opinions of the Irish Coercion Bill in and out of the House; in other words, that more than one Irish member had opposed the bill who approved of it, and that this information was communicated to him by an individual for whom he felt respect; but he refused to give the name.

Lord PALMERSTON rose to explain his understanding of the *word responsibility*, as he understood it to be used by the noble Lord, and certainly as it was understood by himself. The hon. and learned Member had called upon the noble Lord to give the name of his informant. The noble Lord did what every honourable man would on such an occasion, (hear, hear!) *he refused to give the name*; but he took upon himself the *responsibility of the statement having been made*. (Hear, hear). But he did not take upon himself the responsibility of the *correctness* of the statement. (Hear, hear). He merely vouched for the fact, *that the statement had been made*, and he felt bound to take upon himself the *responsibility of having said so*. (Hear, hear).

Mr. SHEIL said that this was a species of diplomacy he did not understand. He hoped the House would give him leave to explain his meaning. When the noble Lord mentioned that he would not name his informant he added, that he would take upon himself the responsibility. Now he (Mr. Sheil) charged the noble Lord's informant with *falsehood*, and the noble Lord took upon himself the responsibility. (Loud cries of no, no, and great confusion).

Lord ALTHORP rose to explain his meaning. He had stated he had had information that Irish members who voted against the Coercion Bill approved of it; that he would not give up his informant, and would *take upon himself the responsibility of not doing so*. (Hear, hear, and loud cheers).

Sir ROBERT INGLIS said that his impression of the meaning of the word responsibility, as used by the noble Lord, was just that which was all along affixed to it by the noble Lord. He could not have meant it in the conventional sense attributed to it by the hon. Member for Tipperary. Could any man, either in or out of the House, understand the expressions of the noble Lord in any other sense than that in which he himself had stated he had used them. (Hear, hear). He called on the House to assert the authority of the chair, and not allow the question to be pursued. (Hear, hear).

Colonel EVANS understood the noble Lord to have said, that some members had spoken differently in private from what they had expressed as their opinions in public. Now these words did not impute a very serious degree of impropriety in any man, if no further explanation were given of them, or if not in direct contradiction to his public acts.

Lord JOHN RUSSELL coincided with the Speaker in thinking that the privileges of debate would be injured if this question, and such as it, were not kept within the jurisdiction of the House. He hoped that the House would insist that both the noble Lord and the hon. and learned Member should either tacitly or expressly agree, and that in a manner which could leave no doubt of

their meaning, that they should not carry the question beyond the walls of the House. (Hear, hear).

Mr. SHEIL said, that the preliminary intimation came from the noble Lord himself, that he would *take upon himself the responsibility*, and he (Mr. Sheil) thought it unfair that he should be called on to take a different view than that to which he had been invited by the noble Lord. (Cries of no, no).

The SPEAKER was satisfied that the honourable and learned Member for Tipperary felt differently on this subject from any other member in the House. (Hear, hear). He had allowed the subject to be proceeded with, from the conviction that the orders of the House should be enforced, and that the question being once brought before the House, should not be allowed to be dealt with out of doors. (Hear, hear). And if he now saw reason to doubt, if the orders of the House should be observed without an injunction, he should consider it his duty to impose an injunction on either or both members. He need hardly add, that if the honourable Member for Tipperary would not yield to the decision of the House, he should be restrained by its authority from doing any thing further in this question but with its permission. (Hear).

Sir FRANCIS BURDETT suggested (as we understood) that a committee of two members, wholly unconnected both with the noble Lord and the honourable and learned Member, should be chosen to investigate the question.

The SPEAKER did not suggest any thing degrading to the hon. Member, (hear, hear), and after the general feeling expressed in the House, he could assure the honourable Member that the case having been brought under the consideration of the House, ought to be left with its decision; and he hoped the honourable Member would bow to the decision of the House.

Mr. SHEIL (being then generally called for from all sides) came forward, and said he hoped the House would see the difficulty of the unhappy situation in which he was placed. The noble Lord refused to give the name of the in-

formant, and took the responsibility upon himself. If he had given the name, it would be different; but why invite him (Mr. Sheil) by taking the responsibility to ask the question. In consequence of that invitation, he had considered it his duty to ask the question. (No, no). The noble Lord had gone beyond the question asked him by the honourable and learned Member for Dublin. He had gone out of his way, and beyond the interrogatory, in order to attach to himself this responsibility. The noble Lord refused to furnish him with the means of ascertaining who his informant was. Why did he do so? He would ask what sort of man the noble Lord's informant was. (Hear). He (Mr. Sheil) had said nothing offensive to the noble Lord. He had not told him that he had been a participator in the calumny. He (Mr. Sheil) sat down when the noble Lord took the responsibility on himself.

Mr. E. STANLEY thought the House should insist on both parties—the noble Lord and the hon. and learned Member for Tipperary—giving their word to the House that nothing would be done in the matter out of doors.

The SPEAKER said, that if the hon. and learned Gent. thought he meant to place him in a worse situation than he would another hon. member under similar circumstances, he did him an injustice. The reason why he was averse, if it could be avoided, to the House coming to any fixed resolution on the subject was, that those hon. members who did not take part in the proceedings that evening, as well as those who did, might think that every personal quarrel that occurred between hon. members ought to be brought before the House for its decision. (Hear). He (the Speaker) was sure the hon. and learned Member for Tipperary would not better his position by refusing to comply with the wish expressed, that he would pledge himself not to take any proceedings in the matter out of the House. The hon. and learned Gent., he was certain, would, on cool calculation, see the reasonableness of the view which he (the Speaker) took of

the question. If he did not make the suggested pledge voluntarily, the House must do its duty, however reluctantly.

Sir ROBERT PEELE said the House did not wish to place the hon. and learned Gent. in any unfavourable position by the concession it suggested him to make; neither did it place him in any unfavourable position. It was necessary to separate the public from the private part of the question. He conceived that the hon. and learned Gent. had no right to construe the language made use of by the noble Lord into a personal affront. (Hear, hear). The hon. and learned Gent. had asked the noble Lord, not as a private individual, but in *his capacity as Minister*, whether he was the party referred to as having made use of the language in question relative to the bill for the suppression of disturbances in Ireland, and the noble Lord answered that he was the party referred to. The noble Lord said he would not give up the name of his informant, but was responsible for the fact of such communication having been made to him. Surely it could never be pretended that the noble Lord meant, by the language he employed, that he was to make himself personally responsible for the statement. (Hear, hear). On his (Sir R. Peel's) honour, he thought that the construction which the honourable and learned Gentleman's sensitiveness led him to put upon the noble Lord's language was not warranted. (Hear, hear). He thought the hon. and learned Gent. would be making no dishonourable concession to the House, either as a man or as a member of that House, by voluntarily declaring that he would take no further steps in the matter.

Mr. SHEIL felt himself in a very peculiar and unpleasant position. The noble Lord said, *he believed in the accuracy of the information*. (Hear, hear, hear, from the Irish Members). He said that he would not give up the name of his informant, but would vouch for the truth of the communication. (Cries of no, no). The noble Lord had made a *gratuitous statement*, when he

expressed his belief in the truth of the communication made to him.

Mr. STANLEY had not communicated, either directly or indirectly, with his noble Friend on the subject; but if he might exercise his own judgment on the matter, the noble Lord could never have meant, by the language he made use of, *any thing offensive to the hon. and learned Gentleman*. The question which the hon. and learned Gentleman put to his noble Friend was, whether he (Mr. Sheil) was the individual meant. The noble Lord said he was one of the parties; that he had received a communication to that effect, but would not give up the name of his informant, but would *take the responsibility on himself*. There was no individual on the face of the earth more incapable of giving personal offence than his noble Friend. With all the hon. and learned Gentleman's sensibility, as a member of that House, and as a man of honour, he thought there could be nothing dishonourable in following the course which had been suggested to him. (Hear, hear).

LORD ALTHORP said, that all he meant by the terms he had employed, simply was, that he vouched for the respectability of his informant, but that he would not give up the name of that informant; he disclaimed all wish to *give offence* in making such statement; *but if any hon. Gentleman did take offence at his words, he* (Lord Althorp) *would not shrink from what he had said*. (Hear, hear).

Sir FRANCIS BURDETT thought that nothing had been that evening said, in the course of the long discussion which had taken place, that could hurt any hon. member in his public capacity. He (Sir Francis Burdett) could say, that to comply with the wishes of the House would be the best course for the hon. and learned Gentleman to adopt; but if he did not voluntarily and gracefully comply with the wish expressed by the House, there would be no other alternative left but to put both parties into custody. (Hear, hear).

The SPEAKER was sure the House, as well as himself, meant nothing offen-

sive to the hon. and learned Member for Tipperary, but if he did not adopt the recommendation made to him, and promise not to prosecute the matter out of doors, the House would feel obliged to follow the usual course in such cases. He was sure the hon. and learned Gentleman would see they had no wish to place him in a false position, for if he would consult the Journals of the House, he would find that in all similar cases where such assurances were not given, the privileges of the House were exercised, and the parties put under restraint.

Sir HENRY HARDINGE thought the noble Lord was placed in a difficult situation. He felt himself bound by a sense of honour not to give up the name of his informant. The honourable and learned Gentleman was placed in a very peculiar position. It was consequently a matter of very great difficulty for the House to do justice to both parties. He thought the parties should be put under temporary restraint, in order that the House might have time to deliberate on what course they ought to adopt in the matter. That he thought would be the best thing they could do in the present position of the affair. He would second a motion to that effect.

Mr. CORNETT held the proceedings out of the House which had been talked of as possible, in very great contempt; for, after all, such proceedings decided nothing as to the merits of the case. The responsibility, about the meaning of which so much has been said, was precisely of this sort: A man goes into a company, consisting of many persons and says, "I have heard that one of you have stolen a horse; and *I believe the fact.*" One of the company says, "Is it I?" The other answers, "Yes, it is; and I won't tell you the name of my informant, but I take the responsibility upon myself, that is to say, I believe that you have stolen a horse."

An Irish member, whose name we did not learn, thought it nothing more than just and proper that the first step towards explanation should proceed from the other (the Ministerial) side of the

House. If he understood the noble Lord, he meant to attach the same import to the language he had made use of as the honourable and learned Gentleman himself had done. He therefore hoped the noble Lord would express his concurrence in the wish expressed, that an inquiry into the matter should take place.

Mr. O'DWYER did not rise for the purpose of adding to the excitement which already existed on this painful subject; but he felt that he would be guilty of a gross neglect of his duty, if he did not express his conviction that it would be unjust to restrain the honourable and learned Gentleman from taking any course his honour suggested, while the noble Lord was left at liberty not to retract one word of the expressions he had made use of. He (Mr. O'Dwyer) understood the noble Lord to say, *he believed the statement of his informant relative to the hon. and learned Gentleman.* If that statement was true, the honourable and learned Gentleman was not only unfit to be a member of that House, but to associate with gentlemen. The noble Lord had *not admitted that he might have been deceived* by his informant. The honourable and learned Gentleman had denounced the statement as a gross calumny, and it was unfair that he should be put under restraint. From the explanations which had been made that evening in the course of the present discussion, the communication had been deprived of the harsh features it previously possessed.

Sir FRANCIS BURDETT moved, that the Speaker put it to both parties whether or not they would voluntarily assure the House that nothing should be done out of the House relative to this matter.

Mr. HILL was extremely sorry that anything which he had said should have led to this unpleasant discussion. When he first heard the report alluded to, he believed it to be true—he still believed it to be true—and if a committee were appointed to inquire into the matter, he would use his best exertions to furnish every possible information on the subject; and if it should turn out that the

report was unfounded, he would feel it his duty to make reparation for the error into which he had been led.

The **SPEAKER** said, the longer the discussion on this topic was extended, the deeper did they get entangled in differences and misunderstandings on it. He thought the hon. and learned Gentleman must be aware that it was now his (the Speaker's) duty to call on both parties to assure the House, that no proceedings should take place on this subject out of doors. He thought it right to tell them, that the House did not propose harsher terms to them than would be proposed to other members similarly circumstanced. There was no other alternative left, unless the parties, on foreseeing what the decision of the House would be, would anticipate that decision, by giving a voluntary assurance that this matter should not be prosecuted out of doors. It was now his (the Speaker's) duty to call on each of the parties, to see whether they would give that assurance or not.

The **SPEAKER** then put the question to Mr. Sheil, who made no answer.

Some confusion occurred in the House at this moment. We understood Sir FRANCIS BUBBETT to move, before the question was put to Lord Althorp, that both parties be put under restraint.

On the question being put to the noble Lord, he said, that he had received no offence, and that nothing that had passed that evening should induce him to proceed further.

Mr. O'CONNELL said, that the noble Lord might well say he had received no offence, but he had given offence. The noble Lord had not gone far enough in his denial of any intention to proceed further with the matter, because he was, to use his (Mr. O'Connell's) own law terms, defendant, and not plaintiff in the case. He felt his hon. and learned Friend had been harshly used by the House.

An hon. Member here remarked, that the reply of the noble Lord simply conveyed the impression that he would not send a hostile message.

The **SPEAKER** said, that he understood the answer of the noble Lord to mean,

that he would not only not give a call to the hon. and learned Gentleman, but that he would not respond to a call if given him by the hon. and learned Gentleman. To that extent he (the Speaker) felt himself bound to go, and to that extent he understood the noble Lord's answer to go.

Lord ALTHORP would not give, but would respond to a call. (Loud cries of hear, hear).

Sir ROBERT PEEL was sure it would be most in accordance with the feelings of all parties, that both the noble Lord and the hon. and learned Gentleman should be forthwith taken into custody.

The **SPEAKER** then put the motion, that they be both taken into custody, which was agreed to without a dissentient voice.

Lord Althorp and Mr. Sheil were then removed in the custody of the Serjeant-at-Arms.

Mr. STANLEY, who had been in communication with Lord Althorp, here entered the House, and, addressing the Speaker, said, he would not, in the information he had to communicate, make any observations upon what had previously taken place, nor renew the discussion on the merits of a question which had for so long a time occupied the consideration of the House on that evening. He was happy to say, that he was the bearer of a communication which he felt perfectly confident would give as high satisfaction to the House to hear, as it did to him to communicate. (Hear). His noble Friend, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, having consulted with his friends the course he ought to pursue, felt, on reviewing the proceeding of the evening, that it was due to his own character, as well as to the wisdom and authority of the House, to bow to a decision—a decision which would in itself be a sufficient authority to preserve all personal dignity. In coming to this conclusion, at the instance of friends, whom no earthly consideration could induce to hint to him, ever so remotely, any line of conduct which would in the slightest degree derogate from his personal character, he was actuated by the respect which he

entertained for that House, by a desire to uphold its authority, and a wish to further the business of the House, which a contrary conduct would tend to impede. His noble Friend was now ready to give full assurance that he would take no further steps in this business, nor resort to any hostile measures, in consequence of any thing which had occurred in the previous proceedings. Having made this statement, which he hoped would prove satisfactory to the House, he (Mr. Stanley) would now move that Lord Althorp be released from arrest. (Cheers).

Mr. HUME seconded the motion; and added that, under the circumstances, the Speaker had no other alternative than that to which he had resorted; an alternative in which he (Mr. Hume) concurred, as the only means calculated to sustain the dignity and authority of the House.

The SPEAKER, before putting the question, said, that though he had so often addressed them during the discussion which led to it, he would still, in a very few words, express his great satisfaction at this result. After the observations made by this right hon. Secretary, there could not be two opinions upon the subject. No one could doubt that, in the course he adopted, the noble Lord had greatly added to his private and to his public character.

The motion was then carried, when

Mr. RUTHVEN (as well as we could catch his observations) urged even justice and equal treatment to both parties.

Mr. SHAW urged the propriety of the Member for Hull making a declaration similar to that of Lord Althorp.

Mr. HILL (as well as we could hear, amid the cheers for Lord Althorp, who just then entered) said, that he would of course, if called on, bow to the decision of the Chairman.

After a lapse of some minutes,

Mr. HUME entered the House, and said that, after what had transpired, he and other friends of the hon. Member for Tipperary had been with him, and he had the satisfaction to state that the hon. and learned Gentleman, *being*

anxious to show his respect to the orders of the House, and without giving any opinion upon the subject which had placed him in his present situation, had determined to submit himself to their wishes. (Hear). He with other friends had stated to the hon. and learned Gentleman, that in so doing, he was confident that so far from derogating from his character as a man of honour, he would place himself in a higher and more estimable situation. The only feeling by which the hon. and learned Gentleman was influenced was a disposition to conform to those salutary orders which the House, in its wisdom, had thought proper to enforce. He, therefore, moved that Richard Lalor Sheil, Esq., should be discharged out of the custody of the Serjeant-at-Arms, offering, on his part, *an assurance that the hon. and learned Gentleman would not prosecute out of that House the subject which had occupied so much of their time that evening.* (Hear).

Sir E. KNATCHBULL seconded the motion.

The SPEAKER, in rising to put the question, begged to express his great gratification at the course taken by the hon. and learned Gentleman, and he would assure the hon. and learned Member, that not only the House, but the country at large, would feel that he had best maintained his own honour, and best consulted his personal dignity, by upholding the dignity and character of that House. (Hear, hear, hear).

The question was then put and carried.

Shortly after, Mr. Sheil entered the House, accompanied by Mr. Finn. The hon. Member was *cheered* on resuming his seat.

LABOUR-RATE.

A MOST IMPORTANT MATTER!

THE Poor-Law Commissioners have put forth their *anathema* against this law. The following is a letter addressed to Lord ALTHORP on the subject, by

Mr. J. M. PAINE, of my native town of Farnham. I entirely agree with Mr. PAINE; and am not a little proud to see proof of so much ability and so much zeal, and to hear so much good sense from one of my townsmen; and I am still more proud to perceive in him so anxious a solicitude for the well-being of the working people, amongst whom I myself was born and bred up.

WM. COBBETT.

Strictures on the "Reply" of the Poor-Law Commissioners, to the Inquiry of the Right Honourable Lord Viscount Althorp, Chancellor of the Exchequer, &c. &c. on the subject of Labour-Rates, in a Letter addressed to his Lordship, by J. M. PAINE.

Farnham, 29. January, 1834.

My Lord—As the consideration of the present system of poor-laws with a view to their amendment will probably engross much of the attention of Parliament during the approaching session, I am induced to address a few remarks to your lordship on a subject intimately connected with that inquiry—the Agricultural Labour-rate Act. And the more so, as I am persuaded that a great deal of misconception generally prevails, both as to the principles and practical working of that measure; and in consequence a strong prejudice is entertained against its continuance. This prejudice has been mainly propagated and fostered by the countenance it has received from the Poor-Law Commissioners, who in reply to your lordship's inquiries, expressed their unequivocal disapprobation of the plan *in toto*. Their reply has been widely and industriously circulated, and emanating from an authority so highly respectable, it has succeeded in prepossessing the public against the system.

My desire is to show that the objections of the Commissioners do not apply to a well-constituted labour-rate agreement—to one constructed on the principles of the bill introduced by the Duke of Richmond last session; and that the adoption of such a bill as a temporary and palliative measure, will

necessarily have a tendency to *decrease* the existing evils of the poor-laws; and might perhaps be judiciously resorted to as an auxiliary means towards carrying the proposed amendments into execution.

I shall endeavour to illustrate my position by reference to the agreement which has been in operation at Farnham during the past year, and which will continue in force till the present act expires.

I readily admit that the Commissioners, judging from some of the reports which they received from various parts of the country, complaining of unjust and mischievous effects which had resulted from plans agreed to under the present Act, were justified in passing the severest censure on such practices; but, I contend that these evils were *abuses*, which under the provisions of the rejected bill of last session could not have happened, and moreover, that the legitimate tendency of that bill is to produce results *diametrically opposite* to those which the Commissioners attribute to a labour-rate. This favourable opinion has actually been realized in the parish of Farnham, where an agreement was, from the very commencement, entered into, precisely in accordance with the provisions of the said bill.

It may be well, perhaps, here to remark, that the parish of Farnham is both populous and extensive, comprising a variety of complicated interests, so that at first view, it appeared a very difficult matter to reconcile *all parties* to the measure; or, to devise any plan which would not only prove injurious to none, but would also enable every one in a greater or less degree to derive a positive advantage: *this has been accomplished.*

The following is a copy of the Farnham agreement, the principles of which I believe to be applicable to every agricultural parish in the kingdom, and it will be my endeavour to prove, that it has not only essentially benefited every class of rate-payers, but the *labourers*, as well, whilst it has not been productive of the least injury to one individual, and, consequently, that the objections of

the Poor-Law Commissioners cannot in fairness be brought to bear against it.

(Copy.)

PARISH OF FARNHAM, SURREY.

At a meeting of the Parish Vestry, held in the Church, this thirtieth day of October, 1833, convened according to an Act passed in the fifty-eighth year of the reign of his late Majesty King George the Third, intituled "An Act for the Regulation of Parish Vestries," for the purpose of making a Rate and entering into an Agreement solely for employing or relieving the Poor, under an authority of an Act, intituled "An Act for the better employment of Labourers in Agricultural parishes until the twenty-fifth day of March, 1834."

It is agreed by and between us the undersigned (being three-fourths of the rate-payers of the parish, the votes being taken according to the provisions of the first-mentioned Act) as follows:

First. That a rate of one shilling and sixpence in the pound shall be forthwith assessed by the churchwardens and overseers on all persons rateable to the relief of the poor in this parish, for the purposes of the last-mentioned Act, to be collected on the seventeenth day of March, 1834.

Second. That for every thirty acres of pasture, wood, or arable land, and for every six acres of hop-ground, the occupier shall find *constant employ* for one man before he will be permitted to work out his portion of the above rate; and that every individual who intends to avail himself of this privilege, must send to the guardian on Monday, the 11. of November, a written statement of the quantity of land in his occupation, specifying the number of acres of hop-ground separately; and also, the names (and ages, if under twenty-one or above sixty-five) of the labourers belonging to the parish whom he employs on the said land. He must afterwards give a weekly return of his labourers by name. And any person making a return of less land than he occupies, or who shall continue to neglect sending to the guardian a regular weekly return of

his labourers, shall forfeit his claim to exemption from this rate.

Third. Landholders who occupy less than thirty acres of arable, &c., or six acres of hop-ground, will be required to find employment for a labourer during a period of the time, proportionable to the quantity of land which they hold.

Fourth. That all persons who are assessed to this rate, and are not occupiers of land, may participate in the benefit of the rate, by making terms with any landholder who has previously complied with the conditions of this agreement, to work out their rate for them; and they must then notify to the guardian the name of the landholder by whom their rate is to be worked out, in order that it may be placed to the said landholder's account.

Fifth. Those individuals shall be exempted from this rate, who having the number of labourers apportioned to them agreeably to the before-mentioned scale, in regular employ during the time for which this rate is made, shall also give further employ to such a number as their proportion of the rate will maintain; and though they may not have occasion for so many labourers as will work out their old rate, yet they will be exonerated from the payment of so much of it, as the additional labourers they employ may entitle them to. And that for each additional labourer, the landholder will be allowed, as follows:—for boys from twelve to fifteen years of age, 2s. 6d. per week; from fifteen to eighteen, 5s.; from eighteen to twenty-one, 7s. 6d.; for men, 10s.; but from the age of sixty-five to seventy-five, 7s. 6d.; and if above seventy-five, 5s. a week. The quota of labourers to be kept in constant employ will be reckoned by this scale of prices.

Sixth. That Messrs. J. M. Paine, Charles Knight, J. Lidbetter, George Smith, and William West, &c, and are hereby appointed arbitrators, to determine in case any dispute should arise between the parish officers and the parties who apply to work out their rate; and likewise that they be, and are hereby empowered to make such alte-

ration in the application of that part of the second resolution, which relates to the quantity of land upon which a labourer must be constantly employed, as they may consider just and reasonable, in order to obviate any particular grievance which may arise from its strict and literal enforcement; and that the decision of any three such arbitrators shall be final and conclusive.

Lastly. That this agreement shall take effect on Monday, the 4. day of November next, and continue in force till the 17. day of March, 1834.

We, the visiter, guardian, churchwardens and overseers of the poor, and parishioners having met in pursuance of the above notice, do hereby make a rate of one shilling and sixpence in the pound, to be collected at the time and for the purposes above-mentioned.

Here follow the signatures and the approval of the magistrates.

That the above agreement may be thoroughly understood by your lordship, I beg to make a few explanatory remarks on its several clauses. It was first introduced at the beginning of December, 1832, and has subsequently been thrice renewed in public vestry with not more than two dissentient votes at any time. Its operation was suspended during the harvest and hop-picking months. 1. The average cost for the maintenance of the surplus or unemployed labourers during the corresponding months of the *three preceding years*, for which the labour-rate was to continue in force, was first ascertained, and a rate *not exceeding that amount* was then levied; at each renewal this precaution has been strictly attended to; the necessity of which is obvious, viz. to preclude the possibility of unjust exaction upon those rate-payers who are not landholders, or of any who might not choose to avail themselves of the privileges which the labour-rate affords. The rate must in all cases be confined to what had hitherto been the cost of the *surplus labourer*. *It is the want of attention in this point* which affords opportunity for the grossest acts of oppression and injustice. 2nd. For the purpose of

making an equitable distribution of the labourers upon the land, our data were derived from the actual state of the parish during the said three years, and in like manner as the amount of rate was determined by the average cost of surplus labourers during that period, so the number of men *generally at work upon the land*, was fixed on as the gross amount of labourers to be kept in *constant employ*, amongst the landholders; and it was thus ascertained that one labourer for every 30 acres of arable, &c.; and one for every 6 acres of hop-ground employed throughout the parish, would be about equal to that number. All above this number were accounted *extra* labourers, as in fact they had hitherto been a complete burden to the parish, to find employment for whom had long been a *desideratum*. The whole of the labourers must be employed *strictly for agricultural purposes*, that there may be no undue interference with the tradesmen. Gardeners, grooms, or assessed servants of any description are not allowed. 3rd. Small farmers are equally comprehended by this clause, and their families if really employed as labourers are returnable. 4th. Rate-payers having no land are allowed to transfer the working out of their labour-rate to any landholder with whom they may agree. The sum usually given by them is half the rate, thereby effecting a *saving* of the remainder, which they must *otherwise have paid in the shape of poor-rate* had there been no agreement of this kind. Almost every rate-payer has availed himself of this advantage, including the lay impropriator of the great tithes, and also the vicar, the Rev. H. Warren. 5th. After the farmer has the stipulated number of labourers in his *constant employ*, by taking on an adequate number of extra hands, he is permitted to work out, first, his own rate, and afterwards that of any other rate-payer (not having land) with whom he has agreed. It is here to be particularly observed, that there is *no interference* between the farmer and his man; the farmer is only required to find work for a sufficient number, and the latter are by no means

restricted to any particular employer. 6th. It was found almost impossible to render justice to every individual by the terms of a general agreement; a discretionary power has therefore been vested in a committee to obviate any unforeseen inequality. This has proved a salutary precaution.

Having made these preliminary remarks, I now beg to direct your lordship's attention to the objections brought against the labour-rate by the Poor-Law Commissioners; and I shall strive to demonstrate that their strictures upon the measure are quite inapplicable to the Farnham agreement, and also that *consequences the very reverse from those which they have deduced, are the result of its adoption.*

1. In the first place, the Commissioners assert that "A labour-rate extends and aggravates one of the worst consequences of the existing system—the payment of the wages of labour by those who are not the employers of that labour." This charge as applied to our labour-rate agreement cannot be substantiated, as a reference to its provisions and to the explanatory observations, I have given above, will immediately show. For, since a larger rate cannot be assessed than what had on the average of former years been required to support the surplus labourers, it is obvious that no person could be called upon to pay more than he had previously paid, to say nothing of the fourth clause, which enables the rate-payer who has no land to effect a considerable saving. Indeed, this objection appears to be futile in the extreme; for the law has never required, neither would it be just to require, that the whole expense of maintaining those who apply to the parish for relief should devolve exclusively upon the land, instead of sharing the burden in common with other descriptions of property. The Commissioners surely cannot wish to insinuate that this ought so to be.

After making the above general charge, the Commissioners proceed to enumerate the particular classes, whom they term the "victims" of this fraud. "In country places," they affirm, "the

"principal victim of this fraud is the tithe-owner. Next come the resident gentry having mere houses and gardens, and last, the occupiers of grass land; the small farmers employing only the labour of their own families, and the shopkeepers. A heavy poor-rate affecting all these persons, and expended in making up the wages of the great farmer's or the manufacturer's labourers, often enables him to avoid paying out of his own pocket more than a half or even a quarter of the ordinary wages of the district. To this fraud and oppression, a labour-rate adds this additional fraud and oppression, that the tithe owner, gentleman, small farmer, or shop-keeper, is not only to pay part of the wages of other people's labourers in common with the other rate-payers; but also a further part as a fine for not being a direct employer of labour—a fine which, in some cases, would amount to the confiscation of his property." Upon that part of the above assertion which relates to the farmer or manufacturer taking advantage of a heavy poor-rate in order to pay a portion of his labourer's wages out of it, to offer any remark here would be quite superfluous, it being a question entirely distinct from the point at issue; nevertheless, I would not hesitate for a moment to stigmatize such a practice as being most unjust. But that our labour-rate agreement in the remotest degree tends to promote this fraud and oppression, I must beg leave to deny.

Each class of the above-enumerated "victims" is comprised in the body of our rate-payers, and I hope satisfactorily to prove to your lordship, that they all partake equally with the landholder in deriving advantage from the operation of the labour-rate. That this may be more clearly perceived, let it be borne in mind that no farmer is permitted to work out his labour-rate (or more correctly it should be termed *surplus labour-rate*), unless he find constant employment for a given number of labourers during the whole time for which the rate is made; and this number, be it remembered, is as many as had actu-

ally been employed upon the land before the introduction of the measure : at no time must he have *less* than the quota allotted to him according to the nature of his land, and in order to work out his rate he must take on additional labourers ; these extra labourers had there been no labour-rate *would have continued a burden to the parish at large as paupers.*

(To be continued.)

HISTORY OF GEORGE THE FOURTH.

I HAVE just published the thirteenth number of this work. Dr. BLACK called the first numbers of the PROTESTANT REFORMATION "*pig's meat.*" That "*pig's meat*" had a great hand in producing what we now behold with regard to the church ; and this new trough full of "*pig's meat,*" which will be brought to a close in seven more numbers, will, or I am very much mistaken, produce something of the same sort with regard to this whole system of sway. It was the transactions of this regency and reign that brought down the system, or that gave it the blow under which it is now staggering. The acts of the reign of GEORGE the Third were sometimes outrageously violent, and sometimes outrageously foolish ; but it was in this regency and reign of the fourth GEORGE, of "*the Sovereign,*" as they used to call him ; it was the transactions of this regency and reign that inflicted the final blow ; and we are just in the right time for giving a history of them, because we have *had time to feel their effects*, while we are not so far from them as to have forgotten them ; and while a large part of the actors are still alive. This present number thirteen begins the history of "*the Sovereign's*" *war with the United States of America.* This war, though it took place only a few years back, is a matter of which the people of England know no more than they know of what is passing in the moon ; and they never

did know any more about it. It took place amidst events nearer home ; and the base press, and the crafty Government, and the deeply-interested navy and army, kept all the facts totally hidden from the people. The histories of the war which have been written and published in America *have never been republished here.* It is high time that this history be made known to the people of England. They feel how England is sunk, and how America has risen ; but they do not know the why and the wherefore of all this. They feel the weight of the accursed debt ; but they do not know that the war of "*the Sovereign*" caused seventy millions of that debt, and created that powerful American navy which now makes the teeth of *some folks* chatter in their heads.

I intend to have some copperplate prints to this History.

1. The Frontispiece, exhibiting "*the Sovereign*" pulling up a large minnow at the end of a silver rod, and caught by a golden hook, and standing in a golden *gondola*, on *Virginia Water*, exciting the admiration of Lady CONYNGHAM, "*Lord*" BLOOMFIELD, Sir WILLIAM KNIGHTON, and the "*Right Honourable*" Col. M'MAHON, while the "*Right Honourable*" Sir HERBERT TAYLOR, in the act of writing down the exploits of the sovereign.
2. Marshal NEY coming out to be shot, with the capitulation of PARIS tied about his neck.
3. The House of Commons, standing up with hats off, and clapping hands, receiving CASTLEREAGH on his arrival from the Continent, after the fall of NAPOLEON.
4. CASTLEREAGH, in his last great act, at NORTH CRAY, in Kent.
5. The gateway of "*the sovereign,*" costing seventy thousand pounds ; a chopstick sitting on one side, and a weaver on the other, dining upon potatoes and salt.
6. Soldiers shooting HONEY and FRANCIS at the funeral of the Queen.
7. The frigate Java knocked to pieces by the "*bits of bunting.*"

8. The battle of NEW ORLEANS.
 9. The famous battle on the Serpentine-river, where the American ships were all captured by the English, just about the time that the Americans were capturing all the English on Lake CHAMPLAIN: which last scene will be exhibited in another compartment of the same picture.

These, and some others, I intend as embellishments to this mess of "*pig's meat*," for I am determined to do all possible honour to the History of the Reign of "*THE SOVEREIGN*." I do not promise to give these little pictures, but I wish to do it, and think I shall do it. The contents of the thirteenth number are as follows:

CHAP. VI.

AMERICAN WAR. — Grounds of it. — Tyranny of impressment. — Motives of English Government. — Their deadly hostility to freedom. — Their employing Captain Henry as a secret agent in the United States. — Their treatment of Americans whom they had impressed. — Their shutting of them up in a prison on Dartmoor. — Their determination to destroy freedom in America. — John Wilson Croker's Manifesto. — Devastation of the towns and villages and plunder of the farm-houses on the American sea-coast. — Bloody works of our allies, the savages at French-town, on the River Raisin. — Sacking of the little town of Hampton, in Virginia. — Burnings at Washington. — Gross delusion of the people of England.

From the *LONDON GAZETTE*,

FRIDAY, JANUARY 31, 1834.

INSOLVENTS.

FERRERS, T. B., and L. J. Mackintosh, Copthall-court, stock-brokers.
 SHAW, C., Reading, Berkshire, stone-mason.
 TRIGGS, J., Mare-street, Hackney, veterinary-surgeon.
 WARING, T., Little Windmill-street, Golden-square, builder.

BANKRUPTS.

BRADLEY, W., Newgate-street, linen-draper.
 CAREY, T., High-street, Wapping, salt-merchant.
 CARHILL, B., Kingston-upon-Hull, merchant.
 COWELL, G., Salford, Lancashire, cotton-spinner.
 CURTIS, T., Budge-row, wholesale-stationer.
 EDWARDS, R., Liverpool, plumber.
 JEGER, P. C., Liverpool, commission-merchant.
 JOHNSON, W., Maiden-lane, Wood-street, wholesale-haberdasher.
 KNIGHTS, R., Cirencester-place, Portland-road, commission-agent.
 LLOYD, S., Birmingham, iron-heel-manufacturer.
 LUCAS, T. B., Long Buckby, Northamptonshire, and Leamington Priors, Warwickshire, coach-proprietor.
 MORGAN, W., Cheltenham, retail-brewer.
 UBSDELL, J. T., Tunbridge-wells, Tunbridge-ware-manufacturer.

TUESDAY, FEB. 4, 1834.

INSOLVENTS.

FARMER, J., Osborn-street, Whitechapel, sugar-refiner.
 GIBBINS, E. B., Farringdon-street, lodging-house-keeper.

BANKRUPTS.

BELLAMY, W., Hasely, Warwickshire, horse-dealer.
 CAULCUTT, C., Ampthill, Bedfordshire, corn-dealer.
 COLLETT, T., Rugeley, Staffordsh., brewer.
 FARRER, J., Foulby, Yorkshire, porter-merchant.
 JAMES, T., Bishopsgate-street and St. Mary Axe, trunk-maker.
 KLINGENDER, F. C. L., Silvester-row, Hackney, schoolmaster.
 MACE, S., Norwich, grocer.
 MIDDLEMIST, J., Shepherd's-bush, nurseryman.
 SMITH, T., Burrowes'-mews, John-street, Blackfriars-road, hackneyman.
 THORNTON, W., Leicester, manufacturer of hosiery.

LONDON MARKETS.

MARK-LANE, CORN-EXCHANGE, Feb. 3. — In addition to the large supplies of the past week, we received several fresh parcels of English grain to this morning's market. The fine weather had partially improved the condition of the samples of Wheat. We had, however, a thin attendance of purchasers, who took the dry selected parcels of Wheat at the currency of last Monday; but all secondary and ill-condition parcels hung on hand at

a decline of fully 1s. per qr., and most of the samples were left unsold at the close of the market. Some inquiry was experienced for bonded Wheat, but we heard of no transactions taking place.

English Barley was in plentiful supply, and the trade ruled extremely heavy. Chevalier qualities for seed, and fine malting descriptions, supported the rates of this day as 'nigh, but distillery sorts, as well as graining, of which the principal portion of the arrivals consist, were difficult of disposal at a decline of 1s. per qr.

Malt continued extremely dull.

The imports of English and Scotch Oats have been considerable, but of Irish extremely limited. The article met a slow demand, and last Monday's quotations were scarcely maintained.

Beans in very limited request, and 1s. cheaper.

The consumption of White Peas, owing to the mild weather considerably falling off, the article was difficult of disposal at a reduction of 1s. to 2s. per qr.; Grey were also 1s. cheaper.

Flour remains steady, and the sales effected took place at last week's quotations.

Wheat	50s. to 58s.
Rye	—s. to —s.
Barley	24s. to 25s.
fine	30s. to 32s.
Peas, White	—s. to —s.
Boilers	38s. to 40s.
Grey	30s. to 32s.
Beans, Small	33s. to 37s.
Tick	29s. to 33s.
Oats, Potato	22s. to 23s.
Feed	17s. to 20s.
Flour, per sack	46s. to 48s.

PROVISIONS.

Pork, India, new	90s. to 97s.
Mess, new	55s. to 57s. per barl.
Butter, Belfast	80s. to 82s. per cwt.
Carlow	80s. to 85s.
Cork	73s. to 74s.
Limerick	72s. to 73s.
Waterford	70s. to 76s.
Dublin	66s. to —s.

SMITHFIELD, February 3.

This day's supply of Beasts was moderately good: its supply of Sheep, Calves, and Porkers rather limited. Trade was, with each kind of prime meat, rather brisk at fully, with the middling and inferior kinds dull, at barely Friday's quotations.

About two-fifths of the Beasts appeared to be short-horns; and the remaining three-fifths about equal numbers of Scots, Devons, Welsh runts, and Herefords, with about sixty Sussex, and 200 Irish Beasts, a few Town's-end Cows, Staffords, &c.

About a moiety of the Sheep were South-Downs: about a fourth new Leicesters, in

about equal numbers of the South-Down and white-faced crosses; and the remaining fourth about equal numbers of old Leicesters, Kents, and Kentish half-breds, a few pens of old Lincoln, horned and polled Norfolks, horned Dorsets and Somersets, horned and polled Scotch and Welsh Sheep, &c.

About 1,000 of the Beasts, chiefly short-horns, Devons, and runts, with a few Scots, Herefords, and Irish Beasts, were from Leicestershire, Lincolnshire, and others of our northern grazing districts; about 1,100, full a moiety of which were Scots, the remainder about equal numbers of short-horns, Devons, and Welsh runts, with a few Herefords and Irish Beasts, from Norfolk, Suffolk, Essex, and Cambridgeshire; about 100, chiefly Herefords, Devons, and runts, from our midland and western districts; about 140, chiefly Sussex, with a few Irish Beasts, Devons, and Welsh runts, from Surrey, Sussex, and Kent; and the remainder, including the Town's-end Cows, from the stall-feeders, &c., near London.

MARK-LANE.—Friday, Feb. 7.

The arrivals this week are good. The market dull at the prices of Monday.

THE FUNDS.

3 per Cent.	Fri.	Sat.	Mon.	Tues.	Wed.	Thur
Cons. Ann. }	88 $\frac{1}{2}$	88 $\frac{1}{2}$	88 $\frac{1}{2}$	88 $\frac{1}{2}$	88 $\frac{1}{2}$	88 $\frac{1}{2}$

COBBETT-LIBRARY.

New Edition.

COBBETT'S Spelling-Book

(Price 2s.)

Containing, besides all the usual matter of such a book, a clear and concise

INTRODUCTION TO ENGLISH GRAMMAR.

This I have written by way of

A Stepping-Stone to my own Grammar;

such a thing having been frequently suggested to me by Teachers as necessary.

1. ENGLISH GRAMMAR.—Of this work sixty thousand copies have now been published. This is a duodecimo volume, and the price is 3s. bound in boards.

2. TULL'S HORSE-HOEING HUSBANDRY; or, a Treatise on the Principles of Tillage and Vegetation. With an Introduction, by WM. COBBETT. 8vo. Price 15s.

3. THE EMIGRANT'S GUIDE.

Just now Published, under this Title, a little Volume, containing Ten Letters, addressed to English Tax-payers. A new edition, with a Postscript, containing an account of the Prices of Houses and Land, recently obtained from America by Mr. Cobbett. Price 2s. 6d. in bds.

4. THE WOODLANDS; or, a Treatise on the preparing of the ground for planting; on the planting, on the cultivating, on the pruning, and on the cutting down, of Forest Trees and Underwoods. Price 14s. bound in boards.

5. YEAR'S RESIDENCE IN AMERICA.—The Price of this book, in good print and on fine paper, is 5s.

6. FRENCH GRAMMAR; or, Plain Instructions for the Learning of French. Price, bound in boards, 5s.

7. COTTAGE ECONOMY.—I wrote this Work professedly for the use of the labouring and middling classes of the English nation. I made myself acquainted with the best and simplest modes of making beer and bread, and these I made it as plain as, I believe, words could make it. Also of the keeping of Cows, Pigs, Bees, and Poultry, matters which I understood as well as any body could, and in all their details. It includes my writing, also on the Straw Plait. A Duodecimo Volume. Price 2s. 6d.

8. MARTENS'S LAW OF NATIONS.—This is the Book which was the foundation of all the knowledge that I have ever possessed relative to public law. The Price is 17s., and the manner of its execution is I think, such as to make it fit for the Library of any Gentleman.

9. MR. JAMES PAUL COBBETT'S RIDE OF EIGHT HUNDRED MILES IN FRANCE. Second Edition. Price 2s. 6d.

10. A TREATISE ON COBBETT'S CORN; containing Instructions for Propagating and Cultivating the Plant, and for Harvesting and Preserving the Crop; and also an account of the several uses to which the Produce is applied. Price 5s.

11. LETTERS FROM FRANCE; containing Observations made in that Country during a Residence of Two Months in the South, and Three Months at Paris. By JOHN M. COBBETT. Price 4s. in boards.

12. PROTESTANT "REFORMATION" in England and Ireland, showing how that event has impoverished and degraded the main body of the people in those countries Two volumes, bound in boards. The Price of the first volume is 4s. 6d. The Price of the second volume 3s. 6d.

13. SERMONS.—There are twelve of these, in one volume, on the following subjects: 1. Hypocrisy and Cruelty; 2. Drunkenness; 3. Bribery; 4. Oppression; 5. Unjust Judges; 6. The Sluggard; 7. The Murderer; 8. The Gamester; 9. Public Robbery; 10. The Unnatural Mother; 11. The Sin of Forbidding Marriage; 12. On the Duties of Parsons, and on the Institution and Object of Tithes. Price 3s. 6d. bound in boards.

A Thirteenth Sermon, entitled "GOOD FRIDAY; or, The Murder of Jesus Christ by the Jews. Price 6d.

14. AN ITALIAN GRAMMAR, by Mr. JAMES PAUL COBBETT.—Being a Plain and Compendious Introduction to the Study of Italian. Price 6s.

Price 12s.

A GEOGRAPHICAL DICTIONARY OF ENGLAND AND WALES;

CONTAINING

The names, in Alphabetical Order, of all the Counties, with their several Subdivisions, into Hundreds, Lathes, Rapes, Wapentakes, Wards, or Divisions; and an Account of the Distribution of the Counties into Circuits, Dioceses, and Parliamentary Divisions.

ALSO,

The names (under that of each County respectively), in Alphabetical Order, of all the Cities, Boroughs, Market Towns, Villages, Hamlets, and Tithings, with the Distance of each from London, or from the nearest Market Town, and with the Population, and other interesting particulars relating to each; besides which there are

MAPS;

First, one of the whole country, showing the local situation of the Counties relatively to each other; and, then, each County is also preceded by a Map, showing, in the same manner, the local situation of the Cities, Boroughs, and Market Towns.

FOUR TABLES

Are added; first, a Statistical Table of all the Counties, and then three Tables, showing the new Divisions and Distributions enacted by the Reform-Law of 4th June, 1832.

THE CURSE
OF

PAPER, MONEY AND BANKING,

Or, a short History of Banking in the United States of America, with an account of its ruinous effects on Landowners, Farmers, Traders, and on all the industrious classes of the community.

By W. M. GOUGE, of Philadelphia, in 1833.

To which is prefixed an Introduction by WM. COBBETT, M.P., for Oldham. Price 4s. 11, Bolt-court, Fleet-street, and all Book-sellers.

JOURNAL
or
A TOUR IN ITALY,
AND ALSO IN PART OF
FRANCE AND SWITZERLAND;

The route being

From Paris, through Lyons, to Marseilles,
and, thence, to Nice, Genoa, Pisa, Florence,
Rome, Naples, and Mount Vesuvius;

AND

By Rome, Terni, Perugia, Arezzo, Florence,
Bologna, Ferrara, Padua, Venice, Verona,
Milan, over the Alps by Mount St. Bern-
nard, Geneva, and the Jura, back into
France;

The space of time being:

From October 1828, to September 1829.

CONTAINING

A description of the country, of the principal
cities and their most striking curiosities;
of the climate, soil, agriculture, horticul-
ture, and products; of the prices of provi-
sions and labour; and of the dresses and
conditions of the people;

AND ALSO

An account of the laws and customs, civil
and religious, and of the mores and de-
meanour of the inhabitants, in the several
States.

By JAMES P. COBBETT.

Price 6s. a new edition of the
ENGLISH GARDENER,
OR,

A TREATISE

On the Situation, Soil, Enclosing and Laying-
Out of Kitchen Gardens; on the Making
and Managing of Hot-beds and Green-
Houses; and on the Propagation and Cul-
tivation of all sorts of Kitchen-Garden
Plants, and of Fruit-Trees, Shrubs, &c. of the
Garden or the Orchard.

AND ALSO,

On the Formation of Strawberry and Flower-
Gardens; and on the Propagation and Cul-
tivation of the several sorts of Shrubs and
Flowers;

CONCLUDING WITH

A CALENDAR,

Giving instructions relative to the Sowing,
Planting, Pruning, and other labours, to
be performed in the Gardens, in each Month
of the Year.

By WILLIAM COBBETT.

INDIAN PEARL AND GOLDEN FO-
UNTAIN.—These beautiful preparations
are made of the finest Corn, dressed as
sandy as wheaten flour. The Pearl is made
from the white corn, and the Golden from the
yellow.

"In my family, and of course under the
"direction of my wife, we have in the first
"place, suet puddings boiled; batter pud-
"dings; Yorkshire puddings, baked under
"the meat; and baked puddings, in which
"the corn supplies the place of ground rice.
"We have all these puddings in the greatest
"perfection, made wholly of corn flour. The
"corn flour is more nutritious, pound for
"pound, than the wheat flour; this is proved
"by the fact, that it requires a greater quan-
"tity of water or milk to make it into dough."

—*Cobbett's Treatise on the Corn*

Prepared and sold, wholesale and retail, by
E. H. Bell, 2, Arthur-street, London Bridge;
and to be had of Morrell, Avelling, and Bent-
ham, Piccadilly, E. and W. Ball, Bond-street;
W. Lazenby, Lambs Conduit-street; Eagles-
ton, Newgate street; Harvey, Oxford-street;
C. Butler, Cheap-side; T. Sharp, Bishopsgate-
street; Wood and Co., Fenchurch-street;
Tunbs, Blackman street, Borough; Barclay
and Sons, Farringdon-street; and at the shops
of the most respectable Italian warehousemen,
grocers, druggists, corn-chandlers, &c.

**CHEAP AND USEFUL BOOKS FOR THE
PEOPLE.**

RIGHTS OF MAN, by THOMAS PAINE, 1s. 3d.—**COMMON SENSE**, 8d.—**DECLINE and FALL of ENGLISH SYM-**
PTOM of FINANCE, 3d.—**AGRICULTURAL JUSTICE**, 21.—**DISSERTATION on FIRST PRINCIPLES of GOVERNMENT**, 3d.—
This is the cheapest edition of Paine's Political Works ever offered to the Public.

A PORTRAIT of Mr. COBBETT, from an
Engraving on Steel, with fac-simile of his
hand-writing, One Penny. London: J. Wat-
son, 33, Windmill-street, Limebury-square;
J. Cleave, No. 1, Shoe lane (one door from
Fleet-street); and by all Booksellers.

THIRD and FINAL GLASGOW LOT-
TERY.—Tickets and Shares for the
Final Portion of the GLASGOW LOTTE-
RIES, authorised by Parliament, are now on
Sale at BISH'S OFFICES,

13, Cornhill,
27, Poultry,
136, Regent-street,

The Drawing takes place on the 22d of July
next, on which day the whole or the Series
authorised by Parliament will be finally de-
termined.

In the Lottery just finished, BISH and his
Agents sold both the Grand Capitals and every
other Prize in the Scheme above 10000. (ex-
cept one) ALL IN SHARES, and in the pre-
ceding Glasgow Lottery more than two-thirds
of all the Capitals, and all the Shares, which
were distributed over the several parts of
the United Kingdom.

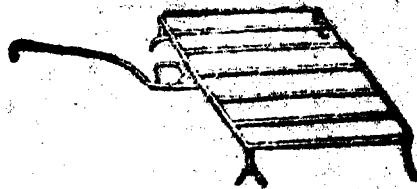
Printed by William Cobbold, Johnson's-court; and
published by him, at 11, Newcourt, Fleet-street.

COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

Vol. 83.—No. 7.]

LONDON, SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 15TH, 1834.

[Price 1s. 2d.]



TO

THE PEOPLE OF OLDHAM.

Bolt-court, 12. Feb., 1834.

MY FRIENDS,

BEING very desirous that you should clearly understand that which I think, and that which I intend to do, relating to the established church, and also that you should possess as full information as I am able to give you with regard to what will be proposed in Parliament, I address this letter to you.

The nature of an established church; that is to say, the reasons for such an establishment; the grounds on which such an establishment must rest, if it have any thing at all to rest upon, are these. First, that it is, from its very constitution, a provision made for that part of the community which has not the means of providing religious teachers for themselves; and, second, that it takes care that religion be taught to the far greater part of the whole of the community. When men agreed to submit themselves to laws, and to forego the right of the strongest, they agreed, of course, that there should be proprietorship of the land and the good things proceeding from the land. They could not do otherwise than understand this to make part of the agreement. But, at the same time, they never could have given their consent to a compact which should necessarily expose the far greater part of them to perish with hunger, or to wander about destitute of religious teaching, while the comparatively few, who were in possession of the land and the houses, should have a superabun-

dance of all the necessities of life, and of all the means of moral and religious instruction. From the laws of Moses, downwards, provision for the relief of the destitute, and for religious instruction, always made part of the laws of every civil community. When the Christian religion came, the moment a religious society was formed, there commenced a contribution in some shape or another for the maintenance of the priesthood, and for the relief of the poor; these two never being, in any case, separated from one another. The religion, indeed, seems always to have been a something rather proceeding out of the latter, than the latter proceeding out of that; and it is very curious, that the order of DEACONS was established by the apostles for the express purpose of managing the affairs of the poor, and of attending at the tables at which they were fed.

The *Christian religion*, then, is not an affair of preaching, or prating, or ranting, but of taking care of the bodies as well as of the souls of the people; not an affair of belief and of faith and of professions, but an affair of doing good, and especially to those who are in want; not an affair of fire and brimstone, but an affair of bacon and bread, beer and a bed.

The laws of England, ecclesiastical, civil, and municipal, took care that this matter was rightly managed. It took care that there should be religious instruction provided for the people; and it took care, that this should be provided by those who held the land and the houses; the proprietorship of each was charged with the expense of making this provision. Therefore, the churches and the tithes belonged to the whole of the people, and full as much to those who had no land and houses, as to those who had land and houses; and therefore the property of the whole of the people now.

Therefore, you perceive that, if the people call for an abolition of tithes, they

call for giving up to the proprietors of the land and the houses, that which the law has allotted to the whole people, and to the poor especially, as their only patrimony. I, once before, observed, as I shall now, that, for this matter to be rightly understood, the churchwardens of some parish must go, on a Sunday morning at the time for going into church, *and prevent by force, if necessary, all those who do not yield tithes or church-rates, to come into the church.* This would bring the question to issue in a plain common-sense shape. The churchwardens would say to a poor man, who has neither land nor house, and who pays no rates, "You have no right to enter here: the church and churchyard belong to those who yield the tithes and pay the church-rates; and as you neither yield the former nor pay the latter, you have no right to enter here." This would bring the thing to a point; the people would plead tradition and custom; and they might further plead the law; but, before they could clearly establish their right, they must go back to the origin of the church and the tithes, and then they would find, that both belonged to them, and to no proprietor whatsoever, and that they never did belong to any proprietor.

But, they would find that the tithes were not established solely for the purpose of providing religious instruction; but also for the purpose of providing for the wants of the destitute; and they would find that they were so provided for out of the tithes, until after that epoch which is called the "*Reformation*." After that the tithes were taken by the clergy of this new church, and by the aristocracy, under the name of lay-impropriators, and applied solely to their own uses; and a tax was laid upon proprietors at large, to make provision for the destitute, and to keep the churches in repair; and hence came poor-rates and church-rates. The thing was thus totally changed as to the property of the church and the poor; and all that remained to the latter were the edifice of the church, and the mere services performed by the minister, and the

churchyard to be buried in. This new application of the property has, in time, produced all that we now hear and behold relative to the church. When I first read the History of England, I was very much astonished to perceive, that, in all the contests between the kings and the pope, that is to say, between the kings and the clergy, *the common people were always on the side of the latter.* My Protestant education made me indignant at this; but, since I have obtained more information on the subject, I can see very good reasons for the conduct of the common people in these cases. The truth is, that the clergy were trustees for them; and the kings were always endeavouring to get something from both. At last came the "*Reformation*," as it is called; and then the aristocracy took the abbey lands, and the much larger part of the tithes to themselves, and gave the rest to a married clergy. For about twenty years, they pretended still to give relief to the destitute out of the property that they had taken; they then ceased to give any relief at all; and, after a long and bloody struggle, or series of struggles of one sort or another, the aristocracy resorted to poor-rates and church-rates.

But, *now*, a new state of things has arisen. This Protestant church was established by law; but law was not enough to knit the people to it. From mere habit; and, indeed, from the dread of persecution for many years, they pretty generally adhered to it; but, it having become totally separated from its main object and main business, the providing for the wants of the destitute, it gradually ceased to be a point on which the people would rally. They saw that they were no longer sharers in the tithes; and, therefore, they looked a great deal more to the poor-rates than they did to the church: the poor-rates were their *compensation* for the loss of their patrimony; and, as to *religious instruction*, they very soon began to think, that they could provide better for themselves, the church having nothing at all belonging to it in the way of power, or even of doctrine and disci-

pline, except that which had been created by act of Parliament.

Hence people separated from the church; hence all the different religious sects which we behold; and now, besides the universal feeling, that the tithes are of no use to any body but the tithe-owners, who took them away from the people in the manner that we have seen, there are the objections of the *dissenters* to contribute towards the maintenance of a religion which they not only do not profess, but which they express their disapprobation of, and from which they have dissented accordingly. If the churchwardens of a parish were to act on a Sunday morning, as above supposed, the complaint of the dissenters would be of a different description from that of the poor of the parish, who chose to go to church; or rather, that conduct in the churchwardens would fully warrant the complaint which the dissenters now make. Their complaint is this; that they are compelled to yield tithes, and pay church-rates for the maintenance of religious teachers, and for the carrying on of the affairs of a religion from which they dissent, and of which they disapprove. It is very difficult to find an answer to them, if you contend, that the establishment is for the purpose of *religious instruction*. If, indeed, you say; "These tithes are a parcel of property; they are held by certain persons who hold them according to law, and those who hold the property are to have it; let the religion of the people be what it may;" if you say this, then the answer is, that the law ought to be altered; but, if you contend, that the establishment is, for the purpose of giving religious instruction to the people, then you must allow, that those who receive no such instruction, and can receive no such instruction, and who provide religious instruction for themselves; you must allow, that they have a good and well-founded objection to yield tithes, or to pay church-rates.

This is the question now; and this question must be decided before a very long time shall have passed over our heads. The dissenters object to the tithes on

the ground that I have stated; but the church-people object to them also, upon the ground that they have been diverted from their original purpose; and also, that they are taken by men who do nothing in the way of furnishing religious instruction. They complain, in fact, that they have no church; that the tithes are applied to quite other purposes. They complain, besides, that they are a *hinderance to improvement in agriculture*, in which respect I totally disagree with them; and I have, in many instances, endeavoured to elicit the facts and arguments, upon which is founded this accusation against the payment of tithes. Before I go further, it will be best to insert here, for your perusal, first, the complaints of the *DISSENTERS*; and, next, the complaints of the *CHURCH-PEOPLE*. The first is a paper put forth by the "*Committee of Protestant dissenters*," who hold their meetings at No. 16, *Bedford-row*, London; and the second is a petition from the inhabitants of the parish in which I myself was born, and in which petition the complaints of the church-people are set forth in the citing of a case, the facts of which are indubitable, and the bare statement of which must make every man say, This shameful abuse ought no longer to exist.

COMPLAINTS OF DISSENTERS.

BRIEF STATEMENT OF THE CASE OF PROTESTANT DISSENTERS.

The Committee of Deputies of the Three Denominations of Dissenters, Presbyterian, Independent, and Baptist; with Deputations from the general body of Ministers, from the Protestant Society for the protection of Religious Liberty, and from the United Secession Presbytery of London; having formed themselves into a "United Committee to consider the Grievances under which Dissenters now labour, with a view to their Redress"; think it expedient to state the present legal position of Protestant Dissenters, and some of the Reasons and Principles on which

the Committee recommend united applications to the legislature for relief.

Religious liberty has been brought to its present favourable state by the slow, but certain, advancement of society in knowledge, truth, and justice. And the removal of penal statutes affecting religion, from the code of our country, will show the extent of those improvements which have been successively effected by liberal and enlightened policy.

Nonconformity had its origin in the principles maintained and acted upon at the Reformation; principles of the highest importance to the true prosperity of states, and the legitimate interests of religion. These principles respect the sole and exclusive sufficiency of the Holy Scriptures, the right of all men to judge for themselves in the interpretation and use of that Divine standard, and the correlative right to act according to their judgment in matters of religion, so long as its exercise interferes not with the right of others. As such rights do not originate in human laws, no human laws can justly abridge them.

The exertion of political power for the suppression of error, or the establishment of truth, is presumptuous and unjust. To the exercise of this power there are no definable limits; and it invariably secularizes every form of Christianity with which it is associated.

Whenever the authority of law is brought to bear on the promotion or the suppression of theological opinions and plans of ecclesiastical polity, it must operate injuriously, whether by rewards or penalties. One religious denomination is unjustly exalted, while the members of other denominations, equally entitled to the esteem and confidence of their fellow-subjects, are unjustly depressed.

A deep impression felt by the committee has impelled them thus to state their principles on this primary ground of religious nonconformity. They have specific grievances of which to complain, and the early removal of which they anticipate on the ground of impartial justice; but they feel that it

would be a violation of their duty, did they not express their conscientious objection to the alliance of any ecclesiastical systems with the civil power, and their conviction, that all religious denominations should be left to their own resources and arrangements.

Having recorded their deliberate and solemn testimony, they leave the decision of the great question to the progress of events and the determination of an enlightened legislature, under the providence of the Most High.

The committee now proceed to state the practical grievances, which directly press on Protestant dissenters and require immediate redress.

1. The want of a legal registration of *births, marriages, and deaths*, without submitting to religious rites to which they conscientiously object.—The validity given to the parochial registers, while those of dissenters are rejected, has created invidious distinctions, and subjected the whole dissenting body to great inconvenience, and in some cases to positive wrong. As all registrations of baptism are defective, not being evidence of the time of birth, and as many hundred congregations of nonconformists do not practise infant baptism, and consequently cannot avail themselves, even of a baptismal register, some comprehensive measure of a civil, and not religious character, is absolutely necessary to place all the subjects of the empire upon a footing of just equality, and to furnish an efficient registration of *births, marriages, and deaths*, for the whole community.
2. Compulsory conformity to the rites and ceremonies of the established church in the *celebration of marriage*.—The committee consider the demand of such conformity an interference with natural and social rights, and a direct violation of liberty of conscience, aggravated in cases where the doctrines as well as the polity and discipline of the church are grounds of nonconformity. If marriage

be regarded as merely a civil contract, they deem it expedient that the legislature should adopt proper means to establish the formation of the civil contract before a civil officer and competent witnesses, with an efficient registration. If it be a religious contract, then they claim that their own ministers should be allowed to solemnize it. If it be both civil and religious, they contend that the civil contract should be according to the civil form to be established by the legislature, and that the religious exercises should be left to the parties concerned. The very right for which the committee now contend, has been long exercised by dissenters in Scotland and Ireland, and even in this country by the *Society of Friends*.

3. The denial to dissenters of the right of burial, by their own ministers, according to their own forms in *parochial cemeteries*.—This grievance has been removed by Parliament in Ireland, and no difficulty has occurred in the operation of the measure. The committee, therefore, see no reason why similar relief should not be extended to English dissenters.

4. The exclusion of Protestant dissenters from the *privileges of the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge*.—The committee regard it as an unrighteous restriction, that dissenters are prevented from enjoying the full benefit of education at those seats of learning unless they become members of the established church. Is it right that the dissenter, whatever his intelligence or fortune, should be compelled to seek in the universities of the sister kingdoms or foreign lands, those literary advantages which are denied him at home? The pressure of this evil is aggravated by the want of a charter to the London University, with authority to bestow the honours and distinctions which Oxford and Cambridge confer.

5. The liability of dissenters to the payment of church-rates, and other ecclesiastical demands.—Against such exactions the committee protest, as at once inexpedient and unjust. They perceive no reason why similar imposts should be abolished in Ireland, and continued in England. Is it reasonable, on any principle of justice or of policy, that those who cannot conscientiously worship at the altars of the established church, should be compelled to contribute to her expenditure? Is not this as degrading to her supporters, as it is unrighteous to those who dissent from her claims? Is not the dignity of religion best consulted, when its professors render voluntary homage to its principles, and present free-will offerings for its support?

Such is the case which the committee present to the consideration of their friends throughout the country, that measures may be adopted for effective co-operation in bringing the claims of dissenters before the attention of the legislature. Convinced that their cause is founded on truth and justice, they are assured, from the loyalty and patriotism of dissenters, that no means will be employed by them for the accomplishment of their object, but such as are in accordance with the principles of the British constitution, and the hallowed dictates of Christianity.

In conclusion, the committee respectfully recommend to the various classes of dissenters, the formation of associations in the principal towns and districts of the kingdom, and the immediate adoption of resolutions and petitions in support of their claims. They also suggest, that while, in their applications to Parliament they firmly, but temperately, avow their principles, they limit the prayer of the petitions to the redress of practical grievances.

Signed, on behalf of the committee,

ROBERT WENTER,

Secretary.

14, Bedford-row, London,

4. Jan., 1834.

With regard to the registration of births, marriages, and deaths, the matter is not of so much importance; it is not so direct an attack upon the establishment; but, the admission of dissenting ministers to perform the burial-service after their own manner, in churchyards of the establishment, must, of necessity, tend to the pulling down of the church. I am not saying that it is an evil that it tends towards; I am not saying that it is wrong to permit this; but am merely pointing out to you the natural effect of it. Next comes a claim to the privileges of the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge. Very proper, perhaps; but, certainly, another great blow at the establishment.

But, it is the complaint in number 5 that is the sweeper. This is a complaint against a grievance, which, if redressed, at once puts an end to the church, as an establishment. The payment of church-rates, and "other ecclesiastical demands," certainly includes the tithes; for the tithes are "*ecclesiastical demands*" of much longer standing than church-rates are. However, suppose that we stop at church-rates. That decides the question; for, does any one believe, that every man will not become a dissenter, except he have some immediate interest connected with the establishment? Does any one believe that every man will not become a dissenter, if, by that means, he can ensure an exemption from this tax? Those who have an interest in upholding things as they are, may continue to pay the tax. If church-rates be abolished upon the principle here laid down, there is no argument in the world to justify the continuation of tithes. The dissenters say, that it is not reconcilable to any principles of justice, or of policy, "that those who cannot conscientiously worship at the altars of the established church, should be compelled to contribute to her expenditure." This applies to tithes as well as to church-rates; and, if the church yield in the one case, it must yield in the other.

The dissenters say, in conclusion, that "while they thus set forth and

avow their principles, they will limit their prayers to Parliament, to the redress of *practical* grievances." That is to say, if their words have any meaning to the abolition of tithes and church-rates altogether; and they may be assured, that they will obtain the whole with much more ease than they will obtain a part; because men do not like to grant, to an application which is disguised, that which they would willingly grant to an open avowal of the full extent of the wishes and objects of those who make the application. If a proposition be made to abolish the church-rates, and, if that proposition be agreed to, with what consistency are the same persons to refuse the abolition of tithes, the tithes being so much more heavy a charge than the church-rates, and both resting upon one and the same foundation; namely, the necessity of them to the religious instruction of the people.

COMPLAINTS OF THE CHURCH-PEOPLE.

To the Honourable the Commons of Great Britain and Ireland, in Parliament assembled.

The humble Petition of the undersigned Inhabitants of the Parish of Farnham, in the County of Surrey, and its vicinity:

SHOWETH,

1. That your petitioners, firmly believing that the most important interests in the kingdom are intimately connected with the prosperity of agriculture, and that whatever may be practically detrimental to the agriculturist must be so to the community at large, are grateful to your honourable House for the intention it has manifested of putting an end for ever to the system of tithes, which, by operating as a check to the free outlay of capital in the improvement of the soil, has contracted the demand for labour, deteriorated the condition of the agricultural labourer, and greatly diminished the wealth and resources of the country.

2. That your petitioners beg to represent

to your honourable House, that, by requiring the value of tithes to be ascertained by an average of the annual amount for the last seven years, and by limiting any alteration to be made by the valuer to a *maximum of ten per cent.*, as proposed by the bill now before your honourable House, much hardship and injustice will, in some cases, be committed; for, whilst tithes have, in many instances, and especially by the clergy, been collected or compounded for with great moderation and at a great sacrifice of income, they have by the *lay-impropriator* been exacted to the utmost limit allowed by law, and in many instances even beyond that limit, from the fear of expensive legal proceedings; and that whilst such average would in the one case operate as a *penalty upon the moderation of the tithe-owner*, to the prejudice both of him and his successors, it would, in the other, be giving a *premium to extortion*, to the injury of the tithe-payers and their representatives for ever, who, thereby burdened with the payment of a far larger proportion of the produce than their neighbours, must ever cultivate their property at a disadvantage.

3. Your petitioners therefore pray that this portion of the bill may be amended, and that your honourable House will take *such measures as to your wisdom shall seem most advisable*, to secure a fair and equal valuation throughout the kingdom, for the purpose of effecting *an equitable commutation of tithes*, that none may be burdened more heavily than others.

4. Your petitioners beg further to represent to your honourable House, that, firmly attached, from a sense of its inestimable value and importance to the established church, they have long viewed with regret, that, in consequence of the manner in which the property of the church has, in many instances, and especially in this neighbourhood, been *diverted from its original and appropriate destination*, the clergy of the established church are reduced to exist on a scanty and insufficient *stipend*, while the tithes are nevertheless exacted from your petitioners to the utmost extent of

their value for the benefit of impropriators, who, either non-resident, or considering them as their private and peculiar property, devote no portion of them to those purposes of *charity and benevolence for which they were originally designed*; and in confirmation of this assertion, they beg to call the attention of your honourable House to the following statement.

5. The parish of Farnham is an impropriate rectory, held for lives under the Archdeacon of Surrey, with a vicarage endowed with the small tithes. The value of the rectorial and vicarial tithes amounts to at least 2,000*l.* per annum. *The vicar has never resided*, and the duties of a parish comprising a population of 6,000, and paying so enormous an amount in tithes, are confided to a stipendiary curate, with a salary of only 100*l.* a year; whilst *not a farthing* is reserved by the lease from the archdeacon *for church or charitable purposes*.

6. The adjoining parishes of Bentley (in Hants), containing a population of about 800, is also an impropriate rectory, held by lease for lives under the Archdeacon of Surrey, without an endowed vicarage, but with a chapelry. The tithes are now taken in kind, but have been let for 1,000*l.* per annum, out of which the curate receives 28*l.* per annum only.

7. The adjoining parishes of Frensham and Elstead are also impropriate rectories, held by one lease from the Archdeacon of Surrey, without an endowed vicarage, but with a chapelry in each. The tithes are worth nearly 1,000*l.* per annum, out of which a stipend of 60*l.* only is reserved for the curate of Frensham, and 20*l.* for the curate of Elstead, though the population of both parishes is near 2,000.

8. The adjoining parish of Aldersholt, containing a population of nearly 700, is another impropriate rectory without an endowed vicarage, but with a chapelry, held under the master and brethren of the hospital of Saint Cross, near Winchester, by lease for lives. The tithes are worth from 600*l.* to 700*l.* per annum; out of which is reserved as

a stipend for the curate 15*l.* per annum only.

9. The adjoining parish of Seal cum Tongham, containing a population of about 400, is another inappropriate rectory, held under the Archdeacon of Surrey, by lease for lives, without an endowed vicarage, but with a chapelry. The tithes produce about 350*l.* per annum, out of which is reserved as a stipend for the curate 25*l.* a year only.

10. From this statement, your honourable House will perceive, that while a sum of upwards of 5,000*l.* per annum has been levied on the industry and capital of your petitioners, not one twentieth part thereof has been devoted to the maintenance and support of the offices of religion; and in these and similar instances throughout the kingdom, though the tithes have increased in many parishes ten and twenty-fold on their value at the time of the original impropriation the sum reserved by lease for the maintenance of the clergyman has remained invariably without augmentation.

11. Your petitioners therefore humbly pray your honourable House to remedy the injustice thus done to your petitioners by the insufficient maintenance afforded to their respective clergymen, and in all such cases of impropriation to provide for the proper maintenance and support of the clergy of the established church, either by compelling ecclesiastical bodies to reserve in their leases to the respective impropiators such an annual sum as shall bear the same proportion to the actual value of the tithes received by the impropiator as the sum now paid here to the actual value of the tithes at the time such sums were originally fixed, or by such other just and equitable arrangement as to the wisdom of your honourable House shall seem fit.

And your petitioners, as in duty bound, will ever pray.

SUMMARY OF STATEMENT ABOVE SET FORTH.

Parish.	Population	Ann. Value of Tithes.	Curate's Stipend	Duty.	How held.
Farnham	6000	£2000	£100	{ Twice on Sunday.	Archdeacon of Surrey by Lease for Lives.
Bentley	800	100 <i>l.</i>	23	Do.	
Frensham & Elstead	2000	1000	80	Do.	
Seal cum Tongham	400	350	25	Do.	
Aldershot	700	650	15	Do.	{ Master & Brethren of St. Cross Hospital, Winchester.
	9900	£5080	£248		

Now, here is a district, partly in Surrey, and partly in Hampshire, being, though the form is singular, probably, forty or fifty miles in circumference. The parishes are all contiguous, and the parish of FARNHAM nearly the centre of the whole. I dissent, and I dissent with great respect, from the able writer of this petition; I dissent only from the opinion expressed in the first paragraph of the petition; namely, that "tithes operate as a check to the free outlay of capital in the improvement of the soil, contract the demand for labour, deteriorate the condition of the agricultural labourer, and greatly diminish the wealth and the resources of the country." If the writer of the petition had qualified this statement, so as to make it apply to cases like that which he has stated in the petition; or,

if he had extended it to the whole kingdom, in its *present condition* with regard to tithes, I should have said that his opinion might be correct; but, his opinion extends to the very *nature of tithes*, and says, "that in their very essence they contain these effects." If this be their nature, they must, in all ages, have produced similar effects; and, having existed for about a thousand years, they must, by this time, have made England as barren as the rock of GIBRALTAR. Now, it is notorious, that for the twenty-two years, during the war, we heard of nothing but the "*vast improvements in the cultivation of the land*," in the breeding of cattle, and in the growing of wool. Can we have already forgotten the sheep shearings, the boasts about the number of new inclosure bills? can we have forgotten the comparatively recent introduction of the turnip husbandry; the extension of the drill husbandry; dibbling of wheat, &c.? Yet, all this "*improvement*" took place; and all these commons and downs were broken up, and the tithe system existed all the while. I believe, that England was better cultivated, and produced more, in the reign of Henry the Seventh, than at the present day; I believe that it greatly declined in produce after the "*Reformation*"; that it was carried to a very high pitch, during the last war, is certain, and the main cause of which I could easily point out; that it has been gradually declining ever since is equally certain, and the causes are as evident: but, at any rate, it is quite certain that tithes existed all the while; and it is, therefore, equally certain that the existence of tithes does not hinder the improvement of the soil, and produce those other consequences, mentioned in the first paragraph of this petition from FARNHAM. If, indeed, the demand for tithes become, from any circumstance, uncertain in amount; if the demand depend upon caprice; if there be no sure and certain standard; then the uncertainty may operate in the manner stated in this petition; but, what can be more sure than the taking of a tenth of the crop? It may be inconvenient in some cases; but I do not

see that inconvenience; and I am ready to contend, that, if tithes were applied to their proper purposes, they would naturally have a tendency precisely the contrary of that which is stated in this petition. If, indeed, the amount of them; if they become objects of bargain and sale, or of lease; if they become matter of mere money to be taken from the cultivator, and the money to be taken away, and expended in London, at BATH, at CHELTENHAM, or at BRISTOL, or perhaps, at PARIS or at ROME; then they are, perhaps, a little more mischievous to the cultivator, than their amount in rent; but, if taken to the parsonage barn; if there consumed or applied by the incumbent, living on the spot, I can conceive nothing more likely to contribute towards the good cultivation of the land, and the good condition of the labouring people. I am sure that the writer of this petition, if he be any thing approaching my age, will recollect that the hop poles at FARNHAM are five feet shorter than they used to be on an average; and the cause is explained in a moment when you look at the situation of the land on which the hops grow; but the system of tithes existed formerly as well as now; and, therefore, the shortening of the poles cannot be ascribed to the existence of tithes. The complainants have now a lay impropriator to deal with; to they had then; and they have always had a lay-impropriator to deal with, since the reign of HENRY the Eighth.

Thus far experience speaks with regard to this opinion, that tithes are an impediment to the good cultivation of the soil. There are plenty of arguments, founded on the nature of the case itself, to prove, that this is a futile objection to the continuance of tithes. There are other objections, indeed, and very solid ones, too; and, it is doing injury to the cause of those who wish this evil to be put an end to, to urge this allegation with regard to the good cultivation of the soil. The other arguments are most amply furnished in the facts of this petition. In the fourth paragraph, the petitioners allege, and very truly, that

The tithes have been diverted from their original and appropriate destination; that they are not applied to those purposes of charity and benevolence for which they were originally designed; that, while the tithes are exacted to the utmost extent of their value, for the benefit of persons who render no clerical services to the parishes, and consider the tithes as their private and peculiar property, those clergymen who actually do the work of the churches, are reduced to a scanty and insufficient stipend; and, they might have added, to a state of poverty actually approaching beggary. Having stated this, they proceed to give a string of instances to prove the truth of their statement; and, if the House, to whom this petition was addressed last session, do not redress this grievance, then I shall say, that the reform of the Parliament has been of no use whatever to the people.

I pray you, my friends, to read with attention the paragraphs from five to eleven, inclusive; and, particularly, the table at the end. Here are seven parishes with an average income of seven hundred and eleven pounds each. The two parishes of SEAL and TONGHAM, which were iniquitously moulded into one, after the *Reformation*, have, each of them, an increase of a hundred and seventy-five pounds a year. Even these parishes afford a sufficient income for a constantly resident minister; and, if it were practicable to reform the church in this respect; if it were practicable to have a "REFORMATION" No. two, I am not quite certain that it would be wise to make an EQUALIZATION in the amount of livings; though I am quite certain that it would be wise, as well as just, to break the unions that were so unjustly made; and for purposes so selfish on the part of the aristocracy, and so injurious to the people. Here are two unions in this short list; and there are only five livings, though there are seven distinct parishes. This was the work of the blessed "REFORMATION" No. one; and the act by which this new church was established was not put into operation, before another act was passed to

mould, in numerous cases, two or more parishes into one, for the purpose of maintaining the minister; it being alleged, that the people were too poor; that is to say, that the parishes did not yield enough for the maintenance of a minister. Under the favour of this iniquitous act, the two parishes of FRENESHAM and ELSTEAD were united, though the revenue of each is worth five hundred pounds a year. There was quite enough to maintain a minister in the parishes of SEAL and of TONGHAM; for, observe, if the nominal sum was less, the value of the money was twenty times greater. And, now, how is it? The parishes were united because they yielded too little to afford a sufficiency for the maintenance of a minister. Stop, now! Here is a pretty good answer, then, to all those who pretend, that England came to be a greater country after it got rid of the Roman Catholic religion! The parishes of SEAL and of TONGHAM; the one on the south side and the other on the north side of the chalk ridge, called the Hog's-back, in the county of Surrey, were able to build churches, keep them repaired, and to maintain each its priest, in Roman Catholic times; but, when Protestantism approached, the two parishes, on account of their poverty, were moulded into one.

But, what was the object of this moulding? It was partly to save the expense of maintaining two churches instead of one; and, at the same time, to get a sufficiency to maintain the minister in proper style. Now, mark, how this nation has been duped and abused. There is a church at FRENESHAM, and a church at ELSTEAD, a church at SEAL, and a church at TONGHAM, to this day; and only mark how well the ministers have been provided for by these unions! Out of a thousand pounds a year the two ministers for FRENESHAM and ELSTEAD get eighty pounds between them; and the two ministers for TONGHAM and SEAL get, out of three hundred and fifty pounds, *twelve pounds ten shillings a year each*, while the minister for ALDRINSHOTT, out of *six hundred and fifty pounds* a year, gets *fifteen*; and while

the minister, at BENTLEY, out of a thousand a year, gets *fifty*! Here are seven parishes, containing a population of nine thousand nine hundred persons, situated in one patch of country, all contiguous to one another, and being in circumference probably forty miles, having no resident incumbent at all, yielding five thousand pounds a year in tithes; that is to say, more than ten shillings per annum for every soul existing in those parishes; and here are seven miserable curates, receiving, altogether, *two hundred and forty-eight pounds* a year; that is to say, the ministers of these parishes receive, on an average, *thirty-five pounds eight shillings and seven-pence* a year, each; that is to say, three pound eleven and threepence a year *less* than I pay to a ploughman, within two miles of the outside of one of those parishes.

Nor is this at all a rare case. We heard the other day of twenty-three parishes in Somersetshire, all lying together, in which there was not one single resident incumbent! At STOKES-UPON-TRENT in Staffordshire, something still more odious, if possible, than this; there the churches have absolutely been put up to auction and sold. It is impossible that this state of things can be suffered to exist. It has gone on till it can go on no longer: the people see, that the tithes are applied to no purposes beneficial to them: they see that they are totally perverted from their original destination; they see them create and set up magistrates all over the country; all the ancient usages and customs belonging to tithes are gone; they view them as an unreasonable and unjust demand; they no longer see in them any thing that they ought to have respect for; they view them as amongst the causes that produce their misery in spite of their frugality and industry; and with one voice they call aloud for them to be put an end to.

When I, in my MANCHESTER propositions, proposed the total abolition of tithes and church-rates, leaving the clergy in possession of the parsonage-houses, the ancient glebes, the churches, and the churchyards, I said that I verily

believed that such a change would be beneficial to those who did the *work of the church*. I was very much abused for my proposition; but look at the situation of the working clergy of these seven parishes. Are the parsonage-houses and glebes of those parishes worth *less* than two hundred and forty-eight pounds a year? Are they worth *less* than thirty-five pounds a year each? No: they are, doubtless, worth a great deal more; but, if the minister were left to the justice of his parishioners; to their free-will offerings, he would be well off, in addition to his glebes and his parsonage-houses. He would not be a justice of the peace; but he would be a priest: there would be nothing good produced in his parish of which he would not have a share; and, if this were done, at once, and without any wrangling about the matter, the churches would again be crowded, and the meeting-houses empty.

It is curious to observe who it is that are the lay-impropriators here. Of six of the parishes the Archdeacon of Surrey is the lay-impropriator; and he lets out, by lease for lives, to others; and of the seventh parish, the lay-impropriators are the masters and brethren of St. Cross Hospital, at WINCHESTER. Now, who are this Archdeacon of Surrey, and this master of St. Cross? They are two PEERS; and let us have a peep at them. The ARCHDEACON OF SURREY is Lord WALSHINGHAM, whose name is THOMAS DE GREY, who is a prebendary of WINCHESTER, Rector of CALBOURNE, in Hampshire, Rector of FAWLEY, to which is joined the parish of EXBURGH, and he is also Rector of MERTON, besides being a Chaplain in Ordinary to his Majesty. A pretty heavy weight for a man to have upon his shoulders. The care of the souls of the people of four parishes, a part of the care of the souls of the whole diocese, with some portion, at least, of the spiritual concerns of his Majesty; besides taking care of the rents of his impropriate parishes of FARNHAM, BENTLEY, FRENESHAM, ELSTREAB, TONGHAM, and SEAL. And who is the MASTER of St. Cross, taking in the parish of St.

FAITH, in the neighbourhood of WINCHESTER, and having this inappropriate rectory of the parish of ALDERSHOTT? It is the EARL of GUILDFORD, who is rector of the two parishes of OLD ALRESFORD and NEW ALRESFORD, to which is hooked on the parish of MEDSTEAD; who is also the rector of St. MARY'S, SOUTHAMPTON, to which is joined, as a precinct, the parish of SOUTH STONEHAM! And, how came these two peers to be thus loaded with cares, greater than any common mortal could stand under? Why, the first married a daughter of the late Dr. NORTH, Bishop of WINCHESTER; and the last is a son of that bishop.

That is the "church of England as by law established"; and that is the church which now has to uphold itself against all the talents, all the indefatigable industry, all the reasoning, and all the just claims of dissenters, more numerous than the church-people themselves. The people of FARNHAM observe, that while the tithes have increased in value, from ten to twenty-fold, since the time of making these livings inappropriate, the sum reserved by lease for the maintenance of the clergyman has remained invariably without augmentation. Now, observe, money was worth twenty times as much at that time as it is now; therefore, the allowance to the clergyman at ALDERSHOTT ought to have been twenty times fifteen pounds a year, instead of the fifteen pounds which he gets. At FARNHAM, you see the stipend to the clergyman ought to be twenty hundred pounds a year, instead of a hundred a year, and so on with the rest; and now, observe, while this Archdeacon of Surrey and this Master of St. Cross have been reserving only these pittance for the working clergy of these seven parishes, the people have sixteen hundred thousand pounds taken out of the taxes raised on them, to be given "*for the relief of the poor clergy of the church of England.*" Now, what I ask is, will a reformed Parliament suffer this to exist longer? Do you wish it to exist an hour longer? No! Send your petitions, then, to be presented to the House

to pray that it may no longer exist; for if you be SILENT, let me tell you, and let me tell the whole country, that that is precisely what is wanted by those who wish for the continuation of abuses. It is my duty to represent these abuses to the House; and it is your duty to give me your express authority to do it.

The people of FARNHAM have always been a church-going people, influenced doubtless, in some degree, by having the palace of a bishop looking over their town. They, therefore, pray the House to remedy this grievance, by compelling impropiators to give the working clergy stipends proportioned to those which were reserved for them when the tithes became inappropriate. Alas! we are much too far gone for any remedy of this sort to be applied. There is no remedy but that of abolishing the tithes altogether. What I could wish, indeed, if I could have my wish, would be to see the whole of the tithes which have been taken from the church, restored to it, and administered as they formerly were; a certain portion given for the maintenance of a constantly resident minister, and the rest going in aid of the poor-rates. I would take away every plurality, without one single reservation, as unjust, iniquitous, as having been wickedly introduced, and as being a violation of the laws of God. If this were to be done, and residence enforced as strictly as the attendance of a soldier is enforced on parade; and if the bishops were to cease to be politicians and were compelled to reside as constantly as their priests, and upon moderate incomes, the church would revive and be a real blessing to the country. But there are too many and too powerful interests at work to prevent this; it is a thing, therefore, not to be expected; not within the compass of probability; and the church will come tumbling down under its own weight.

Never, however, shall the tithes be abolished, or in any way appropriated by the Government by my consent, for the purpose of being given to the fundholders, which is the direct tendency of all the schemes that I have hitherto

heard of. I have never proposed an abolition of the tithes unaccompanied by a proposition for getting rid of the debt; or, at least, greatly reducing it; and these two things never shall be separated by me.

I beg you to think seriously of this whole matter. It must come under discussion very shortly; and on the decision of it, will greatly depend the situation of the country for many years to come.

I am,
your faithful friend,
and most obedient servant,
W. M. COBBETT.

MY LIFE.

JUST two years ago, I said, that I did not think I should continue to publish THE REGISTER ABOVE TWO OR THREE YEARS LONGER; and that I would pretty speedily set about publishing THE HISTORY OF MY OWN LIFE. With regard to the former, I think I shall bring it to a close on my birth-day of 1835, if I should live so long, that birth-day being on the 9. of March. For I have always been determined that this light, which has shined so strongly, if not so brightly, should never go out twinkling down in the socket. The last *Register* that I write, or attempt to write, shall, if I am myself a judge of the matter, be written as well as the first; and then, let the world show, if it can, a man who has, for so many years, and so unremittingly, performed such a task.

With regard to the latter; that is to say, *The History of my Life*, the writing of it at all depended, at the time when I spoke of it, upon a contingency; namely, whether I should become a *Member of Parliament* or not. If I had not so become, I would not have written the history of my life; my chief object in writing it, or, at least, one of my chief objects, being to assert the natural rights of the working people; to assert the superiority which nature frequently gives them over birth, title, and wealth. I shall entitle my book, "The Progress of a Ploughboy to a seat in Parla-

ment, as exemplified in the History of the Life of WILLIAM COBBETT, "Member for OLDHAM"; and, I intend that the frontispiece to the book shall represent me, first in a smock-frock, driving the rooks from the corn; and, in the lower compartment of the picture, standing in the House of Commons, addressing the Speaker.

Now, this is no nasty, despicable affectation or vanity. There is nothing of this sort that can add one jot to my influence in the world, or to that sort of approbation which I prize. For myself, I care not a straw about the matter. It is by my Grammars, my Paper against Gold, and by my other writings, that I must be remembered. Plastered stuff, put upon canvass, or mortar moulded up together to look like a man: I despise these from the bottom of my heart. I see CANNING's effigy, he who told the House of Commons that, *in times of distress, it was useful to set the people to work to build palaces!* Forgetting, (the jack-ass!) that the people were to be paid for building palaces out of those taxes which *they had paid*, and the paying of which had produced their distress. I see CANNING's effigy every time I go to the House of Commons: that is enough for me, in this way. In short, I hold all this humbug and cheatery in most profound contempt. But, that which I intend to do, in this case, is due, not to me, but to the race of English labouring people, amongst whom I was born and bred. It has been the study of my whole life to prevent them from being abused, and, to endeavour to raise them when beaten down below their just level; and such shall be my endeavour, in this, probably, amongst the last, if not the last, literary effort of my life.

The plan of the intended publication is, according to my present view of the matter, as follows: to publish the first number on the FIRST OF OCTOBER or NOVEMBER next; to make each number contain four sheets of paper, or, ninety-six pages of print; and, to publish one print or plate or engraving, or whatever it may be called, in each number; and, making the price of each number

(which, observe, is to have ninety-six pages of print) ONE SHILLING. Four numbers will make a volume; and I shall, if I can, bring the whole into three volumes. I cannot be sure of this, of course, because it is impossible for me to tell, at present, what space will be required for my matter.

Before this history begins, I shall have closed that of my BIG "SOVEREIGN," George the Fourth, during whose regency and reign, I acted a no very inconsiderable part on the theatre of politics. But, really, when I look back at it, much the most wonderful events of my life; much the most *extraordinary things*, took place before I ever dreamed of meddling with what are called politics; aye, and much the most edifying, too. It was while the smock-frock was upon my back that that staff was formed, both bodily and mental, which has since been at work, in one way or other, to produce so much effect in the world. Sir JAMES SCARLETT once, in the Court of King's Bench, having, apparently, nothing else to talk about, took occasion to speak of "this man's *extraordinary* career." Bless him! he knew very little of that career! It *was* an "extraordinary" man: by-the-by, when *extraordinary* is applied in this manner, it means this: "this is a cursed *bad fellow*, but I may *as well not say so*." An *extraordinary man*, indeed, Sir James; but, as far as my observation and experience have gone, a ten thousand times more *extraordinary boy*. *Heddehashun*, indeed! the history of my boyish days cries out "*fool*!" to every one who is a *heddehashun-monger*.

However, here is enough in the way of notification. If I live, I shall fulfil my intention, and I shall dedicate my book to the PLOUGHBOYS OF ENGLAND, bidding them to be sober, industrious, early rising, merciful to the horses and oxen; to be obedient to their masters in all their lawful commands; and exhorting them to perish, if necessary, rather than live upon POTATOES, WATER, AND SALT.

MY HOUSE AT WESTMINSTER.

Bolt-court, Feb. 13, 1834.

I WANT to let this house, which is as good and as pleasant a one as any in London. It is, in every respect, fit for a gentleman of great fortune to live in; and I put it, last year, into perfect repair; so that it wants not a penny to be laid out upon it. It is numbered 21, in CROWN-STREET, having the Alien-office on the one side of it, and the office of the Judge-Advocate-General on the other; having, on the other side, a door opening into the park, and windows in every room on this side of the house, looking across the parade and over the Mall, and having in the back ground of the view the lofty column standing in WATERLOO-place; but which, being as yet without any inscription, has merely the rumoured reputation of having been raised to immortalize the military renown of his late Royal Highness the Duke of YORK. In point of security, this house is equal to any one that existed in the golden days of ALFRED; for it has a police-station in its rear, and a sentinel constantly walking in its front. What, then, can induce me to prefer this stifled-up hole at *Bolt-court* to the house, the merits of which I have just been attempting a very feeble description? Why, in the first place, I have the Foreign Office, the Colonial Office, the Admiralty, and even the *Treasury* in my view; and, though I thought my heart steeled against temptation, I, alas! too often detect my eyes directing themselves towards those captivating buildings!

"Who quits a scene where strong temptations try,

"And, since 'tis hard to conquer, learns to fly."

But, besides this, it is very well known that the best pastorals have been written in smoky garrets; and the birds sing better, and sing louder, and more, and stronger, in a cage, than they do when at large. To these reasons I might add another or two; but as these are quite sufficient, I will not trouble the reader with any more, but come at once to a particular account of the thing.

The rooms are spacious and lofty, the fire-places free from smoke, the house sound and clean and good from the bottom to the top. The lease is for six years from last Christmas, the rent one hundred pounds a year, the premium forty pounds. Besides this, whoever takes the house, must take the fixtures at the price which I gave for them, which is about seventy or eighty pounds, with about fourteen pounds addition, which I have made to the fixtures; then there is the carpeting all new, and fitted to the rooms and the stairs; a clock and another article or two, which must go with the house and the fixtures; and I pronounce this to be the cheapest house in London, in proportion to its size, its goodness, and convenience. Application may be made at the house itself, or to me by letter, directed to BOLT COURT. Possession may be had at any time, upon notice of only one week. Every one tells me that the house is surprisingly cheap; and that I ought to sell the lease. So I will for what I gave for it; but, having never been a trafficker in any thing else, I will not be a trafficker in a house.

SCOTCH POOR-LAWS.

WITH very great respect to all those members of the Parliament who may differ from me with regard to the poor-laws, I do beseech them and urge them to read the letter that I shall subjoin to this. They will perceive that the author is a man of considerable literary ability; they will perceive that he is a Scotchman, living in Scotland; and I can assure them, and probably many of them well know it, that he is a gentleman of high reputation throughout the part of Scotland in which he lives. Look, then, at the picture which he gives of the sad effects; indeed, the horrible effects of a want of efficient poor-laws in Scotland. He blows to air all the assertions of those who quote Scotland as a happy instance of the absence of poor-laws. I wish gentlemen to read this letter with great attention. It will convince them that

all the scheming for the purpose of getting rid of poor-laws, is a great deal worse than folly; and that the sooner we extend the poor-laws of England to Scotland and Ireland, the sooner the whole kingdom is likely to be in a happy state. At any rate, this letter from Scotland, and from under such a hand, is an answer to all that has been said about the happy effects of the absence of poor-laws in Scotland; and I do hope, that we shall no longer see men impudent enough to call upon us to chip away the poor-laws of England, under pretence of making the labourers of England as moral and as happy as the labourers of Scotland are.

TO

Mr. WILLIAM CORBETT, M. P.

Annan, 10. Feb., 1834.

SIR,—Certain remarks on the subject of "POOR-LAWS," attributed to Mr. HUME, and recently published in the newspapers, induce me to trouble you with this letter.

You have already said, in answer to Mr. HUME, that *there are poor-laws in Scotland*. My purpose is, *first*, to state, with the utmost brevity, what the nature of these laws is, and *then* to make a few remarks, with the intention of showing what appear to me to be the defects in them.

In Scotland, then, a *settlement* is acquired by *three years' continuous residence* in any parish; the individual claiming it being, during no part of that period, a proper object of parochial relief. The settlement of a legitimate child, who has not, by residence as just described, acquired one for himself, is in the parish of his father: the settlement of an illegitimate child, under similar circumstances, in the parish of his mother.

Only the "*aged, lame, and impotent*," or, to use the words of the old statute, "*Sik as necessairlie mon be sustented by almes*," are entitled to parochial relief. Thus an able-bodied labourer or artisan, though he may have *six, eight, or even ten* children dependent on him for

support, and though his clear earnings may not amount to five shillings per week; nay, though he may be out of employment altogether, has no right to parochial relief by the law of Scotland.

The sums necessary for the relief of the "*aged, lame, and impotent*," in each parish where the law has been brought into operation, are payable, one half by the *heritors*, that is, the *owners*, and the other half by the *occupiers* of *lands and houses*. To raise these sums, assessments are imposed, from time to time, at meetings called for the purpose by the *heritors* and *kirk-session*, which latter body consists of the *parish minister*, and three, four, five, or six *elders*, who are generally either heritors or occupiers within the parish. These bodies, moreover, possess the power, not only of *imposing the assessments*, but of *deciding upon the claims of each applicant for relief*; in other words, the individuals, who have the money to pay, are made the judges, whether any ought to be paid or not; and, if it ought, to what amount. And, by the law as now interpreted (*for it was not so originally*), neither our justices of the peace, nor our sheriffs, are entitled to interfere with their decisions; against which, consequently, there is no redress, but through the medium of our supreme civil court—the Court of Session.

In Scotland, a man, who is not himself an *heritor*, cannot calculate, with certainty, upon remaining in the parish of his settlement. On the contrary, he may be banished from that parish at any term of Whitsuntide, by the simple operation of removing him from his dwelling, which can be done by law in the most summary manner, and refusing to let him another. The instances in which this has been done, are numerous; and the reason for it generally is, either that the victim is *verging towards poverty*, whence there is a desire to throw him upon some other parish, if possible; or, that he has, from some cause or other—*perhaps a supposed offence against the game-laws*—become obnoxious to the heritors or their leader. In no one instance has redress

been obtained for oppression of this sort: indeed, the law, as it stands, does not afford it.

Many parishes in Scotland belong all, or nearly all, to one heritor; and such heritor may not only banish any labourer, having his settlement in the parish, in the manner above-mentioned, but he may, with impunity, *prevent that labourer from obtaining employment*, by a prohibition addressed to his tenants, under pain of his displeasure, which is sure to produce the desired effect. A case of this kind having occurred, not long ago, the labourer, after two years of grievous suffering, brought an action of damages against his alleged oppressor. The defence was, that the prohibition, which was not denied, amounted to nothing more than a fair and legitimate exercise of *moral influence*; and although it was admitted, that the labourer, an able-bodied man, with a wife and five young children, could not obtain redress, or relief, in any other way, this defence, in a Scotch court of law, was found sufficient.

Such is a brief but correct outline of the "poor-laws" of Scotland. And now for the remarks which I promised in the outset, in so far as they have not been anticipated.

On the point of *settlement* our rule is certainly both simpler and better than that observed in England. For although it may be questionable whether three years' residence in a town is *sufficiently long* for giving a settlement, there can be no doubt, I think, that a man ought, of right to have his settlement in that parish in which he may last have lived and exercised his industry for such a length of time as to render it probable, in the average of instances, *that more benefit has accrued from his labour there than anywhere else*. This appears to me to be the sound principle, so that the *length of time only* is a matter for consideration and adjustment.

The rule, that no able-bodied man is entitled, under any circumstances, to parochial relief, is a barbarous one, and often productive of the most dreadful consequences. In the very parish in

which I write, and within the last four weeks, many sudden and unexpected deaths have occurred amongst persons of this class. The *unusual* circumstance led to an investigation, the result of which was, that, owing to the long course of rainy weather, and the consequent scarcity of out-door work, the utmost want and misery prevailed in many families not entitled by law to parochial relief, and who, therefore, had not applied for it. The evil having been discovered, prompt measures were adopted for remedying it; and it was remedied, by stretching the law a little, and applying the provisions of the Cholera Acts to the case. Had it happened in a parish differently circumstanced, however, in one of those numerous parishes, for instance, where there are no resident heritors, or where assessments for the relief of the poor have not yet been brought into operation, the distressed families might have been all starved to death, before the law could have interfered to save them.

I must here break off, for the present, because my paper is exhausted; but in a future letter I shall enter more fully into the defects of our Scotch system of poor-laws, and I shall prove, if I am not very much mistaken, before I have done, that nearly all those portions of them which the Malthusians have marked out as *beauties*, are, on the contrary, *gross deformities*, and have led, and are daily leading, to the most disastrous consequences.

I am, Sir,
your most obedient,
and very humble servant,
JAMES LITTLE.

LIBEL WORK.

I was in hopes that the present law-officers of the crown would have taken as patterns Lord **LYNDON** and Sir **CHARLES WETHERELL**, rather than the Attorneys-General of **PENURVAL** and Lord **LIVERPOOL**. I have very great respect for them both: I have never seen any thing in the conduct of either

that did not warrant me in believing, that they were humane men, and sincerely attached to the real liberties of the country. I was very sorry to hear of the commencement of the prosecution of the **TRUE SUN**; and still more sorry to see it persevered in. The offence ascribed to that paper had been committed day after day, and week after week, by the *Times* newspaper, which urged the people to refuse to pay taxes, unless the measures proposed by these present Ministers were carried. It may be said, that one man is not to commit a crime because another has committed the same crime with impunity; and this is very true; but it is equally true that public prosecutors ought not to punish one man for doing that which they have suffered another to do without calling that other to any account at all. Besides this, the law of libel is so perfectly indefinite: hardly any man knows what is a libel, and what is not a libel, and especially a libel of this sort. If a detected thief were to say, "You ought not to prosecute me, because you did not prosecute **JOHN NOAKES** the other day, who committed just such a theft"; that would be no defence at all; for every one knows what a *theft* is; and every one knows that it is a crime to commit a theft: every one does not know what a libel is; and what one man sees another boldly publish with impunity, he has good reason to believe that he ought to be permitted to publish with impunity also. The proof of the impunity of the *Times* ought to have been conclusive of the justification of the **TRUE SUN**; or, at least, in the way of apology for its conduct.

In what statute is it written, in what interpretation of the common law is it recorded, that it is *criminal to advise men not to pay taxes*? The advice goes no farther than that of submitting to the law in another mode of collecting the tax. *It is no crime to refuse to pay the tax*; and because you leave the tax to be collected by another means. And, can it then be a **CRIME** to advise men to do that which they may lawfully do? I put this to the law-officers of the

crown. "Is it a crime to advise men to do that which it is lawful for them to do?"

Upon the whole, I am very sorry to be called upon by my duty to make these remarks. This prosecution discovers in the Ministry a spirit which, I was in hopes, it had ceased to possess; and, though I am unwilling to speak harshly of the parties more immediately concerned; I must say, that it has lowered them greatly in my estimation. We have troubles enough to encounter, without having created for us troubles of this sort; and that, too, without the smallest chance of doing good, or of preventing evil. One thing, however, this prosecution will do; it will tend to raise the character of the *True Sun* still higher than it now stands, by proclaiming to the world that the Government deems it of so much consequence, as to endeavour to pull it down by prosecuting it for publishing that which it suffers other papers to publish with impunity.

CORN LAWS.

AMONGST the publications that have appeared upon this subject, there is a proposition in a pamphlet by Mr. DAVID BELL, of GLASGOW, in a letter addressed to Lord ALTHORP, in particular, and to the members of the two Houses of Parliament, in general. The proposition is connected with one relative to the assessed taxes and the duty on malt. I shall take them in the author's own words, and in those words lay them before the reader.

"1. That a part, if not the whole, of the assessed taxes be repealed. It is desirable, that the taxes on carriages of all descriptions should be dispensed with, in justice to those whose estates are situated in the interior, who cannot proceed in steam-boats; and to enable the working man, his wife and children, occasionally, to take a ride in an omnibus, or other carriage, at a cheap rate. This is the case in most of the towns on the continent of Europe; and nothing tends so much to keep up a good feeling

betwixt the rich and poor. 'John Gilpin' is good authority for the pleasurable sensations which arise to a family by a ride in a coach.

"2. That the malt duty be reduced one-half, in the first instance, namely, to ten shillings a quarter, in conformity with the vote of last session; and that such duty be still further reduced, by one shilling each year, till it is five shillings a quarter, when it may be totally repealed, or the duty may be continued at that rate, to be paid by the public maltster and brewer, allowing all classes of the community to malt free of duty, for their own private use. An English farmer, of much respectability, sound judgment, and not yet, by any means, a very old man, has informed me, that he remembers when this was the case, a malt duty being then in existence: even if such were not the fact, there is the precedent in the late beer duty (now repealed). It would be for Parliament, at the end of five years, to decide as to a total repeal, or a continuation of five shillings a quarter duty, and which the legislature would be guided in by the amount received, and the operation of the duty at that rate.

"3. In consideration of these concessions to the agricultural interest and the community; that the present corn law be abolished, and that a duty of ten shillings per quarter, with the ports at all times open, be substituted; the duties upon other descriptions of grain to be in proportion, and that the duty of ten shillings to be reduced annually one shilling, till it comes to five shillings, when it might be permanent.

"4. That the duty on wheat from Canada, which, at present, is five shillings, be reduced sixpence per quarter, annually, till it is two-and-sixpence, and then to be permanent.

"5. That a bounty on the exportation of wheat, and the other kinds of grain of the same amount per quarter, as the duty on importation, be at all times payable to the exporter.

"6. That when the average price of wheat, in this country, is sixty-two

"shillings, the duty on importation be four shillings a quarter; if 64s. three shillings; 66s., two shillings; 68s., one shilling; and when seventy shillings, or upwards, the duty to cease. "This would be preferable to a dispensing power, vested in any body of persons whatever."

Now, with regard to the assessed taxes, I agree with Mr. BELL, that the whole ought to be repealed; for I do not see why the tax should be kept upon carriages any more than upon houses; and the tax upon servants, being extended, as it is, to the man who puts a saddle upon the farmer's horse, is, in proportion to its amount, more injurious to the working classes than any other tax now in existence.

I disagree with Mr. BELL with regard to the manner of taking off the malt tax, which would cause all the excisemen to be kept in pay for five years longer; and I do not see good grounds for the distinction between private persons and the public brewer, notwithstanding that this may formerly have been the case. I am also against a partial repeal of the corn laws. I am for a repeal of the malt-tax, the hop-tax, and the soap-tax, and a total repeal of the corn laws.

Mr. BELL has also a proposition for taxing those who go abroad to spend the money that ought to be spent here. I should like this very well, if there were not a much better mode of securing the same object; and that is, lopping off pensions, sinecures, retired allowances, and dead-weight, and compelling the clergy to reside upon their livings, and the giving of efficient poor-laws to Ireland and Scotland. Do this: reduce the swarms of drones; let the bees keep the honey for themselves; and then let the drones fly about all over the world, if they choose: let them go still; but let them go without the honey; the manner of their reception in the countries of *soupe maigre* and "*politeness*" will soon bring them back; or rather, it will diminish their numbers by that starvation which will be the natural and just effects of their laziness.

Mr. BELL tells us, that he has lately

returned from a tour, which extended from OSTEND to STYRIA, swept all over ITALY, and the half of FRANCE, and terminated at BOULOGNE; and that he has seen no country, taken as a whole, that equals even Scotland in the produce of corn and cattle. I believe him; and though he does seem to be led away a little by the beautiful verses of BURNS, I agree with him; and I have always thought the same, that there is no country in the whole world, producing a quarter part as much, acre for acre, as England produces.

"HEDDEKASHUN,"

ALIAS

EDUCATION.

SIR.—I was not prepared for the charge made against me by your correspondent T. R., of Hoxton, namely, that I had strayed from the question in dispute. Let it be decided to what question, or part of one, it was to which I did address myself. Assuredly not to the question in part, or the whole as stated by T. R. The main points of my observations were confined to a remark of your own, upon Mr. Morrison's letter, and to one or two of his conclusions, of a sweeping nature, drawn from narrow premises, respecting a part of Scotch education, and to those remarks, I added, one or two of a general nature, to the effect, that as I had reaped benefit from a certain kind of training, so possibly might others. Unless this can be said to be the same as T. R.'s proposition, namely, "a more than proportionate increase of crime, as compared with the increase of population, having within the last fifty years taken place, its cause and remedy are required." I must be acquitted of having strayed from the question to which I did address myself.

Still little as it may be expected, I am prepared to assent in good part, to the cause of crime, as assigned by T. R., and also in great measure to his

remedy; in other words, with a qualification, I agree with him. The weight and inequality of taxation, and mischievously meddling with gold and silver money, have caused distress, which has produced poverty, and along with it ignorance; and these two, I contend, are the parents of crime. I have always maintained that a plentiful supply of food and clothing is the right of every human creature that is born. That sufficient supply never can be had, except by an immense reduction of public expenditure; and, therefore, the scale of taxation must be reduced to that of 1792, for a beginning in the way of reduction, which is the only way to secure to every man the labour of his own hands, at the same time taking care to prevent any tampering with gold and silver money.

If what is proposed were done, it would be but a part (a great part, past question) of the remedy. To effect it at all, however, the labouring classes must choose representatives for themselves, from amongst themselves or those who are with them, to take care of their interests. But how they are either to choose, or how their representatives can be fit to be chosen, or how either represented or representatives are to know what is best to be done for the good of themselves, without somewhat more or less of the thing called education, passes my comprehension. If it can be shown that it can be done without, (but not until it has been shown,) then I must say the *Register* has been written to no purpose, and that *Paper against Gold* is as great an imposition as the rotten system it was meant to expose. If the means of knowing are as useless as certain persons assert, it goes far to prove the worthlessness of knowledge, whether it be that they hold in abhorrence, or that which they profess to hold as all in all.

In these few sentences are contained my general views of the subject of education, but I should as soon think of giving a stone for bread, as saying that education is the only efficient remedy for the ills under which the working people are labouring. In saying this,

I cannot be mistaken for one of the great penny trumpeter's followers, which, however, any one would infer that I was, from the tenor of your correspondent's remarks.

There are, I know, a great many quacks in the world, but because there happened to be one Sangrado, I would not conclude that *all* physicians were Sangrados, or the same things quacks, any more than *some parts* of education being not good, therefore that *all* education of necessity must be bad. Mind this, that the Sangrado system of the matchless penny trumpeter seems to me as faulty as that of some of his opponents, who are for excluding it entirely. Perhaps Signor Santillane's prescription of a little wine may do good to all, and for one, I am not only willing to do so, but desirous of drowning all animosities in it.

The benefit or disadvantages of private over public instruction, do not admit of discussion in a few lines. I think the two kinds may be conjoined with much utility; at present, I give the preference to a public system, and am willing to run the risk of "soon having a race of poor without kindred or country"; an expression meaning nothing, because the thing is an impossibility; for whoever exists must have kindred, and wheresoever he lives that must be his country. I understand what is meant; and it is, that a race educated in public would be deprived of equal enjoyment of kindred and country, with a race taught at home; a very different conclusion than would be drawn from the expression itself, namely, that a race of outcasts must spring up; an argument little master or miss troubled with a common complaint, known by the name of home sickness, would be sure to seize upon with avidity, and enforce with all the eloquence of entreaty and of tears, but one which no sensible person could give in to for a moment.

If the flatterers of Brougham do call him the modern Bacon, I think they make a monstrous mistake. It is true that at one period I entertained a better opinion of him than I do now, but it never struck me he had climbed so high

up the "pinnacle" of fame, as to approach any way near to the man who is called the father of experimental philosophy. Like other empty vessels, Brougham made a great noise; and like many other people, without any inquiry as to the quality of the sound, I fancied it might be the thunder of the cannon, whereas it turns out to be no more than the rat-tat-tat of the drum. Your correspondent after this, will not even by implication, accuse me of being one of the flatterers of the present Chancellor; whose fame, if it lack his lifetime, like that of the common herd of lawyers, is sure to be extinguished when his voice ceases to be heard in a court of law,

I am,
your obedient servant,
G. WHEATLEY.

3. February, 1834.

To Mr. Cobbett, M. P.

LABOUR-RATE.

A MOST IMPORTANT MATTER!

Strictures on the "Reply" of the Poor-Law Commissioners, to the Inquiry of the Right Honourable Lord Viscount Althorp, Chancellor of the Exchequer, &c. &c. on the subject of Labour-Rates, in a Letter addressed to his Lordship, by J. M. PAINE.

(Concluded from page 375.)

Let us now consider in what manner, the Farnham agreement specially affects the interests of the *tithe-owner*, and we shall find that so far from being at all injured by the plan, no person in the parish is so materially benefited, since it operates to his advantage in a two-fold degree, first, *directly* (in common with the gentleman and shopkeeper), by his making terms with some landholder to work out his rate for him, say, for half the amount; and, secondly, in an *indirect* manner, because his tithes cannot fail to become more valuable through the better cultivation of the land. Besides, should the demand for labourers increase, there would be a competition amongst the landholders

to obtain the working out of the rates of the other rate-payers, when of course, the latter would take care to make a better bargain; they would be sure to obtain an equivalent. Indeed in this, as in every other point of view, our agreement may be said to adjust itself according to varying circumstances.

Under the terms of the Farnham agreement an instance of injustice like that which was attempted to be inflicted on a clergyman at Pulborough could not possibly occur. The 1st and 2nd clauses present an effectual barrier against any imposition of the kind; for, by the first, a larger rate could not be levied than would have been sufficient to support the *surplus labourers*; and, by the second, it is provided that the number of labourers to be kept in constant employ be regulated according to the *quantity* and *quality* of the land, instead of taking the amount of *rating* as the standard. In *all parishes* it is far preferable that the quota of labourers should be determined by this method; otherwise, a labour-rate would oftentimes be found to act to the injury not only of those rate-payers who have no occasion for labour, but in many cases would prove still more hurtful to those landholders who from the peculiar nature of their property might happen to be very highly assessed to the poor-rates. Thus, for example, at Farnham, we have hop-ground, some rated at 12*l.*, other at 3*l.* per acre; each will require about the same amount of labour, but supposing the quota of labourers were regulated by the rating, the former must furnish constant employment to four times the amount of the latter. Whereas, by adopting the other course, each must provide the same *constant employment*, although in the working out of the labour-rate by means of extra labour, the richer land is justly required to furnish a larger amount of such extra labour, proportionate to the difference in the rating; because, had no labour-rate existed it would have contributed more towards maintaining the *surplus parish labourers*.

As respects the occupiers of grass land, they would not be required to find work for so many *constant* labourers as

the occupiers of other descriptions of land, the allotment of labourers being expressly regulated by the mode of cultivation. Neither can the small farmers be in the least injured, their sons being reckoned and returned as labourers when they truly perform their work, and take their place.

To confirm, by an appeal to facts, my assertion that the whole body of rate-

payers in the parish of Farnham have been benefited by the introduction of the labour-rate, I insert an abstract of the number of able men and the sums paid to them per month, when employed in worse than useless parish labour, during a portion of the last three years, distinguishing the time that the labour-rate was in operation.

Previous to the Labour-Rate.					During the operation of the Labour-Rate.				
	Average No. of Parish Labourers.					Average No. of Parish Labourers.			
1831.	£. s. d.	1832	£. s. d.		1832	£. s. d.	1833	£. s. d.	
Oct.	93 157 1 11	44 79 3 6	..	..	..	29 51 10 8	..	..	..
Nov.	149 324 18 11	75 172 12 1	..	..	..	48 107 2 3	..	..	..
Dec.	179 411 0 1		..	..	82 181 4 5	47 106 2 0	..	..	..
1832.					1833				
Jan.	187 336 19 1		..	..	63 108 8 8	..	..	..	..
Feb.	144 256 9 5		..	..	40 65 9 4	..	..	..	..
Mar.	160 179 7 10		..	..	21 37 8 0	..	..	..	..
April	80 179 7 7		..	..	31 66 13 4	..	..	..	..
May	70 134 0 9		..	..	21 31 12 3	..	..	..	..
June	59 111 6 11		..	..	18 25 2 3	..	..	..	..

The assessment to the poor-rates stands thus :

Buildings in town and country (omitting poor cottages)	£. 5660
Rectorial tithes	1530
Vicarial tithes	260
Land	9600
	17,050

The annexed table will show the *progressive increase* of parochial taxation up to the commencement of the labour-rate agreement.

The amount assessed for poor-rates for the year ending

Michaelmas,	£. s. d.
1825, at 7s. in the pound, was	5967 10 0
1826, at 7s. 6d.	6393 15 0
1827, at 5s.	4262 10 0
1828, at 6s.	5115 0 0
1829, at 6s.	5115 0 0
For 1830, at 6s. 6d.	5541 3 0
1831, at 7s.	5967 10 0
1832, at 5s.	7622 10 0
1833, at 5s. 6d.	4688 16 0

Now on the supposition that all the labour-rates for this last year were worked out, then half the amount of what was assessed to the tithe-owner, tradesman, &c., must be added to the sum collected under the name of poor-rate, and the total will be the *amount actually paid* for poor-rates under every denomination for this year.

The three labour-rates together amounted to 2s. in the pound :

Therefore (half) 1s. in the	£. s. d.
pound on tithes (1,790l.) is	89 10 0
Disto buildings (5,660l.) is ..	283 0 0
Poor-rate at 5s. 6d.	4688 15 0
	5061 5 0

Thus we find that for the years during which the labour-rate was in partial operation, only 5,061l. 5s. was collected, being a diminution as compared with the year immediately preceding, of 2,511l. 5s.

For the year ending Michaelmas, 1834, it is certain that the amount of rates will not exceed that of 1833; if the labour-rate be continued; probably there will be a still farther reduction of 300l. or 400l.

The foregoing statement of facts, which are open to the observation of all, will amply bear me out in what I have asserted to be the good effects which have arisen to the rate-payers *at large*.

Before I proceed to consider the other objections of the commissioners, it may not be amiss to advert, for a moment, to one of the principal causes of the increased demand for labour, viz., the alternative presented to the occupiers of land, either to support the surplus labourers on the parish roads, without receiving any return whatever; or to set them at work upon their land, and, of course, reaping the advantage of their labour. It is also necessary to remark, that a chief part of such labour is of that description which, under ordinary circumstances, would never have been attempted, but which has been undertaken through the inducements that are held out by our agreement. These inducements have occasioned fresh resources of labour to be developed.

2. I now pass on to the second objection, upon which I would merely observe that the labour-rate does not create an evil—the mischief is one of long standing, coeval with the enactment of the law of settlement. Yet even in this respect its influence is not nearly so extensive as the commissioners represent it to be; for it must be evident to every thinking person that where nothing of the kind exists, all rate-payers who have much property in a parish would take care to give employment to those whom, if without work, they must contribute so largely to support, in preference to out-parishioners. However, should the Labour-rate Act be renewed, a clause might easily be inserted, allowing parishes to make exchanges; and if any alteration be made in regard to *settlements*, it would present no obstacle.

3. The third objection of the commissioners especially merits an atten-

tive consideration; for, if what they there assert to be the necessary consequences of a labour-rate, be true, I willingly concede every other point, and join with them in condemning the system as fraught with the most imminent danger. But is it so? Let reason and experience decide:—we shall then be able to prove that a labour-rate agreement, constructed on principles analogous to our own, is eminently well calculated to *counteract* every one of the mischievous effects which they have attributed to a labour-rate as a cause. That instead of *destroying*, it tends to *widen* the distinction between pauperism and independence. This only, as the commissioners justly observe, deserves the name of improvement. How then is this desirable object attained by means of our agreement? I have already explained, that the landholder who places himself under its provisions, is simply bound to employ a stipulated number of labourers, but there is no restriction as to whom he must employ, and he naturally engages with those whom he considers to be the best workmen, provided that they also are willing to engage with him. Thus there is a complete reciprocity in the freedom of choice on the part both of the master and his men. In the weekly returns likewise no distinction is required to be made between his *constant* and *extra* labourers. In short, none of these labourers need know any thing about a labour-rate, as it does not in the least affect the relation in which they stand to their employer. *All these labourers therefore must cease to be regarded as paupers*; since, when they are hired by the farmer, it is a *single matter of contract* between the parties, no reference being made to any other subject. I beg to be distinctly understood, that by our agreement, we have not the slightest connexion with the *billeting system* so deservedly reprobated.

Before we had recourse to this system, the honest labourer who had the misfortune to want employment, felt himself degraded by being put on the lists of parish paupers, and was exposed to the

greatest risk of moral contamination by being placed among the ranks of the most idle and profligate men in the parish, assembled together to work (or rather to pass away their time in concocting all sorts of mischief) on the roads and gravel-pits. But he now finds that he can obtain the due reward of his exertions, and is transformed into a *free independent labourer*. Bad characters also, who still remain a burden to the parish, can be more vigilantly looked after than formerly, on account of the diminished number of paupers out of employ; and many of the men who before we tried the experiment of a labour-rate, had long continued to derive their whole support from the parish funds, have since sought out and obtained employment. In a word, if an efficient superintendence were exercised on the part of the parochial authorities towards those labourers who now occasionally apply to them for relief and are set to work, we should soon attain that state, in which *relief would in all cases be less agreeable than wages*.

The increased demand for labourers has elevated the industrious and well-behaved to their proper station; and these characters now find but little difficulty in procuring work; and so far from any parish officer or vestry interfering in the least with the *contract* between the farmer and his labourer, nothing of the kind takes place. Good conduct, diligence, skill, are now much more appreciated, and they will not only be *preserved* but *increased* under the encouraging auspices of a labour-rate.

The condition of the single man is also very greatly improved; he is not, as it were, compelled to marry, that he may obtain his just earnings; he is no longer degraded and rendered desperate by the receipt of a wretched pittance from the parish, barely sufficient to prolong existence, but he experiences the truth of the maxim, that "the labourer is worthy of his hire." The difference in his favour now, as compared to his state when a parish pauper, is immense.

Although in our agreement we have a scale of wages by which to regulate

the amount which each landholder is allowed to deduct from the payment of his labour-rate, yet he is not confined to any specific sum in remunerating his labourers; it is indeed expected that he will not pay them *less*, but in many instances, particularly when employed in task-work, they receive much higher wages.

Another advantage to the labourer indirectly accruing from the adoption of such an agreement is the greater facility it affords him in procuring from his employer small portions of land for his own cultivation, by obtaining which his *comforts* will be most materially augmented. For the farmer frequently finds some difficulty in providing work at all seasons for all his labourers, and is therefore induced to grant them such portions of (light, free-working) ground as will occupy their spare time in rough weather. This expedient of letting small parcels of ground to cultivate on his own account, I can testify, after the experience of many years, as being highly conducive to the best temporal interests of the poor man; and thus by ameliorating his condition, it will be found one of the most efficient instruments towards re-establishing that harmony and mutual good feeling between the higher and lower classes, which for a long time past have been progressively diminishing, until in many districts of the country they have become well-nigh extinct.

Without trespassing longer upon your lordship's time, permit me simply to ask, how the commissioners can maintain their position when they proclaim, that "at the expense of the landlord, the tithe-owner, the small farmer, and the shopkeeper, all the labourers in the parish are to be kept at the ordinary wages of the district, however great their numbers, however little their diligence, or however reckless their profligacy or improvidence."

4. Respecting the fourth objection, I have only to remark, that being ignorant of the measures which will be proposed on the subject of the poor-law amendment, I cannot tell in what manner the re-enactment of the Agricultural Labour-rate Act would interfere. But

I believe it would not impose any additional difficulty, at any rate, if the trial were limited to another year; at the same time I think it might safely be resorted to as a valuable temporary measure in conjunction with whatever alteration the legislature might deem it advisable to make in the present system of the poor-laws.

If I have been enabled to satisfy your lordship that the sweeping denunciation which the Poor-Law Commissioners have levelled against the labour-rate system, is not warranted by experience; but on the contrary, that its legitimate tendency is *always* to produce consequences highly beneficial to all parties, without inflicting injustice upon any, I shall not consider my time to have been thrown away.

By reference to the extracts from the correspondence on the subject of labour-rates, published by authority of the commissioners, your lordship will perceive, that I am corroborated in all the statements I have made in favour of the system: the same good effects having been experienced in other parishes, where labour-rates have been tried on principles similar to the Farnham agreement, at least, inasmuch as those principles have been adhered to.

Assuming that the foregoing observations are founded in truth, it only remains for me to impress upon your lordship's notice the expediency of re-enacting the permissive act now in force, intituled, "An Act for the better Employment of Labourers in Agricultural Parishes," &c. with such necessary amendments as may be required. I humbly submit that the bill brought before Parliament last Session by the Duke of Richmond, for the purpose of explaining and amending the said act, would in great measure accomplish the desired ends. At the same time I think it will require a little alteration. First, that a clause be inserted *permitting* rate-payers not having land to transfer the working out of their labour-rate; and secondly, that the sixth clause should be altogether omitted. It enacts, "That ~~no~~ parish shall be deemed and taken to be an agricultural parish for the

purpose of the said recited act and this act, except where three-fourths of the assessment to the poor-rates in such parishes shall be upon land." The retention of this clause would not only neutralize the intentions of the bill by excluding many parishes in which its adoption would have been of the greatest value, but it is quite *unnecessary*, even for securing the object for which it was evidently designed, the protection of the interests of those rate-payers who are not agriculturists. The first clause contains in itself a sufficient guarantee, and renders the sixth perfectly *useless*, since it requires, in the first place, that the consent of a majority of three-fourths of the rate-payers then present in vestry duly convened for the purpose shall be obtained before any agreement can be entered into; and secondly, that *notice* shall be given for three successive Sundays previous to the holding such meeting; this ensures due publicity. Thus it is impossible for any agreement to be made which the majority then present may consider detrimental to their interests; such majority it may reasonably be presumed will consist of those rate-payers who constitute the majority of the parish. In parishes where a large (say the larger) portion of the rates is paid by persons who are not agriculturists, it is manifest, that no plan could be carried into execution which would bear injuriously upon those parties (they being the majority), who would naturally be on the alert to protect their own interests. The first clause therefore affords ample security to the whole body of rate-payers in those parishes where three-fourths of the assessment is not upon land, and they might surely be allowed the choice of placing themselves under the provisions of the act at their *own discretion*. If, on the other hand, the said clause were suffered to remain, though there be only *one* dissentient voice in a parish thus circumstanced, it would be most effectually *shut out* (notwithstanding that the experiment of a labour-rate had hitherto proved eminently successful), because every agreement it entered into would be *illegal*.

The parish of Farnham would be placed in this predicament. I have already stated that the several agreements of this parish were passed *almost unanimously*. If the tithe-owners, gentry, tradesmen, &c. who numerically form an overwhelming majority, had thought themselves at all aggrieved, they had it completely in their power to defeat the measure, but experience has taught them that they benefit equally with the landholders in the advantage of our labour-rate agreement.

Sincerely desiring to apologise for this lengthened intrusion upon your lordship's attention,

I have the honour to be, my Lord,

Your Lordship's

most obedient humble servant,

JOHN M. PAINE.

To the Right Honourable
Lord Viscount Althorp.

HISTORY OF GEORGE THE FOURTH.

I HAVE just published the thirteenth number of this work. Dr. BLACK called the first numbers of the PROTESTANT REFORMATION "*pig's meat*." That "*pig's meat*" had a great hand in producing what we now behold with regard to the church; and this new trough full of "*pig's meat*," which will be brought to a close in seven more numbers, will, or I am very much mistaken, produce something of the same sort with regard to this whole system of sway. It was the transactions of this regency and reign that brought down the system, or that gave it the blow under which it is now staggering. The acts of the reign of GEORGE the Third were sometimes outrageously violent, and sometimes outrageously foolish; but it was in this regency and reign of the fourth GEORGE, of "*the Sovereign*," as they used to call him; it was the transactions of this regency and reign that inflicted the final blow; and we are just in the right time for giving a history of them, because we have *had time to feel their effects*, while we are not so far from them as to have forgotten

them; and while a large part of the actors are still alive. This present number thirteen begins the history of "*the Sovereign's*" *war with the United States of America*. This war, though it took place only a few years back, is a matter of which the people of England know no more than they know of what is passing in the moon; and they never did know any more about it. It took place amidst events nearer home; and the base press, and the crafty Government, and the deeply-interested navy and army, kept all the facts totally hidden from the people. The histories of the war which have been written and published in America *have never been republished here*. It is high time that this history be made known to the people of England. They feel how England is sunk, and how America has risen; but they do not know the why and the wherefore of all this. They feel the weight of the accursed debt; but they do not know that the war of "*the Sovereign*" caused seventy millions of that debt, and created that powerful American navy which now makes the teeth of *some folks* chatter in their heads.

I intend to have some copperplate prints to this History.

1. The Frontispiece, exhibiting "*the Sovereign*" pulling up a large minnow at the end of a silver rod, and caught by a golden hook, and standing in a golden gondola, on *Virginia Water*, exciting the admiration of Lady CONYNGHAM, "*Lord*" BLOOMFIELD, Sir WILLIAM KNIGHTON, and the "*Right Honourable*" Col. M'MAHON, while the "*Right Honourable*" Sir HERBERT TAYLOR, in the act of writing down the exploits of the sovereign.
2. Marshal NEY coming out to be shot, with the capitulation of PARIS tied about his neck.
3. The House of Commons, standing up with hats off, and clapping hands, receiving CASTLEREAGH on his arrival from the Continent, after the fall of NAPOLEON.
4. CASTLEREAGH, in his last great act, at NORTH CRAY, in Kent.

5. The gateway of "*the sovereign*," costing seventy thousand pounds; a chopstick sitting on one side, and a weaver on the other, dining upon potatoes and salt.
6. Soldiers shooting HONEY and FRANCIS at the funeral of the Queen.
7. The frigate Java knocked to pieces by the "*bits of bunting*."
8. The battle of NEW ORLEANS.
9. The famous battle on the Serpentine-river, where the American ships were all captured by the English, just about the time that the Americans were capturing all the English on Lake CHAMPLAIN: which last scene will be exhibited in another compartment of the same picture.

These, and some others, I intend as embellishments to this mess of "*pig's meat*," for I am determined to do all possible honour to the History of the Reign of "*THE SOVEREIGN*." I do not promise to give these little pictures, but I wish to do it, and think I shall do it. The contents of the thirteenth number are as follows:

CHAP. VI.

AMERICAN WAR. — Grounds of it. — Tyranny of impressment. — Motives of English Government. — Their deadly hostility to freedom. — Their employing Captain Henry as a secret agent in the United States. — Their treatment of Americans whom they had impressed. — Their shutting of them up in a prison on Dartmoor. — Their determination to destroy freedom in America. — John Wilson Croker's Manifesto. — Devastation of the towns and villages and plunder of the farm-houses on the American sea-coast. — Bloody works of our allies, the savages at French-town, on the River Raisin. — Sacking of the little town of Hampton, in Virginia. — Burnings at Washington. — Gross delusion of the people of England.

From the *LONDON GAZETTE*,

FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 7, 1834.

INSOLVENTS.

BAILLIE, W., Slough, nurseryman.
BUTTERWORTH, J., Rochdale, Lancashire, cotton-spinner.
COOK, J., Narrow-street, Ratcliffe, biscuit-baker.

BANKRUPTCY SUPERSEDED.

HINTON, J. L., Plymouth-dock, grocer.

BANKRUPTCY ANNULLED.

JONES, W., Bridgend, Glamorganshire, mason.

BANKRUPTS.

DIXON, R., Chesterfield, Derbyshire, maltster.
GREEN, J. and W., Swinton near Rotherham, Yorkshire, earthenware-manufacturers.
JACKSON, J., Whitehaven, Cumberland, mercer.
LAMB, M. W., Manchester, drysalter.
LAMPON, C., Tyer's-gateway, Bermondsey, fellmonger.
THRAVES, J., Sandiacre, Derbyshire, miller.
TRIGGS, J., Mare-street, Hackney, veterinary-surgeon.

TUESDAY, FEB. 11, 1834.

BANKRUPTCY SUPERSEDED.

ROMANIS, J., Gracechurch-street, hosier.

BANKRUPTCY ANNULLED.

TAYLOR, J., Bradford, Wilts, grocer.

BANKRUPTS.

BAYLEY, J., Rotherhithe, ship-breaker.
BILLINGTON, J., Wakefield, Yorkshire, scrivener.
BROADBERRY, J., North Collingham, Nottingham, coal-dealer.
BULLOCK, W. H., Rupert-street, tailor.
BUTTERWORTH, J., Rochdale, cotton-spinner.
COWELL, G., Manchester, and J. Acton, jun., Wigan, cotton-spinners.
FARMER, J., Osborn-street, Whitechapel, sugar-refiner.
FRY, W., Bristol, chemist.
LAING, J., Stockton-upon-Tees, Durham, ship-builder.
TENCH, J., Wrihbenhall, Kidderminster.
THOMPSON, G., jun., Huddersfield, coach-builder.

LONDON MARKETS.

MARK-LANE, CORN-EXCHANGE, Feb. 10. — The arrivals fresh up to this morning's market from Essex, Kent, and Suffolk, were

moderate, but as there were several parcels left over from last week, the stands were tolerably well filled with samples. The improvement in the weather has had a corresponding effect on the condition of the samples, though there were still many which handled rough. Fine dry qualities moved rather more freely off hand at the currency of this day week, but the secondary descriptions, and those out of condition, were quite neglected. Roused Wheat was in better demand, but the inquiry did not lead to much actual business.

The supply of Barley this morning was rather short, but the quantity remaining on hand from last week made the number of samples offering large. Fine malting and chevalier qualities were rather better sale at last week's prices, but all other sorts were very difficult of disposal at a decline of 1s. per qr. from last Monday.

Malt continued extremely dull.

Oats, with the exception of the receipts from Scotland, were in limited supply. The trade was steady at the prices of last week.

Beans were in rather better demand at the previous quotations.

White Peas met a little more inquiry at Friday's prices, which were 1s. lower than this day week. In Grey and Maple no alteration.

Flour was heavy sale, and where sales of the article ex-ship were forced, 1s. per sack less money was accepted.

Wheat	50s. to 58s.
Rye	—s. to —s.
Barley	24s. to 25s.
— fine	30s. to 32s.
Peas, White	—s. to —s.
— Boilers	38s. to 40s.
— Grey	30s. to 32s.
Beans, Small	33s. to 37s.
— Tick	22s. to 33s.
Oats, Potato	22s. to 23s.
— Feed	17s. to 20s.
Flour, per sack	45s. to 50s.

PROVISIONS.

Pork, India, new	85s. to 90s.
— Mess, new	55s. to 57s. per barrel.
Butter, Belfast	80s. to 88s. per cwt.
— Carlow	80s. to 87s.
— Cork	73s. to 75s.
— Limerick	72s. to 73s.
— Waterford	70s. to 76s.
— Dublin	66s. to —s.

SMITHFIELD, February 10.

This day's supply of Beasts was moderately good, both as to numbers and quality; its supply of Sheep, Calves, and Porks rather limited, but, especially as relates to the Sheep, unusually prime. Trade was, with Beef and Mutton, somewhat brisk, at an advance of 2d.; with Veal dull, at a depression of 4d.

per stone; whilst Pork experienced a sluggish sale at Friday's quotations.

Full three-fourths of the Beasts appeared to consist of about equal numbers of short-horns, Scots, Devons, and Welsh runts; the remaining fourth of about equal numbers of Herefords and Irish, with about 100 Sussex beasts, as many Town's-end Cows, a few Staffords, &c.

A full moiety of the Sheep were South-Downs; about a fourth new Leicesters, in about equal numbers of South-Down and white-faced crosses; and the remaining fourth about equal numbers of old Leicesters, Kents, and Kentish half-breeds, with a few pens of horned and polled Norfolks, horned Dorsets and Somersets, horned and polled Scotch and Welsh Sheep, &c.

About 1,200 of the Beasts, in about equal numbers of Scots and Devons, with about 100 home-breds, and 200 short-horns, were from Norfolk, Suffolk, Essex, and Cambridgeshire; about 700, chiefly short-horns and Devons, with a few Scots, Herefords, and Irish Beasts, from Leicestershire, Lincolnshire, and others of our northern grazing districts; about 150, chiefly Devons, with a few Herefords, Scots, and Welsh runts, from our midland and western districts; about 110, chiefly Sussex beasts, with a few Devons, Welsh runts, and Irish beasts, from Kent, Sussex, and Surrey, and most of the remainder, including the Town's-end Cows, from the stall-feeders, &c. near London.

MARK-LANE.—Friday, Feb. 14.

The arrivals this week are good. The market dull at the prices of Monday.

THE FUNDS.

3 per Cent. } Fri. Sat. Mon. Tues. Wed. Thur.	
Cons. Ann. } 88½ 89½ 89½ 89½ 88½ 88½	

COBBETT-LIBRARY.

New Edition.

COBBETT'S Spelling-Book

(Price 2s.)

Containing, besides all the usual matter of such a book, a clear and concise

INTRODUCTION TO ENGLISH GRAMMAR.

This I have written by way of

A Stepping-Stone to my own Grammar.

such a thing having been frequently suggested to me by Teachers as necessary.

1. ENGLISH GRAMMAR.—Of this work sixty thousand copies have now been published. This is a duodecimo volume, and the price is 3s. bound in boards.

2. TULL'S HORSE-HOEING HUSBANDRY; or, a Treatise on the Principles of Tillage and Vegetation. With an Introduction, by WM. COBBETT. 8vo. Price 15s.

3. THE EMIGRANT'S GUIDE. Just now Published, under this Title, a little Volume, containing Ten Letters, addressed to English Tax-payers. A new edition, with a Postscript, containing an account of the Prices of Houses and Land, recently obtained from America by Mr. Cobbett. Price 2s. 6d. in bds.

4. THE WOODLANDS; or, a Treatise on the preparing of the ground for planting; on the planting, on the cultivating, on the pruning, and on the cutting down, of Forest Trees and Underwoods. Price 14s. bound in boards.

5. YEAR'S RESIDENCE IN AMERICA.—The Price of this book, in good print and on fine paper, is 5s.

6. FRENCH GRAMMAR; or, Plain Instructions for the Learning of French. Price, bound in boards, 5s.

7. COTTAGE ECONOMY.—I wrote this Work professedly for the use of the labouring and middling classes of the English nation. I made myself acquainted with the best and simplest modes of making beer and bread, and these I made it as plain as, I believe, words could make it. Also of the keeping of Cows, Pigs, Bees, and Poultry, matters which I understood as well as any body could, and in all their details. It includes my writing, also on the Straw Plait. A Duodecimo Volume. Price 2s. 6d.

8. MARTENS'S LAW OF NATIONS.—This is the Book which was the foundation of all the knowledge that I have ever possessed relative to public law. The Price is 17s., and the manner of its execution is I think, such as to make it fit for the Library of any Gentleman.

9. MR. JAMES PAUL COBBETT'S RIDE OF EIGHT HUNDRED MILES IN FRANCE. Second Edition. Price 2s. 6d.

10. A TREATISE ON COBBETT'S CORN; containing Instructions for Propagating and Cultivating the Plant, and for Harvesting and Preserving the Crop; and also an account of the several uses to which the Produce is applied. Price 5s.

11. LETTERS FROM FRANCE; containing Observations made in that Country during a Residence of Two Months in the South, and Three Months at Paris. By JOHN M. COBBETT. Price 4s. in boards.

12. PROTESTANT "REFORMATION" in England and Ireland, showing how that event has impoverished and degraded the main body of the people in those countries. Two volumes, bound in boards. The Price of the first volume is 4s. 6d. The Price of the second volume 3s. 6d.

13. SERMONS.—There are twelve of these, in one volume, on the following subjects: 1. Hypocrisy and Cruelty; 2. Drunkenness; 3. Bribery; 4. Oppression; 5. Unjust Judges; 6. The Sluggard; 7. The Murderer; 8. The Gamester; 9. Public Robbery; 10. The Unnatural Mother; 11. The Sin of Forbidding Marriage; 12. On the Duties of Parsons, and on the Institution and Object of Tithes. Price 3s. 6d. bound in boards.

A Thirteenth Sermon, entitled "GOOD FRIDAY; or, The Murder of Jesus Christ by the Jews." Price 6d.

14. AN ITALIAN GRAMMAR, by MR. JAMES PAUL COBBETT.—Being a Plain and Compendious Introduction to the Study of Italian. Price 6s.

Price 12s.

A GEOGRAPHICAL DICTIONARY OF ENGLAND AND WALES;

CONTAINING

The names, in Alphabetical Order, of all the Counties, with their several Subdivisions, into Hundreds, Lathes, Rapes, Wapentakes, Wards, or Divisions; and an Account of the Distribution of the Counties into Circuits, Dioceses, and Parliamentary Divisions.

ALSO,

The names (under that of each County respectively), in Alphabetical Order, of all the Cities, Boroughs, Market Towns, Villages, Hamlets, and Tithings, with the Distance of each from London, or from the nearest Market Town, and with the Population, and other interesting particulars relating to each; besides which there are

MAPS;

First, one of the whole country, showing the local situation of the Counties relatively to each other; and, then, each County is also preceded by a Map, showing, in the same manner, the local situation of the Cities, Boroughs, and Market Towns.

FOUR TABLES

Are added; first, a Statistical Table of all the Counties, and then three Tables, showing the new Divisions and Distributions enacted by the Reform-Law of 4th June, 1832.

A NEW

FRENCH AND ENGLISH DICTIONARY:

In two parts. Part I. French and English.—Part II. English and French. By WILLIAM COBBETT, M.P. for Oldham.

THE CURSE OF

PAPER MONEY AND BANKING,

Or, a short History of Banking in the United States of America, with an account of its ruinous effects on Landowners, Farmers, Traders, and on all the industrious classes of the community.

By W. M. Gouge, of Philadelphia, in 1833.

To which is prefixed an Introduction by Wm. Cobbett, M.P., for Oldham. Price 4s 11, Bolt-court, Fleet-street, and all Book-sellers.

CHEAP CLOTHING!!

SWAIN AND CO., Tailors, &c.,

93, FLEET-STREET,

(Near New Bridge-street.)

BEG the attention of the public to their extensive stock of goods for the present season, which they supply at the following prices:—

FOR CASH ONLY.

	£.	s.	d.
A Suit of Superfine Clothes.....	4	18	0
Ditto, Black or Blue.....	5	10	0
Ditto, Imperial Saxony.....	6	0	0
Petersham Great Coats.....	3	3	0
Barogan or Velveteen Shooting } Jackets.....	1	10	0
Cobbett's Cord Trowsers.....	1	2	0
A complete Suit of Livery.....	4	10	0
SPANISH, OPERA, and WALKING CLOAKS, LADIES' HABITS AND PELISSES, and CHILDREN'S DRESSES, and every other article in the trade made in the most elegant manner.			

I recommend Messrs. Swain and Co as very good and punctual tradesmen, whom I have long employed with great satisfaction. WM. COBBETT.

LOCAL TESTAMENTARY COURTS.

IT is understood that an extraordinary measure is now in preparation, which, if carried into a law, will produce the most alarming alterations in the existing mode of preserving wills, and of taking out probates and letters of administration in every part of this kingdom, not comprised within the precincts of the metropolis. This bill is said to contemplate, in the first place, the immediate removal to London of all original wills, from the places where they are now deposited throughout the several counties of England and Wales; and to provide that in future all such instruments shall be regularly transmitted to Doctors' Commons, to be there perpetually retained. Consequently, if this measure be successful, persons living at a distance from the capital would be precluded, in future, from obtaining authentic information as to the contents of any will in which they may be interested, unless they submit to the inconvenience and expense of journeys to and from town, or pay an agent specially employed for the purpose. Thus, in either

case, they must incur heavy charges not hitherto imposed on individuals resident in the country, and from which the inhabitants of the metropolis would be altogether free. How are the probates and letters of administration annually taken out at short distances from the homes of the parties, through the instrumentality of the local tribunals, to be obtained by country families under the new bill? It is impossible to devise any machinery for the accomplishment of this object, that will not very considerably increase the rate of expense which it now requires.

It was stated in evidence before the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, as well as before a committee of the House of Commons, that wills have been proved at Doctors' Commons of persons actually living when the probates were taken out; and that letters of administration have been granted to persons having no title thereto, upon the *securities of men of straw*. By stratagems of this kind great frauds have been perpetrated. Can it be doubted that the proposed system of having all the country business transacted through that court, but at various and remote distances from it, would suggest irresistible temptations for new frauds of a still more formidable character?

By reason of the present state of the law with respect to *bona notabilia*, and of the fact that the great mass of the personal property of the kingdom is centred in the metropolis, probates or administrations appertaining to effects of large amount are now usually taken out at Doctors' Commons: while those disposing of personal chattels of small amount are for the most part taken out in the country. The former are not often under the sum of 1,000*l.*; the latter very seldom exceed that sum. The annual number of probates and administrations taken out in the country courts is about twenty-four thousand; and of these, twelve thousand five hundred are under 1,000*l.*, seven thousand are under 200*l.*, and four thousand seven hundred are absolutely under 100*l.* Therefore the new bill is designed to impose upon the small properties of the country, a new species of taxation, which is not to be levied on the riches of the higher orders!—and for what purpose? Simply that the Prerogative Court may monopolize all the testamentary jurisdiction now distributed over the face of the kingdom.

By way of finding a pretext for this unwarrantable innovation upon the ancient usages of the realm, the report of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, who seek the aggrandisement of the metropolitan court, has charged the local tribunals with ignorance and carelessness in making grants of probate or administration. But even those commissioners have not been able to found that charge upon a single statement of fact. It was necessary to their purpose to annihilate the local tribunals; and, acting as judges in their own cause, they have pronounced those establishments guilty, without calling for any

defence, or having before them even the shadow of any evidence to justify their sentence.

Inasmuch, therefore, as the bill in question, thus proposing innovations which must in every point of view be attended with great inconvenience and expense to all persons resident in the country parts of England and Wales, affects to be founded upon the alleged incompetency of the local courts to transact the testamentary business hitherto confided to those tribunals from a period beyond the memory of man, the registrars, deputy registrars, and other officers of the country courts, do hereby resolve and declare:—

(RESOLUTIONS:)—1. That the charges brought against the local courts of testamentary jurisdiction in the report of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, dated the 15. of February, 1832, are founded on the mere unsupported opinions of individuals not having actual personal knowledge on the subject, and whose evidence would, on that account alone, be inadmissible in any court of justice in this kingdom.

2. That it is shown by the evidence of the Solicitor to the Bank of England, that the Prerogative Court of the Province of Canterbury has already exceeded its jurisdiction in those cases, where the alleged *bona notabilia* consisted solely of stock in the Public Funds; although it would appear that the title to such stock follows the person of the testator, and, therefore, that the grant of the country courts as to such stock would be perfectly valid. Hence, it follows, that the due authority of the country courts has been already invaded; and that, instead of being further limited, it ought to be fully protected by clear definition of the law upon this subject.

3. That if the legislature consider the country courts now existing to require consolidation or improvement, we hereby pledge ourselves to render all the assistance in our power, in order to effect those objects, and thus to increase as much as possible the manifold advantages which local tribunals for the administration of justice in every shape are calculated to confer upon the people of this kingdom.

4. That if any such local establishments be in want of suitable depositories for the safe custody of wills, and for allowing easier access to the same, we hereby resolve that such depositories and facilities of reference shall be provided without any expense to the country.

5. That the committee do meet from time to time, in order that they may firmly resist any clauses, in the proposed bill which may tend to impair the efficacy of the local testamentary tribunals, and so to diminish the great public advantage of bringing home justice in a cheap and convenient form to every man's door.

(Signed) ROBERT SWAN,

Secretary to the Associated Registrars, Deputy Registrars, and other officers of the Country Courts.

Richardson's Hotel, Covent-garden,
5. February, 1834.

"COLES'S TRUSS IS THE BEST."

I am ready to subscribe to the truth of this assertion, which appears on the front (I will not say ornaments his establishment at Charing Cross) and I can do it from personal experience. Having in the course of thirty years tried a great many trusses, I have recommended Coles's Truss to several persons, particularly professional characters, and intend, if I live, to continue to do so, being convinced, that in promoting the general adoption of Coles's Patent Trusses, I am serving a meritorious mechanic and the cause of humanity.

THOMAS RICHARDSON.

West Hendon House, near Sunderland.

1st Month, 10th, 1834.

I can subscribe to a similar testimonial, after having tried several other trusses without experiencing its complete prevention.

THOMAS EDMONDS.

Wycombe, Bucks.

1st Month, 21st, 1834.

Sir,—I have been wearing trusses of different kinds for the last thirty years, but never found one of them to keep up the rupture effectually, until thirteen months since I purchased one of your patent: and, although my rupture came down in a most frightful manner then, it has never come down since, nor have I scarcely the appearance of ever having had such a complaint. At my age, 77 years, I do not intend leaving off wearing a truss, and I know too well the importance of your ingenious contrivance to keep the world in ignorance of it.

JAMES SHARE, Commander, R. N.

19, Bury-street, Bloomsbury,
28th May, 1832.

Colonel Francklin informs those who have ruptures, that he has been wearing trusses thirty years, and he never met with but one individual who was master of the complaint. He has likewise an elder brother, a Colonel in the Honourable East India Company's service, who has worn a similar kind of truss for many years, who can say the same. Mr. Coles of Charing-cross, is the individual alluded to.

Blackheath, July 16th, 1832.

Sir,—Having the misfortune to rupture myself several years ago, I purchased one of Salmon's self-adjusting Trusses, which, although it afforded me considerable relief, did not entirely keep the rupture in its place, particularly when I had to stand for any length of time. I felt a disagreeable gnawing pain, attended with a bearing down of the hernia, so that I was frequently unable to wear the truss. In mentioning to a friend what I had suffered, he strongly advised me to try one of your patent, which I did, and found to my great comfort, that it kept up the rupture effectually, without producing any of those painful sensations which I had endured while wearing the ball and socket truss, and I can now stand or walk for hours together without the least pain or inconvenience, in fact, as

well as though I had never been ruptured. I send you this statement to make what use of it you please.

I am, sir, your obedient servant,
WILLIAM MATTHEWS,
 Quarter-Master, Royal Artillery.
 Woolwich, Sept. 12th, 1832.

A gentleman at Lloyd's Coffee House has also sent Mr. Coles a similar testimonial of his case, which had been of thirty years' standing.

Sir,—While serving the office of first lieutenant of a line-of-battle ship off Toulon, in 1809, I had the misfortune, through extreme fatigue, to bring on a rupture. Since that period I have tried every description of truss which came to my knowledge, but I never succeeded in supporting the hernia effectually until 1831, when I purchased two of your Patent Trusses; and it is but justice to own that no descent has occurred since I have worn them, and I freely give you liberty to publish this testimonial in favour of your excellent invention.

I am, sir, yours obediently,
J. P. BAKER, Commander, R. N.
 28, Duke-street, Manchester-square,
 Oct. 17, 1832.

Sir,—Seven years ago I applied to you to stop a rupture, which I have laboured under upwards of fifty years, which was as large as a man's head, which you accomplished with apparent ease, when no person that I had previously consulted, was able to stop it a single day. I am now 86, and am entirely free from any external appearance of the complaint. My object in writing this testimonial, is, not merely to express my gratitude for the services you have rendered me, but to guard my fellow sufferers against the use of imperfect trusses.

GEORGE CARPENTER.

24, Regent-street,
 21st October, 1832.

A surgeon of the R. N., about 60 years of age, who had been wearing trusses of several different kinds, employed one of Coles's manufacture, and ere he had half worn it out, threw it aside, and left his trusses in London, while he made a tour on the continent. Being at sea and exposed to severe weather, a sea sickness brought on the complaint, and he was compelled a second time to wear his truss, and after wearing it about twelve months, has again been perfectly cured, and does not wear a truss.

Sir Astley Cooper knows a case which had been getting worse for thirty years, and which had escaped a hundred times a day, and does not escape from Coles's Truss.

Sir,—In November last I purchased one of your Patent Trusses. I was then suffering severely from a hernia of thirty-six years' standing, which has escaped from my truss

twenty or thirty times in a day. I am now happy to state, that it never escaped from your truss: and I have no hesitation in pronouncing it to be of more value, when compared with any truss I had previously worn, than gold when compared with silver.

I am, Sir, your obedient servant,
WILLIAM MINTRAM.

No. 7, Burlington Arcade,
 July 12th, 1833.

COLONEL GREEN relates not to acknowledge, that the trusses furnished to him by Mr. Coles have effectually put a stop to his malady. He cannot say that of any other truss which he has worn for the last thirty years.

No. 3, Windham-place, Montagu-square,
 August 27th, 1833.

Sir,—Having worn trusses for twenty years, and suffered the most excruciating pain of strangulated hernia, which occurred while wearing my truss, and, without a doubt, should have lost my life, but for the great skill and attention paid me by Mr. Mayo in the operation. And, notwithstanding I had the best medical aid, and, as I supposed, the best trusses that could be procured, my rupture continually increased, and escaped from every truss that I had employed, until I had yours; and am happy to state, that I now feel perfectly comfortable, and more secure, under every position of the body, than at any period, either before or since I underwent the operation.

I am, Sir, with gratitude, yours, &c.,

JOHN QUICK.

No. 70, Great Titchfield-street, Marylebone,
 June 14th, 1833.]

Sir,—About twelve months since I purchased one of your Patent Trusses for my father, Lieutenant Munro, who has worn trusses thirty years, and such is the estimation in which your truss is held by him, that he would not part with it for the value of all the trusses he had previously worn.

I am, Sir,

your very humble servant,

A. T. MUNRO,

Lieut. and Adjut. Royal Horse Guards.

Tain, 21st Sept. 1833.

John Borthwick Gilchrist, Esq. has published his case. He had been a great sufferer for many years from rupture, and he says that none of the Truss-makers in Germany, Belgium, France, Switzerland, nor in England, except Mr. Coles, ever made him an efficient truss, whose professional abilities, he adds, combined with his truly scientific discovery justly entitles him to universal confidence.—See Doctor, No. 69.

* Read the case of William Cobbett, Esq. published in Boyle's "Court Guide" for Jan. 1833-4.

Printed by William Cobbett, Johnson's-court; and published by him, at 11, Bolt-court, Fleet-street.



CHURCH PROPERTY.

TO THE READERS OF THE REGISTER.

Bolt-court, 20. February, 1834.

IN the panic of 1825, and 1826, Mr. RICHARD SPOONER called at the shop in FLEET-STREET to see my American stove; and, soon beginning to talk about the panic, he asked me what I would do with the thing, if I had it in my power to do what I liked. I told him, that I had just been reading over the Norfolk petition, and that I would, if I could, do precisely what the county of Norfolk had prayed for in that petition. He asked me to read it. I read on till I came to that part which prays for an application of part of the church-property to public purposes, and especially to the liquidation of any part of the debt which it might be just to discharge. Upon my reading that he exclaimed: "They will never do that!" To which I answered, "By heavens they will do it, Mr. Spooner; and be glad to do it, too."

Mr. Spooner will recollect this, I am very sure; and, when he has read the account of the late county meeting in Devonshire (a large slice of the sirloin of England), and has also paid attention to what is passing, and about to pass, in Parliament, he will begin to think that I was right. Right as to the precise manner it was next to impossible to be; but right as to the substance it is now evident that I was. I beg my readers to read with care, and to pay particular attention to this transaction in Devonshire, which is, in fact, the

greatest, in natural resources; in solid, unalienable, unchangeable, resources, of all the counties of England. A few other counties are higher in rental, and pay a great deal more in taxes; but the property in these is here to-day and gone to-morrow. Even the agriculture in Norfolk, and in some other counties, is rather a creation of man and of circumstances, and, therefore, of a fluctuating and uncertain nature. This county has the value in itself; it is what it always was, and it always must be what it is now. It is, perhaps, as much of a church county as any in England. With the exception of the seaport of PLYMOUTH, it has no great towns, and it knows very little, comparatively, about dissenters of any sort, except the Methodists, who do not differ in doctrines from the church itself. So that the sentiments and the intentions of the people of this great county are worthy of the greatest attention.

It will be seen that the meeting of the county was very numerous; that it was attended by many members of Parliament; and that, after long discussion, displaying great ability, this great body of proprietors and occupiers of land, came to a decision, that THE TITHES OUGHT TO BE REDUCED TO A TENTH PART OF THE RENT, instead of a tenth part of the produce of the land. It is very well known that Lord EBRINGTON is a great favourite in Devonshire, and, particularly, amongst the reformers of the county, who now make a very great majority. A gentleman of that county, writing to me better than a year ago, I think it was, observed, "that we have one member that can be relied upon at all times, and that is Lord EBRINGTON." The noble lord (as would be seen by the report of the proceedings) could not give his support to the petition; it will be seen (I am afraid not until the next *Register*), that he was not received in the usual manner; it will be seen that a great majority of the persons present

expressed their disapprobation of this part of his conduct; and it is very curious, that amongst the rest of this majority, appears to have been the gentleman who wrote to me in so confident a manner with respect to Lord EBRINGTON, and who will recollect that I told him, that Lord EBRINGTON would not go the full length that he expected him to go. Indeed, he cannot go that length, without making up his mind to the *total annihilation of the establishment*; and this is not to be expected of him, and was not to be expected of him; so that, if his constituents be deceived, they are the authors of their own deception.

I do not know how many times, or rather, how many hundred times, since the year 1814 inclusive, I have had to observe, that the French war would produce *every effect which it was intended to prevent*. This is a very curious thing: it is as interesting a point in the history of mankind as any that that history presents. It shows that, when a people have reason and justice on their side, either a government must yield to them, or, in the end, they will prevail over the government, and will make it worse for the governing powers than it would have been, if the reasonable and just demands of the people had been granted at once; that, in the end, the people will demand more, and demand and obtain things that they never would have dreamed of demanding. Who, that recollects the state of England fifty years ago, as I do, can help being astonished, when he carries himself back to that period; can help being astonished at the present universal outcry against the tithes! Why, the tithes used to be taken generally in kind; the tithes used to be taken out of the fields of my father, and carried to the parsonage-barn, without our thinking that there was any thing unjust in the thing; and so far, in our particular case (and it was the general case in a large parish), were we from feeling hostility towards the tithe-owner (a lay impropiator, too), that I have been sent, many a time, when we were in a hurry to carry a field of corn, to stick

the boughs into the cocks or the shocks, while the old hobbling tithing-man, by moving about the field a little, counted the shocks, or the cocks, and pointed out those into which I was to stick the boughs. What a change! Now, all is hostility between the parties; all is grudging on one side, and greediness on the other. By degrees the tithes have become commuted all over the kingdom; and it is this circumstance, added to the shameful pluralities, and consequent non-residence, that has been the cause of the overthrow of the church; or, rather, they have been the cause of alienating the attachment of the people to it; and have marked it out as a something to be sacrificed to the money-monster created by the French war. While tithes were taken *in kind*, the parson had his foot upon the land; his right was not only not disputed, but it was obvious; it was visible to all eyes; and, observe, he had labourers to employ in the thrashing and carting, and the foddering of cattle; and he was a good employer, because his corn was constantly going to the market, and he had constantly the means of employment and of payment. He must be a very unobserving man, a very poor "*feelosoffer*," who does not know how much more willingly men part with their produce, or their goods, than they part with *money*. It is very curious, but it is very true, that a man thinks very little about paying you a sum, if you will take it out in goods. How rejoiced I should be if Lord ALTHORP would take my share of the taxes out in books. To be sure, mine is a sort of goods, the power of *creating which* is in good hands; but not a tailor, shoemaker, haberdasher, nor even cheesemonger, or butcher, that would not rather pay in kind than in money. Aye, but when you come to the *farmer*, his sack of wheat is money: he knows he can have three pounds for the sack that very day, by taking it to market; and he can have three shillings over for the trouble of carrying it there. He has three pounds to pay you, and he has the money in his drawers; it is, therefore, no difference to him, in fact, whe-

ther he give you the three pounds, or give you the sack of wheat; but when you go to demand the money, only tell him that you will take a sack of wheat instead, and see how his countenance will brighten up in a moment. There was a farmer in *Long Island*, who owed me thirty dollars. He was a rich fellow. When he came to pay me, he pulled out a bag that had a hundred dollars in it, I dare say; but he took care not to open the bag, and very soon slipped it back again into his coat pocket, asking me, as he put it back, whether *I did not want some corn*. Now, the corn was dollars; he had only to take it to New York, twenty miles upon a smooth road, and there take the money for every grain of corn that he had. The conversation that ensued between us, I endeavouring to convince him that he might as well give me the money as give me the corn, and he endeavouring to persuade me that it would be better for me to have the corn than the money, was of considerable length; and it ended at last with his carrying off his bag of dollars untouched, and agreeing to send me in the corn for two dollars less than I must have paid him or somebody else for the very same corn, and probably the next day. This was not from want of acuteness in him; he understood all the matter as well as I did; but, having the dollars in the bag, his reluctance to let them out got the better of his reason and his arithmetic.

In the year 1800, when I returned the first time from the United States of America, the late Mr. POULTER, brother-in-law of Bishop NORTH, and a Prebendary of WINCHESTER, with a couple of livings in the church, and one of whose sons is now a member of the House of Commons, for whom I have a very great respect, on account of the efforts which he made to mitigate the fate of the poor fellows at WINCHESTER, in 1830; that Mr. POULTER, at the time just mentioned, showed me a project of his, in print, for making "*a compulsory composition for tithes*," which he had submitted, or was about to submit, to Mr. PRY. I gave him my opinion upon the subject, which was this: that, if once

the power of taking up tithes in kind were taken away by law, the church-establishment must, in a very short time, be totally destroyed. This is now to be done, at the very least; and it is clear to me that the church establishment cannot outlive that law, but for a very few years, even supposing no other cause of destruction to be at work. When the thing becomes a mere money payment, then it will be viewed simply as a tax, as a burden, an unnecessary, and, therefore, an unjust burden. How is it that tithes have existed for about a thousand years; and, for the far greater part of the time, and until within the last forty years, or thereabouts, without any grudging on the part of any body? In the time of the religion of our forefathers, there were abundant reasons for this harmony between the tithe-receivers and the tithe-payers; because then, while there was but one religion in the country too, the necessitous part of the people were relieved out of the tithes as out of their patrimony; and because the priest of the parish was continually on the spot. To be sure, since that time, and under this present church, the poor have not been relieved out of the tithes, nor have the churches been repaired out of the tithes; but, still this church would have stood, in spite of the dissent from it, and in spite of the weight of the taxes, which is one of the causes that are now shaking it down, had pluralities not existed, had residence been enforced, and had the tithes everywhere been constantly taken in kind. Get upon a hill (if you can find one) in Suffolk or Norfolk, and you can find plenty in Hampshire and Devonshire and Wiltshire; look at the church-steeple, one in about every four square miles at the most, on an average. Imagine a man of some learning, at the least, to be living in a genteel and commodious house, by the side of every one of those steeples; almost always with a wife and family; always with servants, natives of the parish, gardener, groom, at the least, and all other servants. A large farm-yard; barns, stables, thrashers, a carter or two, more or less of glebe, and of farm-

ing. Imagine this gentleman, having an interest, an immediate and pressing interest, in the productiveness of every field in his parish; being, probably, the largest corn-seller in the parish, and the largest rate-payer; more deeply interested than any other man can possibly be in the happiness, harmony, morals, industry, and sobriety of the people of his parish. Imagine his innumerable occasions for doing acts of kindness; his immense power in preventing the strong from oppressing the weak; his salutary influence, coming between the hard farmer, if there be one in his parish, and the feeble or simple-minded labourer. Imagine all this to exist close alongside of every one of those steeples; and you will at once say to yourself, "Hurricanes or earthquakes must destroy the island before that church can be over-set." And, when you add to all this, that this gentleman, besides the example of good manners, of mildness, and of justice, that his life and conversation are constantly keeping before the eyes of his parishioners; when you add to all this, that, one day in every week, he has them assembled together to sit in silence, to receive his advice, his admonitions, his interpretation of the will of God as applicable to their conduct and their affairs, and that, too, in an edifice rendered sacred in their eyes from their knowing, that their forefathers assembled there, in ages long passed, and from its being surrounded by the graves of their kindred; when this is added, and when it is recollected, that the children pass through his hands at their baptism; that it is he alone who celebrates the marriages, and performs the last sad service over the graves of the dead; when you think of all this, it is too much to believe it possible that such a church can fall. Yet fall it will; and that, too, without any violence from any quarter; and this is the most curious and interesting circumstance of all. The "REFORMATION" (as it is most falsely called) was effected by violence. It was engendered in the wickedest of motives, and carried on and ended by acts of plunder and of blood. The scaffold was continually streaming with

blood; and the rack continually at work, for upwards of fifty years. This church was established by more violence and more cruelty than ever were before witnessed in the world. There will require no scaffolds and no racks to wean the people from it. It has abandoned itself, by degrees; and, at last, it is abandoned completely by the people; I mean by the church people; while its natural enemies, the dissenters, have been increasing in influence, in just the same degree that the church has been losing its influence; and, of the two, the dissenters feel less hostility to the establishment, as now carried on, than is felt towards it by the church people themselves.

I have, above, called upon the reader to get upon a hill, view the steeples, and imagine the state of the parishes and the strength of the church, with a resident clergy, gathering their tithes in kind. But, in standing upon a hill now and surveying the steeples, what is he now to imagine? Let him get upon the top of the KEEP, for instance, of the ancient castle which stands at the back of the palace of the Bishop of WINCHESTER, at FARNHAM, in Surrey. We will not leave him to imagination here, but describe the reality. Just beneath him, he sees the parish church; he surveys a large and beautiful parish, rich in corn fields, beautiful meadows, and the fine and far-celebrated hop-gardens. He sees the rectorial tithes taken away by a lay-impropriator; he sees the vicarial tithes taken away by a non-resident vicar; he sees tithes to the amount of two thousand pounds a year and upwards taken far away and spent by these two persons; and he sees a curate performing the duties of this immensely productive parish for one hundred pounds a year; that is to say, about three times the wages of a middling labouring man who digs in the hop-gardens; not twice the wages of a journeyman carpenter or bricklayer, not so much as the wages of a good journeyman locksmith in London; and this, observe, in, I believe, the very finest parish, all taken together, in the whole kingdom. Lifting his eyes from

this parish church, standing on the verge of the meadows on the side of the river, he looks over the hill on the other side of the valley, and there he sees the large agricultural parish of FRENESHAM, yielding tithes to the amount of five hundred pounds a year; he sees a miserable curate there with a stipend of forty pounds a year. Shocked at that sight, he turns away: his eyes a little to the left, but there they are met by the parish of ELSTEAD, with tithes again amounting to five hundred a year, and with a still more wretched curate, for this one has only twenty pounds a year! "This is too bad!" exclaims the zealous churchman; and, turning his eyes in disgust from the south, and looking to the west, as it were, towards WINCHESTER, silently beseeching the Right Reverend the Bishop, the "overseer of the shepherds," to come and bring them back to their abandoned flocks; there his eyes, the moment they get over the confines of the parish of FARNHAM, are met by the fine and productive parish of BENTLEY, where he finds tithes amounting to eight hundred pounds a year, and a wretched curate living upon a stipend of twenty-eight pounds a year. Exclaiming "Oh, God of justice and mercy!" he hastily turns his eyes from the west toward the east, and the first spot on which they alight, are the two parishes of SEAL and TONGHAM, with tithes amounting to three hundred and fifty pounds a year, and with one miserable curate between them, with a stipend of five-and-twenty pounds a year. Shocked and disgusted beyond measure, but still hoping to find in the north some little thing to apologize for the south and the west and the east, and for the spot where he stands, he turns about; and again on the confines of the parish of FARNHAM, the first thing that his eyes alight on is the parish of ALDERSHOTT. "Thank God!" says he to himself, "this is in the church-loving county of Hants!" The cathedral of WINCHESTER and the Bishop's See will certainly secure something here for "the cure of souls." Upon looking closer, he starts back, and exclaims, "What! tithes amounting to six hundred and fifty pounds sterling a year; a miserable curate allowed fifteen pounds a year, and the tithes carried away by a clerical corporation, of which the Earl of GUILDFORD is the head, and while that Earl of GUILDFORD has four livings, or the tithes of four parishes in that same diocese of WINCHESTER, over and above his large share of the tithes of the parish of ALDERSHOTT!" After this survey of the reality; after this survey of seven contiguous parishes, in which he sees not one resident rector or vicar; in which he sees no clergyman able to keep a servant of any description; in which he sees seven men called parsons, each of them with no more influence than a journeyman carpenter or bricklayer; from which seven parishes he sees taken, to be spent far away, tithes to the amount of five thousand pounds a year; and in which he sees seven clergymen living, altogether, upon *two hundred and forty-eight pounds a year*; after beholding and contemplating this spectacle, he, though lamenting the conclusion, comes to the conclusion that it is impossible that this church can stand. He exclaims, in the bitterness of his heart; he exclaims, in the words of the prophets ZACHARIAH and EZEKIEL, "Woe to the idle shepherd that leaveth the flock! Woe be to the shepherds of ISRAEL that do feed themselves! Should not the shepherds feed the flocks? Ye eat the fat, and ye clothe ye with wool: ye kill them that are fed; but ye feed not the flock. The diseased have ye not strengthened, neither have ye healed that which was sick, neither have ye bound up that which was broken, neither have ye brought again that which was driven away, neither have ye sought that which was lost; but with force and with cruelty have ye ruled them; and they were scattered, because there was no shepherd. Thus saith the Lord God. Behold, I am against the shepherds, and I will require my flock at their hands, and cause them to cease feeding the flock, neither shall the shepherds feed themselves any more;

"for I will deliver my flock from their mouth, that they may not be meat for theirs."

How many societies are there for promoting the reading of the Bible! And, if the people do read the Bible; and if they do regard it as the word of God, as they ought, how are they to believe that it is right that the church should continue in its present state?

The people know, also, that every man who is in holy orders, has made a contract with the nation to do something for the people in return for the tithes and other church emoluments. They make a contract; they make solemn vows; and, are those vows to pass for nothing? and *what* are these vows? Because, when we are talking of vested rights, and of law on the side of the parsons, we have a right to inquire, whether they have kept their part of the compact. They have made a contract; and, now, let us see whether they have observed their part of it. What is the contract?

What is the contract which they make with the nation? What is the obligation which they take upon them? What are the duties that they most solemnly engage to perform? At their ordination they solemnly profess, that they "believe that they are moved by the Holy Ghost to take upon them the office, to serve God for the promoting of his glory, and the edifying of his people." They declare also, that they are "determined, with the Scriptures, to instruct the people that shall be committed to their charge; they promise that they will give their faithful diligence always so to minister the doctrine and sacraments and the discipline of Christ, as the Lord hath commanded, and as this realm hath received, the same according to the commandment of God; that they will teach the people committed to their cure and charge with all diligence to keep and observe the same; that they will be ready with all faithful diligence to banish and drive away all erroneous and strange doctrines contrary to God's word; and to use public and private admonitions and ex-

hortations, as well to the sick as to the whole, within their cures, as need shall require, and occasion be given; that they will be diligent in the prayers and in the reading of the Holy Scriptures, and in such studies as help to the knowledge of the same, laying aside the study of the world and the flesh; that they will be diligent to frame and fashion themselves and their families according to the doctrine of Christ, that they may be wholesome examples and spectacles to the flock of Christ; and that they will maintain and set forwards quietness, peace, and love, among all Christians, but, especially among them that are or shall be committed to their charge." And they most solemnly ratify and confirm these declarations and promise by receiving the holy communion.

Now, how are they to do these things, or, indeed, any part of these things, unless they be at the places where they have so solemnly promised to do them? How are they to promote God's glory and edify his people; how are they to instruct the people committed to their charge; how are they to explain the word to the people of their cure; how are they to be ready with faithful diligence to banish and drive away all erroneous and strange doctrine contrary to God's word, and especially from amongst them that are committed to their charge; how are they to fulfil any of these solemn promises, if they absent themselves from the very spot where the people committed to their charge reside? And if, having already one living, they grasp at another or two, how do they obey the injunction of the apostle, to avoid filthy lucre; how do they obey Christ, who bids them freely give; how do they fulfil their own promise, made at the altar and with such awful solemnity, to lay aside the study of the world; and how do they show themselves followers of the apostle, who bids them, "be subject one to another, and be clothed with humility, seeing that God resisteth the proud and giveth grace to the humble"?

Is it not notorious that of the eleven thousand livings in England and Wales, more than one half of them are without resident *incumbents*; and, if we include one half of the parishes that have been what is called *united*, we shall find, that two thirds of the parishes are without resident incumbents; a fourth part, perhaps, without any resident clergyman at all; and is it not equally notorious that there are thousands of parsons each of whom has more than one living; is it not also notorious that those who *do the work* of the church have hardly a bare sufficiency to eat and drink; is it not notorious that, while there are bishoprics worth from ten to forty thousand a year, one million and six hundred thousand pounds have, within the last thirty years, been voted *out of the taxes* on our malt, soap, candles, sugar, &c., "for the relief of the poor clergy of *this church*"; is it not notorious that many of the present beneficed clergy *received military and naval half-pay* for many years, and the income of their benefices at the same time; and is it not notorious that, in Ireland, the case is still more flagrant than it is here? How, then, do the parsons fulfil the promises made at their ordination? How do they obey the injunctions of the apostles: "Preach the word; be instant in season, out of season; reprove, rebuke, and exhort with all long-suffering and doctrine." The apostles tell the teachers to teach publicly, "from house to house; to show themselves in all things patterns of good works; to be examples in word, in conversation, in charity, in faith, in purity; to warn every man, to teach every man in wisdom, that they may present every man perfect in Jesus Christ." The teachers of the Gospel are called ambassadors, stewards, shepherds, watchmen, guides, lights, examples. But how are they to be any of these, if they seldom or never see any of those whom they have pledged themselves to teach?

This settles the matter as to the church as it now stands; and then, the next question is, *Can it be restored to what it ought to be?* If it could be,

that is the thing that ought to be done, because, though people in great towns do not perceive it, it is a serious change to the country; a serious change to the four hundred and sixty-five parishes of Devonshire, for instance; to the six hundred and twenty-nine parishes of Lincoln, the seven hundred and thirty-one parishes of Norfolk, the four hundred and eleven parishes of Kent; a serious change to take away one *little gentleman* out of every one of these parishes. No harm to take away from the parishes the present miserable curates, perhaps; but a serious thing to order, by law, that there never shall be these little resident gentry again; and a serious thing even now to extinguish incumbents, resident as well as non-resident, for ever. Religion has nothing at all to do with this question: it is a question of property, and property only. My Lord ALTHORP has intimated that he is going to propose a commutation; that is to say, to make the tithes an affair of mere money. This scheme may be enacted; but acts of Parliament can be repealed, or altered, and when once this becomes a matter of mere money, it will be, and must be, viewed as a *tax*, and being viewed as a tax, that tax will be a thing to be repealed as much as the malt, or any other taxes. The *property* will be gone. It will not only have changed its character and its nature, but it will no longer be considered as property. Once severed from the land, it becomes a tax; and there can be no earthly reason produced, after this change in its nature, for the continuation of it. The dissenters will assert, and with reason, that it is a tax for purposes, the benefits of which they do not share. They already petition, expressly, for an exemption from *church-rates*, on the ground, that the churches are of no use to them, and that they build and repair their own churches. I believe that they will carry this point; and, if they do, what reason is there to be found for requiring them to pay that which will really and truly be a tax to support church parsons.

Then there is another difficulty; and, indeed, two or three more. What is to

be done with the *patrons* of the clerical benefices? If you compel the incumbents to reside, there must be something in the way of equalization of livings; and, in the case of innumerable impropriations, you must compel the impropriators *to allow a sufficiency for residence*. Then, what is to be done with the present incumbents? Are Lords GUILDFORD and WALSINGHAM, for instance, one of them to keep four livings and the other three, to the end of their lives; and is residence to be enforced in some parishes, and not in others? And, as to the *rate* of the commutation; if the propositions in the Devonshire petition are to be adopted, there will not, in many cases, be enough to support residence, without taking the whole of the tithe away from the impropriator; and can you deal in any way whatever with the parochial tithes, and leave the chapters and sees and colleges untouched? In short, it is revolution, look at it which way you will; and it is utterly impossible to look at the Devonshire proceedings without being convinced that this revolution has actually begun.

And, now, what do the nobility and clergy think of their conduct for forty years past? It is they who have been the makers of this revolution, and the sole makers of it. It would be curious to look back to the time when the late Duke of PORTLAND, the late Earl FITZWILLIAM, and the present Earl SPENCER, together with Mr. WYNDHAM, and some others of less consequence, having BURKE for trumpeter and mouth-piece, quitted their party; quitted the party of FOX, and joined the party of PITT, in favour of the war against the republicans of France. That will form a very interesting epoch in the History of the Reign of George the Third. FOX said, "Let the French alone; make a reasonable reform of the Parliament here; and leave the French to justify you in not going further, which, by their mad pranks, they will soon do." PITT was of this opinion; but, when the noblemen before-mentioned declared in favour of war, he was compelled to go to war, or quit his place. Having

determined on war, he exerted all his talents, and all his means of every sort, in support of it. With one hand the press was corrupted, or silenced by persecution; with the other hand the *Habeas Corpus* Act was suspended, and the person of every man put at the disposal of the Government; every man who spoke against the war was deemed a traitor in his heart, and treated accordingly. The noblemen and gentlemen who were for the war, said, in justification of their measures, that, if the revolution in France were suffered to succeed, there must be a similar revolution in England, including, of course, an abolition of the orders of nobility and a dethroning of the king. The French had abolished tithes, and stripped the clergy of their estates. There were no monasteries to pillage in England, that having been accomplished without the assistance of Jacobins, two hundred and fifty years before. But there were tithes to abolish; and, therefore, no description of men were so vehement against the French revolution as the clergy of England, who, all at once, discovered that the Popish religion was a thing, to put down which was most sacrilegious and impious. In short, the war was undertaken for the purpose of crushing the French revolution, and thereby preventing a reform of the Parliament and an abolition of tithes in England.

But, this revolution was not to be crushed without money; and that money was not to be had without the contracting of the debt; and that debt is not to be paid off; and the interest of it is not to be paid without the scenes which we now behold; and this debt is now doing all that any set of Jacobins could have done, if five hundred thousand of them had come over from France for the purpose and assisted the Jacobins of England. The affair of the tithes I look upon as settled; and, though the orders of the nobility and the throne may, and I trust will, remain, the estates of the nobles will be all taken away by this debt, unless it be speedily and largely reduced; and of this I know no man sanguine enough to say that he has any expectation whatever.

Thus, then, the battle of WATERLOO, battle of TRAFALGAR, battle of SALAMANCA, battle of the NILE, and all the battles and all the "glories," will, at last, have done nothing but help in producing a revolution a great deal worse for the projectors of the war, than that revolution would have been, which would have taken place without the war. Even now the same error is, it seems, to be repeated: the pensions, the sinecures, the grants, the dead-weight, all are to be adhered to, till they can be adhered to no longer; and then away they all go with other things, not now in contemplation by the people, along with them. In conclusion, let the clergy remember this: that, were it not for the debt, and the army required by the debt, and the pressure arising from the taxes necessary to support these, that man would have been deemed a madman, who should have put forth propositions like those contained in the Devonshire petition.

WM. COBBETT.

MR. SHEIL.

It is useless to say much upon this subject. A committee was appointed by the House of Commons, to inquire into the truth or falsehood of the statement made by Mr. HILL, at HULL, which was, in consequence of questions asked of Lord ALTHORP in the House, made to apply to Mr. SHEIL. The committee determined, and so reported to the House, *that the charge was totally destitute of foundation.* Lord ALTHORP, who had said on a former occasion that the report of such language used by Mr. SHEIL had reached him, and that he believed it to be true, stated to the House, that he now believed that those from whom he had received the information had been *mistaken*, or in *error*. Mr. HILL went before the committee, and stated, that what he had said at HULL, he had said in an *unguarded moment*; and that he was now convinced that the information which he had received was not correct. Lord

ALTHORP apologized to Mr. SHEIL for having been led to believe of him that which now appeared not to have been true. Thus Mr. SHEIL stands fully and completely acquitted of every particle of the charge, and the whole body of the Irish members participate in that acquittal. Every one must perceive, and did perceive, that the charge acquired a tremendous addition of weight from the circumstance of its being sent forth under the belief expressed by Lord ALTHORP; because nobody would believe that he did not say what he thought; neither would any body believe, that he would have so decidedly expressed his belief in the facts, unless he had had good grounds for that belief. He said, repeatedly, that he had the firmest reliance on the word of his *informant*; and people naturally placed great reliance on his judgment with regard to that informant. But, alas! he was compelled to confess that that informant had been *mistaken*, or in *error*. And *who was this informant?* The words "*mistaken*," or in "*error*," are soft words, but they have a hard meaning, which common people express by a much *shorter* word. Who, then, was this informant? There were two, it seems; but his lordship very candidly said, that Mr. WOOD was one! that is to say, "*WOOD*, emphatically called *JOHN*," who kept me out of the seat for PRESTON in 1826; whose character I so truly described, and whose destiny, thus far, I so distinctly foretold at that time, on the hustings, and in the face of the people. "*Where*," says some poet, "*is the place so sacred, into which reptiles sometimes creep not?*" Amongst the things the most mortifying that we behold is, that the ears of men like Lord ALTHORP should be accessible to what is said by men like "*WOOD*, emphatically call *JOHN*." See the troubles and dangers that arise from such accessibility. Lord ALTHORP, every one believes, most firmly believed what he said; most firmly believed that Mr. SHEIL was guilty; and he was drawn into a situation to be compelled to declare his belief, or to act a dastardly part. This

latter he would not do; and therefore he declared his belief, and kept "Wood, called JOHN," out of sight, at the peril of his own life. The last time that I had to mention this matter, I expressed my hope that he would see reasons to confess that he had been led to entertain an erroneous belief. He did see reason to make that acknowledgment. He made the acknowledgment; and all that he has to do in future is, to know his man well before he believes him.

I INTENDED to give an analysis of the Navy Estimates; but I shall do it another time.

POOR-LAWS.

Dunfermline, 9. Feb. 1834.

POOR MAN'S FRIEND,—You have earned this title, the highest and most honourable, by your potent and persevering exertions in behalf of the labouring and suffering poor. Your *Register* of the 25. of last month, afforded me much pleasure, as it gave evidence of the continuance, almost increase, of your most extraordinary powers of mind and vigour of intellect; and I especially rejoice in the application of that and others your peculiar gifts, to the conservation of THE RIGHTS OF THE POOR. You pen up your opponent into a corner, and then completely floor him. I am only sorry that it should have been necessary for you to inflict such a chastisement on the person of a friend.

When in conversation with you, I expressed my fears for Mr. Hume, on account of his flirtings with the feelosofers and national-faith men, you answered, "Oh! no fear of Joseph: Joseph is a *canny Scotch body*; Joseph will come in." I would still hope your prediction may be verified; but, I am exceedingly jealous of every one who would aid or abet the present Ministers, in their apparent designs against the poor of England. Joseph has "seen the head of a bill." Ah! Joseph, Joseph!

"Satan hath deceived thee, that he may sift thee as wheat": we will "pray for thee, and still hope thou wilt come in"; but if our hopes are disappointed, the loss may be partly ours; the blame, assuredly, will be wholly thine!

I may just notice in passing, a "white finger" in *Tait's Magazine*, a friend of Mr. Hume, and, who is or would be in the secret; this wise man of Gotham "vehemently doubts," yes, "*vehemently doubts*"; a pretty phrase for a *learned* and *literary* M.P.; vehemently doubts whether the Ministers will have courage to carry into effect the plans of the Poor-Law Commissioners. Well, I am glad that Mr. J. A. R. vehemently doubts upon this subject.

One great cause of the errors of the *doctrinaires*, is, their idleness, and inexperience of hardships in life. They know not, as you and I do, what it is to work, and to want. Of you, the labouring poor can say truly, "We have not an high priest who cannot be touched with a feeling of our infirmities; but one who was in all points tempted like as we are." You, sir, "wisely consider the case of the poor man," because you know experimentally and feel sympathetically *what it is*. There is also, with you, your worthy colleague, Fielden; and, another of "the order of factory boys"; (will you give us his name, that it may be enrolled among the names of our household gods?); it is with such men Mr. Hume should take counsel, on subjects of this kind. Mere book-readers, book-makers, speculators, and theorists, know little of the real condition and sentiments of the working and suffering poor.

It was for this reason I petitioned the House of Commons last session, that "the Irish commissioners might be instructed to eat and drink and lodge and work with the labouring poor of Ireland; and that Daniel O'Connell, Esq., M.P., and Joseph Hume, Esq., M.P., might be of the commission." Had the prayer been granted, we might have expected a report, rational and humane. Had I O'Connell and Hume for *shopmates*, and better ones I could

not wish, by St. Crispin ! their conversion would be a short and an easy process ; nay, had I even the great Schoolmaster Brougham himself, for an apprentice, wig doffed, coat off, apron on, and awl in hand, fairly sitting down on the stool on my left, *I'm blawed if I wou'd'nt* soon " clear his head " o' doited lear ; and teach him to work and to think, and think rightly, at one and the same time. I know, experimentally, that the one exercise facilitates the other, the physical action of the muscles dissipates the peccant humours of the body, which latter are the causes of *feelosofie deliria*, *Malthusian hypochondria*, and moral insensibility in idle men ; in all, less or more, who do not work, or have never worked with their hands, for their daily bread.

" 'Tis in the *distance* the enchantment lies" : so, the feelosofers look forward to the Malthusian Millennium ; nations of cold-hearted bachelors, and " frosty maids forsworn the dear embrace" ; loss of early, of conjugal, and parental love, and filial piety ; when the unphilosophical sentiment of pity shall be extinct ; when the moral code shall be regenerated ; our Bible shall read, " Keep " what you have ; and give 'not' to " the poor" ; and, the anticipation of the final sentence will run, " Come, ye blessed, " for I was hungry, and ye gave me " no " meat." " Depart, ye cursed, for I was an-hungered, and he fed me ——" Blessed time of gin-house production without limit ; and miserly accumulation without end ! Glorious consummation of feelosoty ! for this, let us starve and exterminate the present race of " paupers" ; for this, " limit the numbers " of effective labourers ; for this, ye " peasantry " and " populace," be content to sleep in *bothies* and live on *brose* ; eat potatoes with gladness, and drink water with a merry heart : this is " the transition state" ; and, a thousand years or two after ye are dead, all will be well, and according to " the rule of right" ! But, if ye are allowed to feed and breed, there will take place, thus sayeth the great prophet Malthus, " *mites sapientia*," in the year of our Lord three thousand eight hundred and

thirty-four, on the ninth day of February, at precisely twenty minutes past twelve o'clock, noon " Lord preserve us ! What's to happen ? Is the " earth to open and swallow us up ? Are " the clouds to rain fire and *brimstone* ? " Or, is the last judgment to begin ? " No, fool ! worse than any or all such trifling accidents, *the whole earth will then be cursed with REDUNDANT POPULATION !* " Eh ! what's that ? " says clodhopper, and, without waiting for an answer, takes hold of the plough stils, " gee up, Jolly," and he drives on.

The enchantment lies in distance of place as well as of time : and thus Mr. Hume points from London to the poor of Scotland ; these, he would say or insinuate, are of an *elevated* character, as compared with the " degraded poor of England. Well, to a simple unsophisticated mind, it must appear, at least, strange, and very paradoxical, that a legal, certain, and adequate provision for the poor of England should, in any sense of the word, " degrade " them ; and that, leaving a great part of the poor of Scotland to beg, steal, starve, and die, should tend to elevate the character of the latter : but, " facts are chiefs that wanna ding an' downa, be disputed," this parish has been, for twenty years past, without any legal provision for the poor ; and, I will show Mr. Hume how the poor have have been " degraded," and the rich, reverend, and godly *brutified*, in consequence. I shall wait, however, till next month for the annual report, which I hope will be the last one, from " The " Voluntary Association for supporting " (robbing, starving) the poor." It may be enough, in the mean time, to say that, at a public meeting of this association, the Rev. George Bell Brand, treasurer, declared that " if the poor " were to get more than their present " allowances, they would only waste " it" ! Now, the average allowance does not exceed, at the utmost, *a penny a day for each !* Here, then, indeed, is a " degraded pauper population," without poor-laws. Will Hume, O'Connell, Brougham, or his commissioners, say,

that the English is more so? that is, if the Reverend spoke truth. If his charge against the poor was false, it verifies my assertion, that the rich, reverend, and godly are justified, inasmuch as the libeller was not reprimanded and dismissed from his salaried office; it will also prove that the virtuous poor are "degraded" under his superintendence and management. It is now reported, that our heritors are about to imitate the Nimrods of Dumbar, by refusing to contribute any thing to the relief of the burgh poor. Should this be the case, I will, Mr. Cobbett, petition you for the appointment of "reckoning commissioner" for the parish of Dunfermline; and, if honoured by your approval, will exert myself to the utmost to find the quantity of abbey lands, their present rents, the means by which they were wrested from the Catholic church and the poor, together with the names of the original robbers, and of their heirs and assignees, the present possessors.

As to the labouring "peasantry" of Scotland, you saw their elevated condition in *Urquhart Bothie*, and their sumptuous fare, *brose! brose! brose!* three times a day, and all the year round, BROSE!!! When the fact was first mentioned, you exclaimed, "My countrymen, the chopsticks! rather than submit to such treatment, they would burn, not the stacks only, but the *earth itself*!" And this gives me an idea of less "degradation" on the part of the chopsticks of your country, although they may not so glibly "screed aff effect'al callin"; or chant, or mumble, "What though I be poor and mean, I'll engage the rich to love me," as the clodhoppers of mine: and, I partly account for the superiority of sentiment in the English labourers, from the circumstance of their having the administration of the poor-laws continually before them; whereby they feel themselves part proprietors of the soil on which they were born, while the Scotch are taught by the *heddehashunist* to look for relief in distress, only to "charity"; and, the eternal cant and *blether* of the *hekkonomist* is, "the labourers must be taught to depend entirely on their own

resources; and, should they marry and breed, "they must be left to the punishment of nature." The Scotch labourer is, indeed, a *helot*; and all the vices of the slave are his; from all I have seen and learned, my conviction is, that there is scarcely a race on earth more "degraded" than that very "peasantry" to which Mr. Hume refers; and, till very lately, the operatives, mechanics, and tradesmen, were not much superior.

As to the *Irish*, whom O'Connell describes as dying in thousands from famine and pestilence, it is difficult to conceive any thing that can "degrade" them below "the lowest depth"; certainly, to keep or take back part of the land-rents from the Saxon, or absentee landlord, and give it to the starving labourer, would not do so; unless Mr. O'Connell means that the Irish, like some of the African slaves on the passage, should die "sulky": they have before been eulogized for "dying peaceably."

I must stop for the present; but shall be happy to acquaint you in another letter, with facts illustrative of the voluntary plan of relief and its workings under favourable circumstances, in Dunfermline. It is from such men as I am, that gentlemen such as Mr. Hume and Mr. O'Connell can be taught, to think rightly on such subjects. "We have more understanding than all our teachers"; because we immediately and directly feel the consequences of good or bad legislation in our own persons, and witness them on our near relatives and neighbours. Mr. Hume ought to know enough of the "white fingers" to make him wary of their counsels; and, for our legislators generally, it may be said of them, "They are not in trouble as other men, neither are they plagued like other men; their eyes stand out with fatness; they have more than heart could wish; therefore they are corrupt, and speak wickedly concerning oppression; they speak loftily!" and the character of the legislature will not be materially improved as long as government is based on the principle of ex-

cluding the working people from the constituency and representation.

Dear sir, take care of your health; beware of late and long sittings; never were your life and health so valuable as at present.

I am,
Poor Man's Friend,
your obedient servant,
and ardent admirer,
THOS. MORRISON. sen.

SEEDS.

ITALIAN CLOVER.

I HAVE received an account from Mr. HAYLEY, of LIVERPOOL, enabling me to state the price of the Italian clover seed, and I have come to this determination with regard to the price, which will be as follows:—

For a single pound 1s. 6d.
For ten pounds 12s. 6d.
For twenty pounds 22s. 6d.
For thirty pounds or upwards, 1s. per pound.

SWEDISH TURNIP SEED.—Any quantity under 10lbs. 9d. a pound; and any quantity above 10lbs. and under 50lbs. 8d. a pound; any quantity above 50lbs. 7d. a pound; above 100lbs. 6d. A parcel of seed may be sent to any part of the kingdom; I will find proper bags, will send it to any coach or van or wagon, and have it hooked at my expense; but *the money must be paid at my shop before the seed be sent away*; in consideration of which I have made due allowance in the price. If the quantity be small, any friend can call and get it for a friend in the country; if the quantity be large, it may be sent by me.

MANGEL-WURZEL SEED.—Any quantity under 10lbs. 9d. a pound; any quantity above 10lbs. and under 50lbs. 8d. a pound, any quantity above 50lbs. 7d. a pound; any quantity above 100lbs. 6d. a pound.

GARDEN SEEDS.

There will be two sizes of bags, one for a *large* garden and one for a *small* one; the latter will contain half the

quantity of the former. The price of the former, 25s.; the price of the latter, 12s. 6d.; always *ready money*. It is impossible for any man to raise such an assortment of *true seeds* in any *one garden*; and, if he *could do it*, the doing of it would cost him *six times the sum* that I sell these seeds at.

Any person who purchases *ten bags*, will pay the price of *eight*, and, if twenty bags, will pay the price of *fifteen*; and if 100, pay for 60. The bags will be so strongly done up that they can be sent with safety to any part of the kingdom or of the world, and each bag will have on it, or in it, a *card*, with these words, in *fac-simile* of my hand-writing; "GARDEN SEEDS, RAISED, in 1833, BY WM. COBBETT, M. P. FOR OLDHAM." And my constituents will remember, that *La charrue, l'épée et la plume ne dérogent pas*.

The following is the list of my seeds, which contains the KNIGHT-PEA, not contained in my list of last year. The EARLY-FRAME pea is the very quickest in coming that I ever saw in my life; and I think I can defy all the world for cabbage seed, though I have not got it, even yet, into that state of perfection that I shall have it next year.

KITCHEN-GARDEN SEEDS.

- | | |
|-----|--|
| No. | |
| 1. | Asparagus. |
| 2. | Bean—Broad, or Windsor. |
| 3. | Long Pod. |
| 4. | Early Masagan, |
| 5. | Kidney (or French). Scarlet Runners. |
| 6. | White Runners. |
| 7. | Bean—Black Dwarf. |
| 8. | Dun Dwarf. |
| 9. | Robin-Egg. |
| 10. | Speckled. |
| 11. | Beet—Red. |
| 12. | Brocoli—White. |
| 13. | Purple. |
| 14. | Cape. |
| 15. | Cabbage—Early Buttersea. |
| 16. | Early York. |
| 17. | Savoy. |
| 18. | Caul—Curled—Green. |
| 19. | Carrot. |
| 20. | Cauliflower. |

21. Celery.
22. Chervil.
23. Cress.
24. Cucumber, early frame.
25. Corn (Cobbett's).
26. Endive.
27. Leek.
28. Lettuce—White Coss.
29. Brown Dutch.
30. Mustard—White.
31. Nasturtium—Dwarf.
32. Onion.
33. Parsnip.
34. Parsley—Curled.
35. Knight-Pea.
36. Pea—Early-frame.
37. . . . Tall Marrowfats.
38. . . . Dwarf Marrowfats.
39. Radish—Early Scarlet.
40. White Turnip.
41. Spinnage.
42. Squash (from America, great variety).
43. Turnip—Early-Garden.

FLOWER SEEDS.

44. Canterbury Bells.
45. Catch Fly.
46. China-asters.
47. Convolvulus—Dwarf.
48. Indian Pink.
49. Larkspur—Dwarf Rocket.
50. Lupins—Dwarf Yellow.
51. Poppy—Carnation.
52. French.
53. Stock, Scarlet, ten-week.
54. Mignonette.
55. Sweetwilliam.
56. Sweet Pea.
57. Venus's Looking-glass.
58. Virginia Stock.
59. Wall-flower.

TITHES. COUNTY MEETING.

(From the Western Times.)

Exeter, 10. Jan., 1834.

THE interest excited by this meeting has not been surpassed by any county meeting which has taken place for a long time. Nothing since the great agitation which finally shook the Tories

from their long abiding place at the head of the country, can be compared with it in interest and excitement. Many of the yeomen, notwithstanding the ungenial state of the weather, arrived in the city on Thursday afternoon, determined to take a part in the momentous proceedings. The South Hams, ever on the alert, led the van, and as we were informed by several gentlemen of that district, the excitement that prevailed there, appeared as if the Tories had suddenly and unexpectedly risen, and come to life again, and the South Hammer had been as suddenly called upon once more to knock them on the head. The northern districts, though less animated in expression, felt the importance of the meeting not the less deeply, if we may judge by the appearance of the gallant fellows on the distant hills. The far west too, had acknowledged the talismanic sound of Tithes! and the moor-man from the wilds of Dartmoor, and the yeoman from its neighbouring vales, joined the sturdy assemblage to do battle in the good cause.

If the South Hams were peculiarly excited, it was not without peculiar cause, for the landowners of that district had felt it to be their duty to take a very prominent part in promoting the meeting; foremost among these was H. Strunby, Esq., of Watton Court; this gentleman, whose patriotism is so prominent, caused an excellent address to be circulated through his own neighbourhood; he attended the meetings and assemblages of the farmers, and addressed them on the importance of stirring heart and hand; he has seized every opportunity of mingling with them; wherever two or three were gathered together, there was he in the midst, pointing out the grievances and oppressions of the system, its anti-christian tendency, and the necessity of combating it at once manfully and vigorously. The attendance of South Hammers showed that his labour was not in vain.

To the Owners and Occupiers of Land, and other Tithe Payers, in Devon.

Gentlemen,—The High Sheriff, (John Quicke, Esq., of Newton-house), having promptly complied with the requisition of

2,160 of us, who desired him to convene a county meeting, "To consider the propriety of petitioning the legislature on the subject of the tithe laws and their effects"; and the Sheriff having done us the honour of promptly ordering such meeting to be held at the Castle of Exeter, on Friday next the 10. instant, by 12 o'clock, I take this method of informing you thereof, and hope that every one of you will appear there to give his voice and hear the result of the meeting on the present tyrannical way in which you have for a series of years been deprived of your property.

Should any of you feel infirm from age or otherwise, and not able to attend, send a son, if you have any, or some other young friend, as your representative, who may hand down to posterity, what their ancestors did to rescue them from the degradation which by the present tithe laws is now exercised over them, and which the present reforming Parliament are determined to have commuted.

H. STUDDY, A LANDOWNER.

Wotton-court, January 6, 1831.

In reference to this subject, a friend states, that about forty or fifty years since, there were tithe meetings in this county, to sign petitions for a commutation, for the then county members to carry into Parliament; and Thomas Bradridge, Esq., of Staverton, was the chairman for nearly twenty years. The notices of these meetings are to be found in the *Sherborne Mercury* and *Trewman's Papers*.

At that time there were agricultural meetings held at Totnes, Kingsbridge, Modbury, and Ivy Bridge, when it was resolved to call a meeting of the county at Exeter, to petition Parliament, but Devon not being supported by other counties, the object was partially abandoned, till its comparatively recent revival. The meetings were therefore dropped till the reformed Parliament gave the people new hopes, and the subject has now become thoroughly grafted in the public mind.

Shortly before twelve, the yeoman began to assemble in the yard, and by the time the meeting commenced, we should estimate the numbers present at upwards of 3,000, and which, at one time, increased to about 4,000, though the heavy showers that fell dispersed a portion, and left none behind but the all-weather opponents of the system, who stood their ground like men

throughout, numbering amongst their body 3,000 as stanch and determined yeomen as ever assembled within the castle walls. When the High Sheriff made his appearance, we observed on the hustings Lord Ebrington, the Hon. Newton Fellowes, Mr. J. C. Bulteel, M. P., Mr. Parrott, M. P., Col. Seale, M. P., Sir H. P. Davie, Bart., C. P. Hamlyn, Esq., J. Chichester, Esq., Capt. Buller, Rev. Jonas Dennis, Arthur Chichester, Esq., Geo. Carey, Esq., H. Studdy, Esq., Edward Divett, Esq., M. P., &c., &c.

The arrangements for the accommodation of the press were of the worst possible description, no blame, however, is attributable to the respected Under Sheriff, as Mr. Ford had left it to a gentleman of the liberal party, who, from some cause or other, failed in being able to accomplish so much as we are well assured he would have done, if he had been able.

The HIGH SHERIFF having taken his station, proceeded to open the meeting, which he did by reading the requisition, and stating his compliance with it. The requisition was signed by 2,160. He then stated that he had received a letter from one of the county members, stating his inability to attend the meeting. The hon. Gent. then read the letter, which proved to be from Lord John Russell. It was dated from Woburn Abbey, 5. Jan. 1831. It stated that the noble writer having been informed by Mr. Hamlyn of the requisition to the Sheriff, and the answer of the latter thereto, fixing the meeting for this day, he wished the Sheriff to make known his reasons for not attending the meeting. He begged to assure them that it did not arise from any want of respect to the numerous body of his constituents, who had signed the requisition, nor any indifference to the great objects they had in view; but as he must be engaged in the cabinet, in the discussion of measures of the greatest importance, and as he could not address the meeting without involving his colleagues in the opinions he might express, he deemed it his duty to abstain from attending, &c. This reason appeared to be satis-

factory. As soon as the letter had been read,

C. P. HAMLYN, Esq. stood forward, and was greeted with three loud and long-continued cheers, which were called for by Mr. R. Watson of Dorsley. Mr. Hamlyn proceeded to speak as follows: Mr. High Sheriff and Gentlemen, before I enter on the business of the meeting, I feel I should not do my duty to the yeomanry, if I did not take the first opportunity of returning thanks to the Sheriff for the promptitude with which he has replied to your requisition. (Bravo). I wish some abler advocate had appeared on the present occasion. (No, no). At all times unequal to the task which I have now undertaken, I have that habitual deficiency increased by an attack of illness under which I have been labouring for the last seven weeks. Nevertheless, what remaining energy I can command, is perfectly at your service (cheers), as long as I can go on at all, I will do my best to follow up this great question to its final settlement. (Cheers). Four years have now elapsed since I last had the honour of addressing you on this question, which we are now met to discuss; there is one point in which I congratulate you: I congratulate you on the change which has taken place (cheers); we may now ask for a commutation, without being told it is impracticable. (Hear, hear). We are not now to be told that it is impracticable or unjust; for we have it from the highest authority, from the bishops themselves, that a change in the tithe laws is absolutely necessary (cheers)—that is one point gained. Gentlemen, we have heard in different quarters that this is the fact. We cannot wonder at the extent of names that has accompanied this requisition, inasmuch as it must be natural to the feelings of the men whom I see around me, manfully to express their sentiments on all topics which interest them, more particularly on this one, the evils of which they have so long felt and laboured under. It is not to be wondered that they should meet to express their opinions on this subject, more especially from the nature of the bill which was brought forward last session. (Cheers).

It is not my intention to take up your time by going into the origin of the tithe laws; we have been told that all those who contend that there was an equal division of tithes have been ignorant men, or men who wish to deceive. Now as I do not think such men as Blackstone and many others of that description, are entitled to this epithet, I still continue to think that the tithe was so divided, and what is more, that at one time the people had a right to pay this tithe to whatever clergyman they thought proper. (A voice, Where is that?). One thing is very clear, that tithe is a very great grievance in its present shape. It is inimical to the best interests of the country. (Cheers). We have been told so by the best authorities in the land, perhaps. (Cheers). Gentlemen, I will not enter into the question, to take up too much of your time, but tithes from the change of circumstances, have completely changed, and they have now risen to a point that never could have been contemplated, for how could it be contemplated, to take the tithes of things that were not known to be in existence? (Hear, hear). Every tax laid on, tells in favour of the tithe-owner, for the greater the expense of the production, the greater is his profit; (hear, hear); it is equally against the consumer and the cultivator, but I will not enter into the subject, I know that it is so bad, that you have all come here to petition against the grievance, we have come here to petition against the injustice we come here to propose a fair commutation, to get rid of that injustice, and that oppression; that tithes are unjust in their operation, there can be no doubt, to take a tenth of the capital, to take a tenth of the labour, to take a tenth of every thing, is in itself, most unjust; and, let me ask any honourable man, how it can be reconciled to common justice, that when a crop has failed, and the farmer is out of pocket, in steps the tithe-holder, and takes a tithe of his loss; when the ship is wrecked, in steps the tithe-holder, and takes a tenth of the little that is saved. (Down with the system). Gentlemen, the tithes are designated by all

authors, as a tenth of the increase upon land or capital, now in the name of common sense, in the name of common honesty, I will ask how it can possibly be just, that the tenth should be taken in seasons and upon occasions when there is no increase? and when the farmer has lost half his crop, and lost the larger portion of his capital, still the tithe-owner goes in and takes his portion. (It's too true). They are described as the produce of the land; now let us see the justice of that. It was but the other day I was looking into the report of the Commissioners of Poor-laws, and saw that 4,000*l.* a year was laid out in bone ashes, to raise turnips in a certain parish. Were the turnips the produce of the soil? they were the produce of the bone ashes, and would any man say it was justice that the parson should take the tithe of the produce of this capital? (Cheers). But what does one of our greatest men say? (Locke) he tells us that the land can only be considered the most worthless part of the material; it is the skill, and capital, and labour that come to it, that make every thing; but I need not explain this to you, every man who is here, feels the pressure of it. I need not explain to you why it is that we stand here; I make no apology for the manner in which I express myself; I declare solemnly in the face of heaven, that my only wish is to get rid of a vexatious imposition, and substitute a fair payment in place of it. (Bravo). I have no feeling against any set of men; I regard, though God knows that some may think differently from me at this moment, the clergy, as a body; I tell them on my conscience and soul, I am one of their best friends (a laugh), though they do not think so, perhaps. Do you not know that the best friend of a child, sometimes is the one that gives it physic? (Physic them well). I believe that if these imposts were removed, that the clergy would be relieved, they would be in reality what I believe they ought to be, the best friends and associates of those among whom they live; but while continual disputes are arising, and must arise, by taking on one hand what is considered unjust, and the opposite

party never thinking that they can have enough, no good understanding can exist. (Cheers). I know that I am liable, in the commutation which I propose, to be told by those who think differently from me, that the tithes have been fixed by act of Parliament, that they were patronized by that humble, excellent, moderate and religious prince, Henry VIII. (A laugh). I do not wish to go into their history, they have had a bad beginning, a bad continuation, and still make a bad end; they originated with one monarch, who murdered his brother, and were cemented by another who murdered his wives. The hon. Gent. having glanced at the subject of the law, proceeded to notice the state of agriculture in the earliest periods of history, and the effect which tithes had had in retarding and taxing its improvement. The poorer the land was the greater the expense of its cultivation—the greater the expense the manure and tillage. So this vexatious system became more vexatious, in proportion to the poverty of the soil, and the uncertainty of the return (cheers), consequently the farmer who farms on poor land, has more to pay to the tithe-owner, than the man who farms on rich. Gentlemen, I may be told that any alteration is an injustice, but I reply, that the alterations which time and improved culture have made in favour of the tithe-owner, are a great injustice. See how labour is taxed, and see how lime is taxed—they do not take tithe on lime—they do not take tithe on labour; but every bushel of lime which comes out of the earth again in a state of produce, is made to pay its tithe. (Cheers). But it not only pays its tithe in production, but it is taxed also beforehand. Most of our lime comes from Berry Head; and I think you will find that it is taxed, before it comes into the hand of the cultivator, through the taxes that are levied on the vessel. I shall not take up your time any longer—but I shall conclude by moving that the petition be read, except, by saying my object has been a fair and honest commutation, giving the tithe-owners an equivalent for all they ought to have; and when we

compare the present with the past, we shall find that two shillings in the pound now are more than six shillings were twenty years ago. (Hear, hear). I may be told that the object I have is a selfish one; but I tell you I am neither a tithe-owner nor a tithe-payer; there is not one of my tenants who has any dispute about tithes; the estate I farm myself is tithe free; some will say, you do it to put money into your own pocket. I am ready to meet that charge or any other that may be brought against me, (Cheers). The Honourable Gentleman concluded by moving the adoption of the petition.

The following petition was then read.

To the Honourable the Commons of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland in Parliament assembled.

The humble Petition of the undersigned Owners and Occupiers of Land, and other Payers of Tithes, in the county of Devon, agreed on at a county meeting, held at Exeter, the tenth day of January, one thousand eight hundred and thirty-four,

Showeth,

That your petitioners presume to address your honourable House, in consequence of their understanding it to be the intention of his Majesty's Ministers to introduce a bill in the ensuing session, for effecting certain changes in the tithe laws.

That your petitioners complain, that the demand of one tenth part of the gross produce of the land, by those who contribute nothing towards its production, is at variance with the dictates of reason, and the principles of justice, and most oppressively grievous in cases that frequently occur, when the value of the whole crop will not bear the expense of raising it.

We, therefore, earnestly pray your honourable House, that the subject of tithes may be taken into your serious consideration, and that tithes may be permanently commuted, on the basis of supposing the tithe-owner the tenth joint proprietor of the soil. But anxiously as your petitioners desire a change in the existing tithe laws, oppressive and unjust as they consider them, they would nevertheless prefer their continuance to the enactment of any other measure that would have the effect of exempting the holders of tithe property from bearing their just portion of all parochial and other assessments, thereby severing their interests from those of the rest of the community.

And your petitioners will ever pray, &c.

Sir HUMPHREY DAVIS, Bart., now stood forward to second the petition,

and was greeted with the most enthusiastic cheering. We were unable to catch much that fell from the honourable baronet, on account of the confusion which was caused by a very heavy shower of rain falling at the time. He contended, with great warmth, that a change was absolutely necessary; for that the grievance had arrived at such a pitch that it was no longer tolerable, and it would be impossible much longer to collect the tithes. He then adverted to the bill which had been brought in last session. There was a commutation, he said, proposed then; but it was found, in the common saying, "that there was a screw loose"; the commutation had been proposed in the wrong quarter, and was accompanied by the wrong measures; the people had determined to take the subject up for themselves, and to propose such a commutation as would be fair and equitable to all parties. Such he believed the proposition of the petition to be. Two shillings in the pound, he repeated, were a just equivalent for all that the clergy were entitled to. He believed the present Government to be well inclined to the settlement of this question in a fair and equitable manner; and under their care and attention he trusted the grievance would be removed. There had been a reform in the House of Parliament, and he trusted that no impediment would again retard the Ministry in its settlement. Public opinion was seldom wrong; and public opinion was fully made up against this grievance, and public opinion would soon gain the victory. The end of every corruption and abuse was approaching, and this could not long remain. The spirit which had emancipated millions of our fellow-beings from the galling chains of slavery would get rid of every other obstacle to the improvement of mankind. He felt indebted to the Ministry for what they had done already, and looked with much confidence to the future. He felt assured that public opinion would, in the end, be victorious, and that it would not be long before this question was decided in favour of the tithe-payer. (Continued cheers). The honourable baronet con-

cluded by paying a well-merited eulogium on the great services rendered by Mr. Hamlyn in this cause. He reminded them of the watchword of that honourable gentleman—PERSEVERE: he advised them still to persevere to the end. He then seconded the petition, the freeholders giving three hearty cheers for the honourable baronet, as he retired from the front of the hustings.

On the High Sheriff putting the petition,

H. STUDDY, Esq., stood forward, and was received with the warmest acclamations. He said, having been long a practical agriculturist, I appear here to-day for the purpose of supporting the petition (Put on your hat), in order that I may do my part in getting rid of that tyrannical practice which has hitherto been exercised over us, in the spoliation of our property, by taking away the tenth of our capital and of our industry. It has been held out to you, that if the landlords succeeded with this commutation, the whole of the difference will go into their pockets; that I deny (hear, hear), most positively deny. (Cheers) I have been a practical agriculturist for thirty years, for the purpose of improving my land, and I have experienced the robbery and spoliation of the system, in the taking away of the tenth of the crops which have been produced by the care and industry of myself and tenants. That never was the intention of the tithe laws; be they established eight hundred years ago, or when they might, their object was to maintain the clergy, and also the fabric of the church, and also the poor. (Hear, hear). The poor have been thrown upon the land; the church has been supported by a separate tax; and the clergy have appropriated the whole tenth. These were the abuses that had crept in. Money payments were now made for that that was originally established before money was known. (Hear, hear). I trust the abuse will not last much longer (hear); every country in the civilized world has got rid of it, but England submits to it still; I hope, however, that we shall not much longer submit to this system.

(Cheers). It has been the case elsewhere, but I hope it never will be the case here, that whenever a commotion has taken place, the tithe has been the first property to go. (Hear, hear). I was brought up in the early part of my life in revolution: I spent three years in the American war, and have seen many persons who supported this doctrine of tithes, falling before public opinion, and compelled to retire to England, and live as pensioners on the British nation. Mr. Studdy then went into a feeling picture of his own situation as a tithe-payer, every thing was taken in kind from him. This was in the parish of Stoke Gabriel, a peculiar parish, for they had lost their vicarage-house; and though they paid four or five hundred a year for the parson, all the benefit they had from him was when he came over once a week to preach to them; but one of the greatest grievances was this, that the man who took his tithe was a middleman, a class that had proved the greatest curse of Ireland, living in Exeter, who had the lease of the great tithes, whilst the vicar, who had the small tithes, was compelled to make the most of it, and they were ground in every way. The hon. Gentleman was understood to say, that he had taken every pains to come to a just composition, but could not succeed; and because he would not give way, he had now to pay every thing in kind, and even the tenth egg was taken away from him. (Hear, hear). He condemned the bill of the last session, because it was not final; for, under that, at the end of twenty-one years, the payer would be liable to a new valuation, which would then be a direct tax upon the cultivation and improvement. He repeated, that he came there with an honest spirit, willing to pay the utmost farthing that could be honestly demanded of him, but he could not but resist the grinding attempts and unjust exaction to which he was obliged to submit; and, above all, the insulting manner in which the act was performed. He fully supported the prayer of the petition. (Continued cheering).

JASPER PARROTT, Esq., M. P. (was greeted with loud cheering).—Gentlemen, as a member of the legislature, it would have been perhaps more becoming in me to have contented myself with supporting the prayer of this petition in my place in the House of Commons. (Cheers). Yet I cannot refrain from saying a few words now, and giving my hearty support to this petition. (Continued cheering). Gentlemen, we are not come here for the purpose of imputing improper or dishonourable views and feelings to those persons who, whether lay or clerical, happen to be in the possession of tithes. (Hear, hear). We come not to oppose them, but to meet them with fair argument; and if the argument is on our side, I trust that we shall carry this petition in the most triumphant manner. (Hear, hear, and cheers). Gentlemen, I have had some intimation that there is to be an amendment moved on the present occasion (no, no); but, gentlemen, remember this, that if there is an amendment proposed, what will be the professed object of it? Why, to favour the tithe-receiver, and not the tithe-payer. (Great cheering). Not only the interests of the whole body of the proprietors and occupiers of land (hear, hear) are concerned, but of all the consumers of the produce of the land, and the whole agricultural population. (Hear, hear). It behoves us, therefore, when we are about to appeal to the legislature, praying for new and better legislation on the subject, to consider well what alterations we may suggest, with a view to remove defects, and to introduce improvements. (Cheers). "Of all institutions (says Dr. Paley) adverse to cultivation and improvement, none is so noxious as that of tithes." A claimant here enters into the produce, who contributed no assistance whatever to the production; when years, perhaps, of care and toil have matured the improvement; when the husbandman sees new crops ripening to his skill and industry—the moment he is ready to put his sickle to the grain, he finds himself compelled to divide the harvest with a stranger. Tithes are a tax not only upon industry, but upon that industry which feeds mankind; upon that species of exertion, which it is the object of all wise laws to cherish and promote. (Cheers). Dr. Paley has so well described in substance the grievances complained of in the tithe-system, that I will refrain from enlarging on it, except to give a few instances of the working of the system. A farmer sows a field of wheat, and before the grain is brought to market, it costs 8*l.* an acre; produce of the field twenty bushels an acre (which is the average of the county) two bushels being subtracted for tithes, leaves eighteen bushels to the farmer, worth, say 7*s.* per bushel, 6*l.* 6*s.*; loss to the farmer, 1*l.* 14*s.* per acre; gain to the tithe-receiver for the two bushels for tithe, 14*s.* A meadow, not worth 1*l.* an acre, is drained at an expense of 30*l.* or 40*l.* an acre, immediately tithe may be claimed for the improvement from the outlay

of capital. A ram or bull is bought, at an expense of a hundred guineas; the produce is subject to tithe, as though the ram or bull cost 5*l.* only; and yet we are to be told that the occupier of lands is not interested in this question. I might mention fifty other instances, in which tithes act as oppressively and injuriously as those I have mentioned; but I have given a few specimens, to show that it oppresses the landlord, in making permanent improvements, and the tenant, in applying capital to the stocking and cultivating his land. But there is one class of persons to whom it is more injurious than to all the others, viz., the consumer. The farmer, being a capitalist, must, in the course of his business, not only replace his stock, but must as any other trader, have the ordinary rate of profit on the capital he lays out, otherwise he would cease to cultivate, as the trader would cease to trade. For instance, if he lays out 1,000*l.* in the production of goods, and before he carries them to market, 100*l.* (the tenth) worth are taken from him by the tithe-proctor, he must make enough of the remainder to replace the 100*l.* with the ordinary rate of profit; consequently he must raise the price of his goods for that purpose. This is the way in which the consumer is affected, I believe, to a very considerable extent. It will therefore be seen, that proprietors and occupiers of land, and all the consumers of the produce of land, are greatly interested in effecting, at least, a great modification of the present system; and if they make common cause, which I hope they will, I have no doubt but what they will succeed. (Great cheering). But, say those who wish to continue this unfair impost, we admit the system is bad, and it ought to be altered; we will transfer it from the occupier to the owner of lands; tithes shall not be taken in kind, but the owner shall be charged with an equivalent in money for it. There is justice for you! take this tax from one class, and place it on another; what horrid injustice; take that which was a tax on the stock of one, and place it on the freehold property of another. May the Ministers who attempt such an interference with property, meet with that condign punishment which they will richly deserve. But who are the occupiers of land? Are they all tenants? Why nearly all the land in this county, is in the hands of men who are both proprietors and occupiers; who chiefly form that magnificent body of yeomanry, who, by throwing their weight into the scale, have contributed so much to place the present county members in their situation of representatives of one of the greatest counties in the empire. (Continued cheering. A voice—They won't go again). Will these representatives, then, attempt to fix on them an equivalent for the tenth of the gross produce of the land? I hope they will speak out, and say aye or no, that the electors may know how to estimate their services. But, say the sticklers for tithes, whatever benefit is done to the tenant,

will be given to the landlord. What a fallacy. If the tithe system were modified, the landlord and tenant would be both benefited by the profit on a greater outlay of capital; one in permanent, and the other in temporary improvements. Cultivation would be extended, and more produce brought to market, which, of course, would lead to a reduction in price, proportioned to the tithe tax removed. The consumer, however, is the person who would reap the principal advantage from this. The poor, who have now no employment, would then be engaged in husbandry, and thousands and tens of thousands who are now pining in misery and want would be probably employed. But the petition is for fixing the maximum of the equivalent for tithes, at the tenth part of the clear annual value of the land—while the decisions in the courts have upheld the tithe receiver in a tenth of the gross produce of the land. But this was in darker ages than the present, when boroughcraft and priestcraft bore sway, and when the decisions of courts partook of the spirit of the then existing Governments. We have now a reformed Parliament—and I contend whatever grievances the people labour under, it is the duty, and I hope it will be the will, of Parliament, to redress speedily and effectually. To Parliament we must look for redress—and if the owners and occupiers of land, and consumers of produce, stick together, and press their case boldly, firmly, and respectfully—not suffering themselves to be dismissed by men who are not practically acquainted with the operation of the tithe system, or who wish to preserve tithes to their present full amount, though under another name, for the sake of the patronage connected with it—I have but little doubt that they will succeed. (Great cheering). I trust I have given abundant proof of the grievances of the tithe system, and that they ought to be redressed. I shall therefore now endeavour to show that the grievances should be modified to the extent expressed in the petition. (Hear, hear). I quite agree that a tenth of the clear annual value of the land, in lieu of tithes, chargeable on the occupier of lands, and with parliamentary and parochial charges as at present, in a maximum full high enough in favour of a tithe receiver—for, the taking the tithe in gross, of all the produce arising from the outlay of capital, is clearly an abuse, and as such ought, at least, to be modified to the extent prayed for in the petition. We have shown, I think, the justice and propriety of the petition. It therefore only now remains, to decide how to give effect to it in the best way. We naturally turn to those whom we have elected to represent us in Parliament, and I can scarcely anticipate any course that they will take, but that of giving their utmost support to the expressed wishes of the petitioners. If, however, I have been too sanguine in my expectations, I can only set down the disunion of the representatives of the county to support the prayer of the petition, to a want of practical knowledge of the operation of the tithe system, rather than a wilful

opposition to a fair and necessary measure. I however, still hope that the members of the county, will pause and reflect on the consequences of any opposition to the wishes of their constituents on this vital measure. (Hear). One word more before I sit down. It is not impossible but an amendment may be proposed to the petition: it is perfectly competent for any person to do so—but, gentlemen, you may rest assured, that if an amendment be proposed, that it will be done with a view to nullify the effects of the petitions proposed by Mr. Hamlyn, or at all events to disunite you, and throw confusion into your ranks. (We are too firm). I therefore strongly recommend you to continue united, and not suffer yourselves to be warped by plausible arguments, or such hard words as spoliation and robbery. If there is any spoliation, it is in having continued this objectionable and odious system, so long operating unfairly against the best interests of society. The tithe system is a realization of the fable of the drones and the bees—what we want is to have some of the honey for the industrious bees—what our opponents want, is to take a much larger quantity of honey than you will be inclined to give them. I most cordially concur in the prayer of the petition, and both in, as well as out of Parliament, it shall receive my utmost support. (Great cheering, and waving of hats).

Captain BULLER, R.N., was loudly called for—Whatever, gentlemen, my feelings on this question may be, I shall try to express them with that temper and moderation which becomes a man who pleads his own cause—which becomes a man who speaks on a matter in which he has a direct and personal interest. (Cheers). The gentlemen who have been called before you, have endeavoured to show that an alteration of the tithe law, is not merely to benefit the landowner and his tenants; but it is to benefit the whole community. (Cheers). Gentlemen, I entirely concur in that opinion, and I think it the more important to dwell upon it, because it is by consulting the general interests alone that we can expect, or ask for the general support of this county. (Put on your hat). Gentlemen, the gentlemen who have moved and seconded, and supported this petition, stand before you as I stand before you, as landowners of this county, having a separate and distinct interest in the tithe levied upon their estates. (Hear, hear). Gentlemen, it becomes them, and they have endeavoured to show, and I think with the utmost propriety, that it is not purely their advantage, that it is not the advantage of the landowners alone, but their argument and the particular argument of the gentleman who last addressed you is, that it will extend to the cultivator of the soil—that the cultivation of the soil will be extended, it will produce more corn, that it will find more labour for the poor, and provide the consumer with cheaper bread. (Cheers). If I had the same conviction, I should certainly pursue the same line of argu-

ment. (Hear). Gentlemen, if the tithes are private property, let them be respected as such; if we as landowners ask for a commutation of the tithes, it becomes us to show that we do it for the public interests, and it becomes us, above all that, to prove beyond dispute, that we seek not exclusively our own interests. Gentlemen, I am disposed to concur in that part of the petition which asks for a fixed commutation of tithes. I am right as a landowner to say, that the commutation will benefit the whole community. I go further. Gentlemen, I am disposed to ask for a fixed commutation. Gentlemen, the legislature as at various times and in various ways, with the view to promote the public interests, regulated and restrained the use of private property, they have enacted for instance, that a man shall not take usurious interest for his money; this is one case out of many that may be quoted, in which they have for the public interest, directly interfered with rights of even private property. If ever there was a case which called for this interference, it is the case of tithe taken in kind, (cheers); could the ingenuity of man devise any thing more prejudicial to the general interests than this law. Because a man farms well, and by his own skill and industry renders himself doubly beneficial to the whole community, because he doubles his produce, therefore he pays a double tithe—but it is not enough to tax the produce, but we must tax the very labour, skill, and capital which benefit mankind. (Cheers). No, the improver of land, the best benefactor of man, who makes two blades of grass grow where but one grew before, may be ruined—how often is he not ruined in his career? yet the tithe-owner takes tithe on his loss. (Cheers). For all these reasons I ask for a fixed commutation for tithes—it is for this principle that I have ever contended for it, for when you fix the commutation at a certain amount, this objection ceases: the man who farms well, or who farms ill, then pays alike; the man who doubles his produce does not double his tithe. So far I agree with the petition for a fixed commutation. But, gentlemen, with regard to one part of the petition, which fixes the amount, I cannot convince myself, and all the arguments of the hon. gentleman who last addressed you have failed to convince me, that in supporting that part of the proposition I should not be supporting the exclusive interest of the landowners. Gentlemen, I know that, throughout the kingdom, every surveyor values a tithe-free estate higher than one that is subject to tithes. I know that every man of you who may have two estates, one in which the tithes would be 10%, and the other 20%, would ask more for the estate that was only tithed 10%, than he would for the one that was tithed 20%. (Hear, hear). I know that tenants could afford to pay it, and I know that competition would give it. Gentlemen, every authority is against the honourable gentleman. There is not an author who has written on the

subject who has not said that tithes are a tax upon rent. ("No, no, we can't agree with you," and great disapprobation). Let me be heard—I will not be put down by clamour. The honourable gentleman says, "No, no." It is open to them when I have been heard to be heard also. Let them produce an instance—let them quote from whom they will, I also can quote, and that too from authority equal to all the rest put together, from the author of "Wealth of Nations." He says, "Tithes are a tax upon produce; tithes are a tax upon rent, and though they appear to be paid by the tenants, they are in reality paid by the landlord." (No, no, that's all stuff). They are of all taxes the most impolitic; they ought to be commuted, they ought to become like the land-tax, a fixed charge upon the land. The very man who said this is against the whole system of tithes, and he puts it in stronger terms than almost any other man. (Hear). But if this be the question between the tithe-owner and the landowner, then it becomes us not, as landowners, to fix the amount, and to stand forward as judges in our own cause. (Yes). I say no, I will be no party to it. (Submit to the Bible: what is the tenth part of 20 shillings? that is the question). I shall move an amendment. (The honourable and gallant gentleman then proceeded to read an amendment, which was similar to the original petition, except the fixing the amount at which the tithes should be commuted. When he came to the clause which left this to be settled by the House of Commons, he was assailed by great tumult, and a demand for the tenth, or two shillings in the pound). This, gentlemen, is the amendment which I have to propose: it differs from the original petition in this respect in fixing the amount—(Great disapprobation, which prevented the honourable gentleman from proceeding).

The HIGH SHERIFF demanded a hearing for Captain Butler.

Captain BUTLER said, it is a fair subject for reference; I say that the tithe owner should not take an advantage on the one side, nor the tithe-payer on the other. For my own part, I am ready to submit to that reference, (submit it to the public), and I think if you carry that point on, you will greatly impede the settlement of this question. (Off, off, and hisses). I am willing as a landowner to submit to the King of England as an umpire. (Submit it to the Bishop. You had better leave it to the Bishop. Ask Phillpotts). It is the part of an honest servant to endeavour to profit rather than please his master; as a public servant, that has been my endeavour, and whether you adopt or reject my counsel that shall be my consolation. (Cheers and disapprobation).

EDWARD DIVER, Esq. M.P.—I regret that for a moment, any thing like interruption should have been offered to my honourable relative in proposing the amendment, because I wish it could have been said that the county

of Devon had disputed this question with impartiality and forbearance; and that they approached it with every disposition to settle it in a manner most conducive to the interest of the country at large. (Cheers). Gentlemen, I confess from the statement which I heard from my honourable friend—and no man understands the question better than he does, or is capable of entering more fully into it—I had hoped that the petition would not have been so positive on one point. I had hoped that I should not have had to utter one word against it, but, gentlemen, I cannot in fairness agree to any measure that comes to that conclusion now. (Great disapprobation). I trust that you will hear me, I have nothing at heart but your interest. I am not in the most remote degree connected with tithes; all my interests are those of a tithe-payer, it is therefore that I hope that this question will now have its final settlement. My hon. friend, (Capt. Hamlyn) has told you in his speech, that he does not wish to do injustice to any man; I have the same wish, but I cannot agree with him when he proposes a commutation for what he calls a tenth. (What is a tenth?) One honourable gentleman asks what is a tenth? Of course we all know what a tenth is; but if I understood the petition rightly—I may be mistaken in this respect, but if it would not be detaining you too long I should like to have the clause read.

Mr. WILLIAM WREFOED read the whole of the petition—there are hundreds of individuals I believe who have not heard it.

Mr. DIVETT read the clause. This petition tells you that they would rather let the present system continue, than come to any other arrangement on any other plan. That is what the petition says. Now I have the honour to represent in Parliament a very large and influential body of constituents, and I should feel it my duty to tell them that the prayer of that petition is one that will not only retard, but possibly prevent the settlement of the question, for a long time to come. (Disapprobation). I am merely expressing my belief. Now I am most anxious to settle this question as speedily as possible, because I believe it to be of the greatest importance that it should be; but when gentlemen come and tell us, that it is not the landlord, but the renting farmer, who would be benefited by it, I cannot assent to this, I am bound to tell you that the renting farmer, if tithes were commuted now, would not benefit one farthing by it. (That will not go down). A gentleman tells me that will not go down; now whether it does, or does not, I cannot help it. I only wish to tell you what I believe to be the truth. Before taking an estate, he has to calculate what will go to the landlord, and what will go for tithes; he calculates his outgoing and his income, and it is by that he is decided. (Great disapprobation). The increasing population of this country, requires that the soil should be cultivated to the greatest possible extent; I wish to see this done, not for the benefit of

the tithe-owner, but for the benefit of the industrious farmer and the labourer that he employs. (Cheers). Now, with respect to the two shillings in the pound, there are a great many instances in which the composition is much lower than this, and others, I am bound to tell you, in which it is higher; under these circumstances I think I am right in seconding the petition of my honourable friend. (No, you are quite wrong). An honourable gentleman says I am quite wrong; that is entirely matter of opinion. I wish to settle this question without reference to any other interest than the benefit of the whole community. (Hear). With your permission I will make a few more observations on the amount. (We have had that already). I think a petition of this nature more likely to benefit the question than one which relates to the legislature. (Persevere). My worthy friend, the Member for Totnes, was good enough to pay some compliments to his Majesty's Ministers: he said they were dove-tailed to the church, (a laugh), greedy of church patronage, and anxious to keep up the evils of the system—I believe that was what my honourable friend stated. Now I believe there was no ground whatever for that statement, I am sure that I have seen nothing that warrants such an imputation. They certainly do not deserve that stigma with respect to the Irish church, in which, by the abolition of the bishopricks, they have relinquished twelve or thirteen pieces of valuable patronage. (Hear, hear). They have also got rid of church rates or cess, and if they have done so there, have we any reason to doubt their wish to do so here? (What was the last bill?) I am not here to defend that proposition. I think there was a great deal of evil in that last bill. I think there was a great deal of good also in the provision to prevent them from raising tithes above a certain amount. I am, like my honourable friend, Mr. Parrott, quite independent of them. I do not think it quite right to oppose them, when I am persuaded that they are wrong. I am not bound to uphold the opinions of any man. I come to uphold those opinions which I think to be for the benefit of the country; and I am sure I shall forward the cause which I have at heart, by recommending the proposition of my honourable friend Capt. Buller. (Citizens of Exeter, look to your man. Another voice—We all know Mr. Divett is an honourable man). The honourable member repeated his objections to the two-shilling clause, and concluded by seconding the amendment.

Mr. R. WATSON, of Dorsley.—Mr. High Sheriff and gentlemen, as a yeoman of the South Hams (long-continued cheering)—as a yeoman of the South Hams, and occupier of land to a considerable extent, I cannot for a moment stand still and hear unfuted the opinions which have been brought forward by my honourable friends, Mr. Buller and Mr. Divett. (Cheers). There is every probability of this question being brought forward in Par-

liament early in the ensuing session, and I therefore feel it my duty to tell them, honestly and openly, the opinions of the South Hams on this subject. (Hear, hear, and cheers.) We are entirely of opinion that a commutation of two shillings in the pound upon the annual clear value of the land is a just and equitable commutation, and when we have done this, we consider that we have done our duty like honest men and Christian men. (Cheers.) The hon. gentleman who proposed the amendment told us, that tithes were a tax upon rent. Now I'll tell him what we, in the South Hams consider it—we consider it a direct tax on capital and industry, and we do not mean to submit to it any longer. (Cheers.) We admit the tithe-holder to be a sleeping partner; and as such, we, yeomen in the South Hams, are willing to give him all he can reasonably expect and honestly desire—we will give him a tenth of the profits, we will give him two shillings in the pound. (Cheers.) But what man, I should like to know, would give a tenth of the business capital, and all to a sleeping partner? (Hear, hear, and cheers.) We do not wish to rob any man, nor do we mean to let any man rob us; we ask for justice, and justice we will have. (Bravo! go on, Watson.) Gentlemen, I am happy to see so great a body here to-day, because I understood that the interests of the many are to be sacrificed to the interests of the few. (Hear, hear.) I hope that the church will see that it is not their interest to throw any obstacles in the way of the settlement of this question. I should advise them to come forward and make terms, while they have an opportunity. (Tremendous cheers.) Is it possible that we can compete with our Irish brother, is it possible that we can compete with the foreigner (or the Scotch—they have no tithes), if we are to be borne down by tithes and taxes? I say it is not possible; and therefore I hope that his Majesty's Ministers will set earnestly about the settlement of this question. ("Send him up for Tithes"). I have not the least doubt that a commutation to this extent will be just; and I have not the least doubt that it will be immediately acceded to, it will satisfy every landowner and occupier in the South Hams. It will free capital from the restraints and exactions that attend its employment on the land; it will encourage the farmer to proceed to the utmost stretch of his skill; it will afford employment to the labourer, and ease to the poor-rate, and thus avert a ruin which is every day becoming more frightful in the eyes of the people. Mr. Watson concluded (amidst long continued cheering), after reiterating his surprise at the opinions advanced by Capt. Buller and Mr. Livest.

T. NORTHMORE, Esq.—I must offer you my double congratulation; first to the sheriff, for his goodness in having so promptly brought you together in the old, compact, and undivided form of the whole county of Devon (cheers); secondly, because it is upon a subject of the greatest possible importance, the

subject of tithes. (Cheers.) It is important on three-fold grounds; the first religious, the second agricultural, and the third on that of policy. The petition has been already mentioned to you; and I think you will agree with me on the first of these grounds: and I shall bring forward an act of Parliament to prove that nothing in the world is more opposed to the spirit of Christianity than the taking of tithes in kind [to which object the hon. gentleman quoted the preamble of a statute, the title of which we did not catch]. They breed disputes and animosities without end; and where the farmer had laid out a share of the produce in the improvement of his land, they amounted not only to a tenth, but even to a sixth. (Hear.) I shall say one word concerning lay-impropriators. By the canon law they were incapable of holding any tithes at all; and by the ecclesiastical law they were forbidden, under the penalty of committing sacrilege and receiving excommunication, from doing so, even though they were granted by the King. But I will look at the injustice of the present system in the present day. It is the duty of a good government to promote the happiness of the people, and prevent misery. Does the tithe system square with this? Can the farmer put extra labour on his farm—can he give good wages to the honest labourer under it? Tithes, in their origin, were ordained partly for the use of the poor. Mr. Northmore then adverted to the pressure of the poor-laws, and the mode in which the tithe-laws promoted their pressure. He said, he had met with a curious fact in the Poor-law Commission Report: Two gentlemen, Mr. Prideaux and Mr. Fraser, were examined respecting the waste lands in Devon. Mr. Fraser said there were 320,000 acres, and he firmly believed that if this land were cultivated it would yield nearly 500,000*l.*; but Mr. Prideaux said he did not doubt this, but the greatest obstacle to it was the tithe-laws. (Hear, hear.) Tithes were originally for the benefit of the people; but the clergy, by gradual encroachment, had contrived to bring them to their present oppressive state. They had begun by little and little first, as it were, giving a gimblet to the people, in order that they might insinuate their own large augur. The hon. gent. then went into the subject of the three-fold division of tithes, which, he was happy to say, was still the common law of the land; for Edward the Confessor, who was the last of the Saxon kings, embodied it into the ecclesiastical law, which was still in existence. The hon. gentleman then went into other points of history, referring to the early practice with regard to tithes, in doing which he exhibited a portion of that fond of historical lore for the possession of which he is so justly celebrated. He was loudly cheered throughout; and he supported the original petition, enjoining them to get rid of the tithes, or the tithes would get rid of them. At the conclusion of his address, Lord Ebrington was loudly called for.

Col. SEALE, M.P., was warmly cheered on rising to support the petition.—Before the question is put, I will detain you a few minutes only, and with a very few words. I beg of you not to be led away by the ingenious sophistry of my two friends who have proposed and seconded the amendment. (Cheers). Gentlemen, it appears to me, that you are not met here to legislate, but to give your opinion to the legislature, (great cheering), which every honest man has a right to do. There I would advise you to give your opinion boldly, undisguisedly, and unequivocally, (cheers), and in such a shape that it shall not be misunderstood, which I think you have done in your first petition. (Cheers). You have now a House of Commons differently constituted from what our former Houses of Commons were. (Not much). You have a Reform House of Commons now; and though a noble Duke, not many years since, called county petitions a farce, yet I am happy to say that they are not considered so now. That time is past; you have a House of Commons differently constituted to what it was: you have really your own representatives there now; you have the representatives of the Commons of England; therefore, if you express your opinions, they must be heard in that House, and when you have reason and justice on your side, as you have on the present occasion, I am confident that your voice must be effective. (Continued cheers). Gentlemen, I have but one observation on what my honourable friend has just advanced. I have the honour to represent a constituency not altogether agricultural, but I do consider it my duty to appear here this day on this agricultural question, (hear, hear), because it is not a question in which the agriculturists alone are interested, but it is one in which the interests of every class of the community are more or less mixed up. (Cheers). Therefore it is that I, the representative of a commercial constituency, have felt it to be my duty to attend here to-day, and I not only give my support to this measure here, which I think is most just and reasonable, but I shall certainly do all in my power to promote its final triumph. (Long-continued cheering).

GEORGE TEMPLER, Esq., not only objected to the form and character of the petition, but was bold to say that the meeting itself was uncalled for. (Great uproar—Ah George! you're a night templer, you're quite in the dark).

The HIGH SHERIFF.—Gentlemen, it is my duty to see that every gentleman has a fair hearing; and unless you do so, I shall dismiss the meeting.

Mr. TEMPLER then proceeded to object to the petition, because the subject was now under the consideration of Government, and it was a direct interference with the Government—the petition itself a direct dictation. (Great uproar). This petition had been brought forward by a member of Parliament, and it was notorious that it had emanated from that member. (Uproar, and cries of

name). The honourable Member for Totnes. (Three cheers for the Member for Totnes were given instantaneously—several persons in the crowd exclaiming, we will have him for the county).

Mr. PARROTT.—It originated with a great body of the owners and occupiers of land, and was ultimately brought home to the door of Mr. William Wreford, who seemed by no means ashamed of having been selected to draw it up, which fact was communicated by Colonel Seale.

Mr. TEMPLER having acknowledged his mistake, had nothing further to offer that the meeting was at all inclined to hear; and after proceeding a few minutes, amidst much interruption, he relinquished his task—as not even his great talents could induce the meeting to accept his sentiments, which were duly offered.

LORD EBRINGTON (was loudly called for, and warmly cheered).—Gentlemen, it was not my intention to address you until after the motion which is about to be made, that the petition should be presented by the county members (hear, hear), but some doctrines have been laid down by my hon. friend who spoke last, against which, in this stage of the proceedings, I must enter my protest. (Cheers). I must in the first place protest against the doctrine that any county meeting called by the Sheriff for the purpose of petitioning the legislature on any subject is uncalled for (He's a pretty fellow to talk like that), if it appears that the object for which they have called that meeting, is one that demands the attention of the legislature—and if in the petition which they propose to the legislature, they express themselves as this petition is expressed, in terms of due respect to the legislature (hear); I must also protest that it is not incumbent on any member of Parliament to abstain from originating any petition; because I certainly do not conceive, that standing here as I do, as the representative of the county, I must on that account be disqualified from exercising any right of mine as a freeholder of this county (hear, hear), or from originating as a member of the legislature, or from signing, or originating, or proposing, any petition that I may think right. (Cheers). I have felt it my duty to say this; and I am sure that I say it with every feeling of respect for my

hon. friend; but I felt that to acquiesce in such sentiments as that would be to strike at the root of county meetings at once. (What do you think of that, George?). I am anxious to address you upon the subject which has given rise to the meeting, and I trust that I may be allowed to put forth some claim to your indulgence, as I was, I believe, the first person, sixteen years ago, who ventured to express my sentiments in favour of a just and equitable commutation. (Cheers). Gentlemen, I am happy to find that those sentiments—that the principle of those sentiments has been admitted by all parties on the present occasion (cheers), the necessity of the changes being admitted by the Bishop of the diocese, in his charge to his clergy, and he has added that the clergy as a body are anxious to concur in any measure of fair commutation (cheers and laughter), not seeking an equivalent for their tithes, but willing to meet the payer on terms that would be considered equitable. (Hear, hear). Gentlemen, I wish from my heart that this light had broken in upon the right rev. prelate, and upon others of his order at an earlier period, (cheers); I wish from my heart, for the sake of the church as well as the state, that they had not delayed concession until concession loses more than half its grace, and I fear more than half its benefit. (Cheers). I say this as a sincere friend of the church, and I wish that the right rev. prelate, of whose production I wish to speak in terms becoming his situation in this county, I wish in the document to which I allude, that he had not included in it subjects of church reform, which do not, in my mind, agree with the object he ought to have had in view (hear, hear); and to my mind he does not appear disposed to go into that question in a very satisfactory or conciliatory spirit. (Hear, hear). Gentlemen, I can make great allowance for the controversial habits and zealous party feelings of the right rev. prelate, but I think it would have been much wiser, much more discreet in a member of the legislature, and particularly a member of that bench, (hear,

hear), who are supposed to be, and who ought to be if they are not, less under the influence of political excitement than any other persons. (Hear, hear). I think it would have been much more discreet in him if he had not applied the terms "plunder and sacrilege," (hear, hear), to an act of that legislature, and which, whatever he and others may think of it, is now become a part of the law of the land, and which he in consequence is bound to obey and respect. (Cheers). Gentlemen, with respect to the terms upon which a commutation of tithes is to be effected, it is painful for me to differ from so large a portion of those around me, at the present time, among whom I see many of those, with whom, in the course of my political life, I have been in the habit of acting in unison. (Hear, hear). But I should be more sorry for the act, if I could, at a meeting like this, of my constituents, leave them in doubt whether I did or did not concur with them in this question. My hon. friend who moved the original petition, and the others who supported it, will do me the justice to say, that in expressing my dissent from those conditions which they attach to the commutation of tithes, I am expressing no new view taken up at the present time; but if my views are erroneous, which I do not think they are, at least they have the merit of being uniformly consistent. (Cheers). Gentlemen, a great part of the argument, which has been adopted in favour of the proposed plan is founded upon a notion of the tripartite division in the application and use of tithes property. (Hear, hear). Now I am certainly not learned enough in Saxon, (a laugh), to follow my honourable and learned friend (Mr. Northmore) in his able and ingenious speech, and able and ingenious his speeches always are. (No soap); in that part of his able and ingenious speech, which carries us back to the Saxon times, and to the statutes of King Edward the Confessor, because I must confess that whatever may have been the law of England at that time, I do not think we can adopt the ideas of the Saxon *witena gemote*,

as a perfect model for legislation. At the present moment, I think I can challenge my honourable friend to show me a single statute, from the great charter down to the present day, in which any such tripartite division is recognised or admitted. (Disapprobation.) It is certainly true, that previous to the dissolution of monasteries, a great portion of the poor of this land were maintained by these monasteries, as is to this day the custom in Catholic countries; but I believe they were so maintained not in consequence of any right, either by statute or canon law, but by charity alone. (Mr. Northmore—By canon law). My hon. friend says by canon law, certainly the canon law enjoined the occupiers and the members of these religious houses, as it does to the clergy in general, as it would to the laity, the general exercise of hospitality and charity. But if there were any legal right on the part of the poor to any such portion of tithes, how comes it, that, at the dissolution of the monasteries, and the presentation of the tenth to King Henry VIII, no mention whatever was made of any such claim to these religious houses? (Hear, hear). Nor in the statute of Elizabeth, which, as is well known, is the foundation and groundwork of all our poor-laws, was there any claims of that sort on the persons to whom grants were made of those abbey lands. Upon the dissolution of the monasteries, no claim whatever was brought forward by them as a right on the part of the poor to any portion of what they so possessed; and I contend that if such right had been in existence, it would surely have found a place in some of the statutes, which, upon the dissolution of the monasteries, were made for the provision of the poor. Gentlemen, we have been told that the time is now come when the interests of the few are no longer to be considered in preference to the interests of the many. (Hear). I, for one, hope, that in the course of my political life, I have, as a very humble individual, done all in my power to promote the interests of the many; and I beg to say, that in the part which I have taken in the question be-

fore you, I have no interest whatever, except that of the community at large. (Cheers). To me, as a payer and not as a receiver of tithes, certainly, the more reasonable terms—the cheapest on which a commutation can be effected would be the most desirable, if I consulted my own interests alone (hear, hear), but as a landowner, from the same ground as that chosen by Captain Buller and Mr. Divett, I must differ from the petition proposed (hisses); where is the man living that has less interest in promoting the existence of tithes than I have? (No, that won't do). I most heartily concur in the opinions they have expressed, convinced, that after all the benefit of the commutation will go to the landlord (how can that be?); I do not say that the tenant of an estate, where he has got a term, will not be benefited to the end of his term, but after that the rent would be raised and the benefit of the measure would go to the landlord; and where the tenant had no term the benefit at once would fall into the hands of the landlord. The forbearance of landlords in particular instances may prevent them from taking advantages of it, but surely no man in his senses will say that an estate tithe free, does not at this moment command a higher rent than one subject to tithes; and if all estates were tithe free, I very much doubt whether it would at all benefit the yeomanry. (It would benefit the labourer). My hon. friend, if he will allow me to call him so, for I think I have before had the benefits of his friendship. (The gentleman alluded to, and who, we were informed, was Mr. Nicholas Browne, of Stoke Fleming, assured his lordship he had, but never should again as long as he held these notions on the subject of tithes). My worthy friend says that the taking off of the tithes would produce a greater demand for labour; that is a self-evident proposition, and God forbid that I, who have for all my life laboured for a commutation of tithe (hear, hear), should attempt to urge that that is not the case. (Cheers). No man is more sensible than I am that such would be the effect at this moment, but I cannot concur in the doctrine of 2s. in the pound. (Great clamour).

The SHERIFF called silence, but the uproar continued for some time.

Lord EBRINGTON.—I shall not concur in the opinion, that two shillings in the pound on the net rent, being, as I suppose, it is intended to be, subject to the outgoings of poor-rates, way-rates. (No, no)."

Mr. W. WREFORD.—A clear tenth.

Lord EBRINGTON.—I beg leave to state as against the opinion of the hon. Gent., the expression of the petition; if I understood my friend the member for Totnes, and my hon. friend who brought it forward.

Capt. BULLER now read the clause in the petition.

Lord EBRINGTON.—I do not say, that if the tenth were clear, whether it would or would not be right to assent to it; but looking at the proposition as it is, the clergy to have this tenth subject to those deductions from which rent is expected.

Mr. WREFORD.—It never was contemplated.

Lord EBRINGTON.—I am very glad to hear it, but I must say that if it is so, I think in justice to ourselves the proposition should have been expressed in rather clearer terms than it is; I confess that the impression made on my mind was a very different one. I must state that I cannot make up my mind to support even that proposition, and although I am quite well aware that some instances exist among the clergy, and many more among the lay-impropriators, of persons exacting to nearly the full extent of their present right. (More) I certainly do believe, that generally speaking, the right is exercised by the clergy in this and every county with great moderation and liberality (great disapprobation); but I do not state that there are not exceptions. I can only deal with tithe as I should with any other property. I conceive that every man in this country has a right to the enjoyment of his property; subject, and subject only to that control by the legislature, which is bound to take care, that no man by the enjoyment of his own rights shall damnify or inure the public

weal. But I submit that in taking away from any individual the enjoyment of his own right, you are bound to give him a just equivalent for it. This, gentlemen, is the doctrine which I maintained sixteen years ago in this place. (Your story was different then, from what it is now). [This was said by a gentleman in front of the noble Lord, who answered him with much warmth]. I trust you all know, me too well, to believe that I would alter one iota to gain that approbation, if I have ever deserved or received any approbation at your hands—(a freeholder—You deserve it, my lord; where should we have been but for Lord Ebrington?)—if I have, I have done so through adhering to that cause, through good and evil report; and I assure my honourable friend, that I value too much the approbation which I have gained on that account ever to forfeit it, even for the purpose of securing the applause of a meeting more numerous than this. (Continued cheering). I certainly cannot doubt that it is the opinion of a majority of this meeting, and I can only say that I have been too much accustomed to be left in the minority, to feel hurt at that circumstance on the present occasion, or to repent having expressed my opinion at all. In doing this allow me to say, that if you think fit to intrust the petition to me (No, no); I hear a gentleman say no, no, and I confess that this expression gives me double satisfaction, at having given you my opinion firmly, before the question came, whether I should present your petition or not. But I trust I need hardly assure you, that if you do intrust to me the presentation of it, that differing, as I do in opinion from it, I shall be fully ready to do justice to the weight and respectability of those who compose this meeting. (Hear, hear). A gentleman behind me says, Support the petition. If he had intended to prevail by argument, and certainly I have heard no argument which has had any effect in my mind, I should not have been taken by the mode in which he has expressed himself. The noble Lord concluded, by repeating his willingness to

present the petition, and do justice to the meeting.

Mr. BULTEEL was loudly and generally called for, but

Mr. HAMLYN stood forward, and explained his intention respecting the tenth to be, that the tithe-owner should have a tenth part of the rent in the same way as the landlord. It was not often his lot to differ from the noble lord, and when they did differ, he was sure that it was on the ground of the most rigid principle. He knew the noble lord would not swerve from principle to gain the approbation of the whole world. (Great cheering). In answer to Capt. Buller's assertion, that the tenant would gain nothing by the charge, the honourable gentleman said,—It has been asserted by my gallant friend, Capt. Buller, that the tenant would not derive any benefit from a change in the tithe laws. What, then, hath the tenant no beneficial interest? The landlord lets his land, as a shop is let, for the exercise of his capital. Suppose a man rents his loom, the weaver works up an expensive breadth of cloth, and adds a complicated piece of machinery; is it of no consequence to him that a tenth of his cloth is taken? I have heard, too, that the meeting should not have been called. Surely the requisition, signed by two thousand persons, is a sufficient answer to this. The last bill proposed did not meet the wishes of the people, and therefore it was surely more manly, more like Englishmen, at once to meet, and state our wishes.

The SHERIFF now put the amendment, for which there were but a very few advocates in the meeting.

Mr. HAMLYN's petition was then put and carried by an overwhelming majority in the most enthusiastic manner.

Mr. NORTHMORE proposed a resolution for the petition to be presented in the House of Commons, by the county members; in doing which he spoke of the right of the constituency, to command their members as their servants.

Mr. STUPPY seconded the motion, which being carried,

Lord EBRINGTON repeated his observations about presenting the petition

and dissented from the position of servitude, which Mr. Northmore had laid down.

Mr. FELLOWES was understood to make some similar observations.

Mr. BULTEEL, M. P. entirely concurred in that part of the petition which declared tithes to be oppressive, and subversive of the best interests of religion. He went farther, he believed them to be one of the most oppressive taxes upon skill and industry that could possibly have been devised, (cheers), a permanent and decided course must be taken to alter the whole system. (Cheers). He wished it to be so decided that the question should never again be mooted. He was not prepared to say what the commutation should be, but it should be one that should do no injury to any party. (A laugh). He was no friend to the terms supremacy and ascendancy, yet he would never do any thing to the church that would lead to her degradation or injury. He would never place the poor clergyman, of whom there were hundreds, with respectable wives and families, born as he had been under the influence of a certain system, in such a position as that he should lose one-third of his income. (Hear, hear). He would not deprive him of the means of living, and then compel him to go to prison to pay his debts. (Hear, hear). He would base the commutation upon the low average of the tithe, which is now considered a fair tithe, but he would not go to the legislature, telling them that it should be a certain sum, and no more, nor any less. (We won't have it otherwise). In that then he fairly told them that he could not concur. (We will get those that will). He felt bound in honesty to tell them this. The hon. gent. concluded by noticing the strictures on the Ministers which had been made by the hon. member for Totnes. He doubted if they were discarded, whether the nation would get a honester set of men to serve them.

J. RUNDLE, Esq. (Tavistock), rose to propose that the members for the boroughs in the county be requested to support the prayer of the petition. (Cheers). He believed there was no

injustice in the course they had proposed, even if they had gone the whole length which the noble lord (Ebrington) had thought they had, with regard to the subjecting of the 2s. in the pound to its fair share in the burdens of the rent. (Cheers). He did not go with those who condemned the reform Ministry and Parliament, though he believed the tithe-bill of last year to have been one of the most atrocious things that was ever introduced. (Cheers). All that he understood from it was, that it was to secure to the tithe-owner all he should be able to exact, and exempt him from the payment of rates. (Hear, hear). It was a most atrocious reward for those who had been severe and unjust in their exactions, and a punishment for those who had followed an opposite line of conduct. With regard to what had been said about the original destination of tithes, he observed, that there was an old principle which the clergy clung to with great tenacity, and as he was not much of a Latin scholar, he would give it them in English, "That no time stops the claims of the church"; but the application of this principle depended entirely upon the way in which it operated. It was always used in their favour, but never when it made against them. He again urged the justice of the two-shillings-in-the-pound clause, and commended the rejection of the amendment. He had just put into his hand an opinion of my Lord Brougham, that the large and expensive establishment was not necessary; it arose out of the comparison between the church of Scotland and that of England. "Strange as it might appear," said the noble and learned Lord — "and to many who hear, incredible, from one end of Scotland to the other, you will see no such thing as a bishop (a laugh); not such a thing is to be found from the Tweed to John o' Groats, not a mitre, no, not even a minor canon, nor even a rural dean, (laughter); and in all the land not even a single curate, so entirely rude and barbarous are they in Scotland. (Cheers and laughter). In such utter darkness do they sit, that they support no cathedrals; maintain

"no pluralists; suffer no non-residents; nay, the poor benighted creatures are ignorant of tithes; not a sheep nor a lamb nor a pig, (laughter), nor the value of a single penny do these helpless mortals render from year's end to year's end. (Cheers). Piteous as is their lot, what makes it infinitely more touching is, the return of good for evil in the demeanour of this wretched race (laughter); under all this cruel neglect of their spiritual concerns, they are actually the most loyal, contented, moral, and religious people anywhere perhaps to be found in the world." (Continued cheering). Mr. Bulteel, one of your members, drew a piteous description of the poor curates of the church of England being liable to be borne down by this intended commutation their incomes reduced and themselves thrown into prison for not paying their debts. If ever that calamity should arise, and the poor curates should be thrown into prison, why then let the rich bishops take them out (laughter); and if the rich bishops do not like the trouble, then we can just take a little of their wealth, and get the poor curates out ourselves. (Cheers and laughter). The hon. gent. concluded by moving the resolution, that the borough members be requested to support the prayer of the petition.

Mr. WATSON seconded the motion, which was carried unanimously.

Col. SEALE and Mr. PARROTT both acquiesced in the views of the meeting on this subject; and thanks to the Sheriff having been moved by Sir H. P. Davie, and seconded by Mr. Parrott, and carried by acclamation, the meeting dispersed.

From the LONDON GAZETTE,

FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 14, 1834.

INSOLVENTS.

STAPLES, R. P., London, merchant.
WHITE, J. and G., Kentish-town and Highgate, stage-coach-proprietors.

BANKRUPTS.

BROWN, G. A., Dockhead, Shad Thames, Surrey, baker.
COOK, J., Narrow-street, Ratcliffe, biscuit-baker.

FERRERS, T. B., and L. J. Mackintosh, Copthall-court, Throgmorton-street, stock-brokers.

FINNEY, D., Berwick street, Soho, licensed-victualler.

HALL, R., Nottlogham, innkeeper.

HASSAL, J. S., Liverpool, insurance-broker.

KING, W. H., Basingstoke, Hampshire, tea-dealer.

LANCASTER, H., Tunbridge-wells, Kent, upholsterer.

STOKES, S., Liverpool, merchant.

THOMPSON, J., Old Montague-st., White-chapel, common-brewer.

TUESDAY, FEB. 18, 1834.

INSOLVENTS.

BIRD, W. Fareham, Hants, builder and bricklayer.

MOUSLEY, E., Haunton, Stafford, maltster.

BANKRUPTS.

BENSON, T., Bishop Wearmouth, grocer.

BRADDOCK, J., Chestergate, Macclesfield, hatter.

BRIGHTWEN, I., Providence-row, Worship-street, veterinary-surgeon.

BUCKELL, T., Newport, Isle of Wight, surgeon.

COOKE, F., Kidderminster, carpet-manufacturer.

CORBETT, J. F., Worcester, coal-merchant.

FLETCHER, J., and G. Frederick, Manchester, hosiers.

FOX, G., Manchester, artists' colourman.

GRIMSDALE, H., High Wycombe, Berks.

JAY, J., Welbeck-street, Cavendish-square, upholsterer.

LEWIS, H. and L., Mansell-street, Goodman's-fields, glass-dealers.

KENT, W., Plymouth, brewer.

PERCEVAL, C., Whitechapel High-street, oil and colourman.

RICHMOND, W., Tynemouth, ship-owner.

ROBERTS, R., Carmarthen, draper.

SHAW, R., Lyme Regis, Norfolk, corn-merchant.

VAUDREY, A., Manchester, rectifier.

WARING, T., Little Windmill-street, Golden-square, builder.

WATSON, J., jun., Rotherham, tin-plate-manufacturer.

WIGAN, J., Bristol, scrivener.

LONDON MARKETS.

MARK-LANE, CORN-EXCHANGE, Feb. 17.—The supplies this morning from the home counties were moderate, but the trade ruling extremely heavy, they proved more than adequate to the demand; though the Kent and Essex samples exhibited an improvement in their condition, yet the millers evinced little disposition to purchase; and even the better qualities moved off slowly at the currency of this day se'nnight, while all secondary

and inferior descriptions were almost unsaleable, though no doubt lower terms would have been accepted, to have effected any clearance. Bonded Wheat continued to meet demand for export, principally to the Brazils.

Malting Barley, of good quality, supported last Monday's rates, and Chevalier was in rather better demand at 33s. to 35s. prime, 36s. The secondary descriptions, however, with distilling and grinding sorts, were difficult of disposal at rather lower terms.

Malt remains dull at former prices.

The supply of English and Scotch Oats was liberal, but from Ireland we have had few arrivals. The trade was very heavy, and last week's prices barely supported.

Beans hang on hand, and White Peas proved heavy sale, with prices tending downwards. Maple and Grey were firm.

Flour was again a very heavy trade, and Ship marks did not recover the previous week's decline of 1s. to 2s. per sack. Irish, 37s. to 38s.; extra 39s.

Wheat..... 50s. to 58s.

Rye..... —s. to —s.

Barley..... 23s. to 25s.

— fine..... 28s. to 31s.

Peas, White..... —s. to —s.

— Boilers..... 35s. to 38s.

— Grey..... 30s. to 32s.

Beans, Small..... 33s. to 37s.

— Tick..... 24s. to 33s.

Oats, Potato..... 22s. to 23s.

— Feed..... 17s. to 20s.

Flour, per sack..... 43s. to 48s.

PROVISIONS.

Pork, India, new.... 95s. to 100s.

— Mess, new ... 55s. to 57s. per barl.

Butter, Belfast 80s. to 83s. per cwt.

— Carlow 80s. to 87s.

— Cork 73s. to 75s.

— Limerick .. 72s. to 73s.

— Waterford.. 70s. to 76s.

— Dublin 66s. to —s.

SMITHFIELD, February 17.

This day's supply of Sheep and Beasts was both great and good; its supply of Calves and Porkers rather limited, and in great part—especially as relates to the former—of inferior quality. Trade was, throughout, very dull, with Veal at a depression of from 4d. to 8d., Pork, 2d. to 4d. per stone; with Beef and Mutton at barely Friday's quotations.

Full four-fifths of the beasts consisted of about equal numbers of short horns, Devons, Scots, and Welsh runts; the remaining fifth of about equal numbers of Herefords, Irish, and Sussex Beasts, and Town's-end Cows, with a few Staffords, &c.

Full three-fifths of the Sheep were South-Downs; about a fifth new Leicesters, in about equal proportions of the South-Down and white-faced crosses; and the remaining fifth about equal numbers of old Leicesters,

Kents, and Kentish half-breeds, with a few pens of horned and polled Norfolks, horned Dorsets and Somersets, old Lincolns, horned and polled Scotch and Welsh Sheep, &c.

About 1,500 of the Beasts, a full moiety of which were Scots, the remainder about equal numbers of short-horns and Devons, with a few Herefords and Welsh runts, were from Norfolk, Suffolk, Essex, and Cambridgeshire; about 500, chiefly short-horns, with a few Devons, Scots, and Welsh runts, Herefords, and Irish beasts, from Lincolnshire, Leicestershire, and others of our northern grazing districts; about 150, chiefly Devons, with a few runts, Herefords, Scots, and Irish Beasts, from our midland and western districts; about 100, chiefly Sussex, with a few Irish beasts, runts, and Devons, from Kent, Sussex, and Surrey, and most of the remainder, including the Town's-end Cows, from the stall-feeders, &c., near London.

About 350 of the beasts came up the St. Alban's road; about 300 up the other northern roads; about 150 from the western and midland districts; about 1,800 from Norfolk, Suffolk, Essex, and Cambridgeshire; about 100 from Sussex and Kent; and most of the remainder from the stall-feeders, &c., near to London.

Fat long-wooled Sheep have become, on account of the high prices (15s. each) of their skins, worth fully as much per stone as fat South-Downs.

MARK-LANE.—Friday, Feb. 21.

The arrivals this week are good. The prices the same as on Monday; a dull market.

THE FUNDS.

3 per Cent. }	Fri.	Sat.	Mon.	Tues.	Wed.	Thur.
Cons. Ann. }	89½	89½	89½	89½	89½	89½

Just published, price 4d.

NATIONAL REGENERATION.

1. Letter from Mr. Fitton to Mr. Fielden.
2. Letter from Mr. Fielden to Mr. Fitton.
3. Letter from Mr. Holt to Mr. Fielden.

Which Letters contain a development of all the principles and all the views connected with this important change in the manufacturing affairs of the country.

THE COURSE

OF

PAPER MONEY AND BANKING.

Or, a short History of Banking in the United States of America, with an account of its ruinous effects on Landowners, Farmers, Traders, and on all the industrious classes of the community.

By W. M. GOUCH, of Philadelphia, in 1833.

To which is prefixed an Introduction by WM. COBBETT, M.P., for Oldham. Price 1s. 11, Bolt-court, Fleet-street, and all Book-sellers.

Just published, price 2s.

FOUR LETTERS

TO THE

HON. JOHN STUART WORTLEY,

In answer to his "Brief Inquiry into the true award of an Equitable Adjustment between the nation and its creditors."—By WILLIAM COBBETT, M.P. (of Oldham).

BLAIR'S GOUT AND RHEUMATIC PILLS.

—Among the Diseases for which science has hitherto failed in discovering a Cure, and which have long been considered the opprobrium of medicine, are Gout, Rheumatic Gout, and Rheumatism, although they are the most afflicting and general to which humanity is subject. Neither age nor sex are exempt from their excruciating tortures; consequently when it is stated as a positive and uncontrovertible fact, that these complaints, by a recent discovery, are brought completely under the control of the new Preparation now announced, it will be a source of joy and consolation to tens of thousands who till now have suffered in utter despair.

The discoverer of this invaluable Specific for Gout and Rheumatism is a professional man, who, after many years' practice and research, has proved, by facts, that these Pills will effectually cure every description of Gout and Rheumatism. In Gout, whatever be the parts attacked, the first dose generally removes the pain; the swelling also quickly abates, and by a short continuance of the use of the Pills, the patient will soon be restored.

Rheumatic Gout and Rheumatic Fever will in a similar manner be cured in a short period.

A few doses remove the severest Lumbago, as well as Pains in the Head and Face. Obstinate Rheumatic cases, of long standing, require perseverance, but with a certainty of ultimate success.

These Pills have repeatedly succeeded after bathing, shampooing, and all the usual internal and external remedies have failed; and it is their peculiar property, that the first dose completely arrests the frequent tendency of those Diseases to attack some vital part, while, if attacked, the symptoms are immediately and effectually removed.

It may be added, as satisfactory information, that its use requires neither confinement nor any particular regimen; that in no case has its effects been injurious, but in relation to general health, highly salutary and restorative.

Sold by Thomas Prout, 229, Strand, London, seven doors from Temple-bar, and by his appointment by most Medicine Venders throughout the kingdom. Price 2s. 9d. per box.

Printed by William Cobbett, Johnson's-court; and published by him, at 11, Bolt-court, Fleet-street.

COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

Vol. 88.—No. 9.]

LONDON, SATURDAY, MARCH 1ST, 1834.

[Price 1s. 2d.]



AMERICAN EXCHANGES.

TO LORD ALTHORP.

Bolt-court, 27. Feb., 1834.

MY LORD,

In the *Register* of the 8. of this month, I addressed a letter to your lordship, in which I took the liberty to warn you of the probably approaching destruction of the vile paper-money in America; and, taking the words of my correspondent at New York, I suggested to you the necessity of your being prepared for such an event. The thing has been marching on; and in the manner that I am now about to show.

The President, who, you will recollect, is a man made for the occasion, is supported by the people; and there the people are every thing. Were it a mere empty clamour on the part of the people; were it a matter they did not understand; were it a question of political parties, of national prejudices; were the people standing by the President for a purpose which they themselves could not clearly define: in that case their support might be deemed precarious or short-lived; but the people well understand the matter; clearly see how they are robbed by the infamous paper-money. From the following extract of their memorial to the State legislature of New York, two things are manifest; first, that the people clearly understand the evils of paper-money; and, that they are resolved to get rid of it altogether. They

do not, as your lordship will perceive, complain of "*excessive issues*"; they do not indicate that they should be contented with paper-money exchangeable for gold or silver; they do not talk about convertible or inconvertible paper-money; no silly talk from them about a "*well-regulated paper currency*"; they object to the existence of the accursed thing altogether; they see that it enables crafty idlers to rob the industrious of their earnings; they see that it enables cunning, penniless scoundrels to take from the farmers the patrimony derived from the industry of ages; and, therefore, as your lordship will see, they call upon their representatives to stifle the monster altogether. I beg you to hear them first, my lord; and then to be pleased to hear me, while I make a few observations on the effects which this movement in America is calculated to produce on our most prodigious and nefarious paper-money.

"That it is with regret and alarm we have witnessed a course of legislation prevailing in this state, destructive of the equal rights of its citizens, depriving industry of its just reward, creating aristocratical distinctions, and thus at war with the republican principles of our Government. We allude in particular to the practice of chartering banks, with the privilege of issuing paper-money, and with other privileges denied to all but the favoured few whom the legislature see fit to indulge at the expense of the many, which has given birth to the most stupendous system of fraud ever permitted in an intelligent community of citizens claiming equal rights; for by it the fruits of industry are wrested from the producer, and given to the idler and the speculator, without the value of an hour's useful labour in return. Its deplorable effects are deeply felt at this very moment: we present the singular and humiliating spectacle of a community rich in all that constitutes true wealth, yet on the verge

"of moneyed bankruptcy, which has
 "not been brought on us by any
 "national or domestic calamity, the
 "loss of a market or the failure of
 "crops, but solely by our iniquitous
 "and absurd money system.

"Before entering upon the injustice
 "and impolicy of the paper-money and
 "banking system of this state, we re-
 "quest the attention of our representa-
 "tives to the following extracts from
 "the constitution of the United States:

"The 5th paragraph, section 8, ar-
 "ticle 1, declares that Congress shall
 "have power 'to coin money, regulate
 "the value thereof, and of foreign
 "coin, and fix the standard of weights
 "and measures.' The first paragraph,
 "section 10, same article, decrees, 'No
 "state shall enter into any treaty,
 "alliance, or confederation; grant
 "letters of marque and reprisal; coin
 "money; emit bills of credit; make
 "any thing but gold and silver coin a
 "tender in payment of debts; or law
 "impairing the obligation of con-
 "tracts.'

"Nothing can be plainer than these
 "provisions of the constitution, giving
 "Congress power to coin money and
 "regulate its value, forbidding the
 "states to emit bills of credit, or to make
 "any thing but gold and silver a legal
 "tender. This was a foundation for
 "the circulating medium of the country
 "that our revolutionary fathers rightly
 "supposed would give a solid basis for
 "exchanges and contracts in the com-
 "munity, particularly when they forti-
 "fied it still further, by declaring that
 "no state should pass any law impairing
 "the obligation of contracts.

"These honest and wholesome gua-
 "rantees for maintaining a sound cur-
 "rency (with the exception of coining)
 "have been more or less violated by
 "the State of New York for the last
 "forty-two years. In 1791, the first
 "bank was chartered—the first of those
 "seventy-one institutions in this state,
 "which, under its authority and patron-
 "age, 'emit bills of credit,' issue paper-
 "money, and, instead of Congress,
 "regulate the currency of this state,
 "by contracting or expanding issues,

"thus raising or lowering the value of
 "money, and by that operation 'im-
 "pairing the obligation of contracts.'

"With this simple statement of the
 "case—a statement that cannot be
 "contradicted—we might call upon a
 "patriotic republican legislature to
 "commence the work of restoring the
 "people their constitutional currency,
 "by a speedy repeal of the charters of
 "those paper-money institutions, and
 "withdrawal of their notes from circu-
 "lation."

Now, my lord, this is not mincing
 the matter; this is stated to be the na-
 tural and inevitable evil of paper-money,
 and calling for a law to put it down alto-
 gether. This, however, is here demanded
 only by persons in the State of New
 York. That is the greatest state in
 the Union, by far; equal, I believe, to
 any two others, in extent of commerce,
 and particularly of foreign commerce.
 The exact state of the people's minds,
 taking an average of the whole of the
 Union, I cannot pretend to describe;
 but, my belief is, that this is only a
 specimen of the sentiments of what
 may be called the whole of the people
 of that country. However, it is on the
 measures of the President and the Con-
 gress, and, particularly of the President,
 in this case, that very much must de-
 pend. In the first place, will the Presi-
 dent remain firm to his resolution to do
 all that he can to destroy the paper-
 money? And, in the next place, will
 the people stand firmly by the Presi-
 dent? We are always prone to believe
 that that will be, which we wish to be;
 and, therefore, as I so very anxiously
 wish that both these may be, my opinion
 with regard to the event, may, perhaps,
 be wrong; but I do verily believe, that
 the President will firmly stand by his
 resolution; and that the people will
 stand by the President.

The next thing to be considered is,
 the consequences to us; and particularly
 to your lordship's affairs, if I be right
 in this opinion. Never mind, my lord,
 what ROTHSCHILD says, or any thing
 that you hear from the shop of that
 famous fund-dealer, LOUIS-PHILIPPE.
 These people know nothing beyond

mere stock-jobbing; nor do any of our native money-mongers know more than they. I beg your lordship to take that view of the matter, which is pointed out by your own sound understanding, and to reject the gabble of these creatures, who would gamble in stock as long as the certificates would sell for enough to pay for the paper that they are printed on.

The question for your lordship to put to yourself is this: *If the American paper-money be annihilated, can the English paper-money remain?* This is the question. My opinion is decidedly that it cannot, unless it become *assignats*. My opinion is, that if the paper-money in America be annihilated, one of two things must take place here; a destruction of the paper-money, or a legal tender by force, and ROBESPIERRIAN maximum; that is to say, *assignats* of the vilest and lowest description. The first is something very nearly approaching a revolution in this Government; I mean a real radical revolution, but without the destruction of this form of Government; the second would produce a Republican revolution.

Some persons will ask (amongst which persons I have not the rudeness to include your lordship), why such terrible effects should be produced here merely by a change in the currency of America? It is very curious to observe the effects which mere local space has upon our minds. Because America is so far off; because the cockneys and parsons and half-pay officers cannot swing across to it in two or three hours, to spend the money that they get out of the taxes, or that they ought, at any rate, to keep here, to buy mutton and bread and clothes for their wives and children; because "*it is so far off*," nine hundred and ninety-nine thousandths of the people of England, proverbially a near-sighted race, imagine that what is passing there, can never be of much consequence to us. The exchanges with HAMBURG and PARIS, a great many of them, from the mere repetition of the words, believe to be something of importance; but, as to exchanges with America, it seems like talking of exchanges in the moon. They "never

heard talk of such a thing"; and this is very true; and, if they should hear of them now, which I shall presently give your lordship my reasons for believing that they will, the thing will not be the less interesting on account of its novelty.

I need not tell your lordship that this country, in respect to its currency, must, from the very nature of its transactions with foreign states and countries, be affected, in a greater or less degree, by every change from metal to paper, or from paper to metal, which may take place in any foreign country whatsoever. If, for instance, France were totally to destroy all her paper, we must destroy part of ours, because a part of our metal must go to France, unless we destroy paper-money to the amount of that share which France would be entitled to. Now, then, if America destroy her paper-money, she must, and she will, have metal to supply its place; that metal money she must have from foreign countries; and from every foreign country she will draw in the exact proportion to the extent of her commercial transactions with that foreign country; and I need not tell your lordship, that her transactions with this kingdom are greater than with all the rest of the world. It follows, of course, that she must draw very deeply from England; and then we shall see one of two things: *assignats* or an *equitable adjustment*; and your lordship will find something else to amuse you besides the Scotch project of classifying the poor, and shutting them up in separate houses under the superintendence of hirelings appointed by a board of control. But, to go a little beyond conjecture, as to what may take place in America, will your lordship permit me to tell you what has already taken place; in consequence of a long series of contrary winds and of rough weather, the communication with America recently, has not been so rapid as it has been for many years past; but, we have now intelligence up to the last day of January, and we know for a certainty these things: that, every day since the meeting of the Congress, the President's measures and intentions

had become more and more popular; that he had a decided majority of the Congress with him; that the House of Representatives is in its last session, previous to a new election; and that the banks were engaged in a desperate struggle against the President, the Congress, and the people. We know, besides, that our *pandé* here in 1825 and 1826 was mere child's play to what had already taken place there. But, above all things, we know this, that bills of exchange upon England, which, for many years, had BORNE A PREMIUM OF FROM TEN TO FOURTEEN PER CENT., had not only fallen down to par, but were at TWO PER CENT. DISCOUNT! Hear this, ye Jews! Hear this, ye miserable stock-jobbers! Hear this, ye English usurers, who have sought to get rich, first by grasping masses of the English taxes, the fruit of English labour; and then basely lending those taxes to make canals and railways in America; a thing which you never could have done, had it not been for the accursed paper-money.

But, the usurers will exclaim, "It is *only* two per cent." Just so, "*only* two per cent."; but, good usurers, two per cent. is quite sufficient to take away every ounce of gold and silver out of those capacious vaults of the Bank, in which such prodigious quantities are deposited. Not one sixpennyworth will be left in those vaults, ten months from this day, if the American paper-money be destroyed, or even, if English bills continue at a discount of two per cent.; for, any man who has money to pay in America, would naturally go to the old sow in THREADNEEDLE-STREET, and then take out the money, and send it to America, instead of accepting a bill of exchange for the nominal sum, and thereupon pay a discount of two per cent. for sixty days, at the most. Then let us recollect, that the sums to be paid by this kingdom to that country are enormous; and let us consider, then, what a mere trifling thing the exchanges with Germany, with Holland, or with France are, when compared with America. There is no difficulty in making your lordship perceive the magni-

tude of this thing; but you must make the people perceive it; and, if the movement in America continue, you must call upon the Parliament to protect this country against the consequences; for, as to continuing the present system of one-pound notes in Ireland and Scotland, the Bank of England, and all other banks, liable to be called upon to pay in gold, even with your august legal tender coming into play; to continue this system is utterly impossible.

Perhaps your lordship does not know, and I am sure that not one man out of twenty thousand in England knows, that, for a great many years, America has been one of the great props of our nefarious system here, by feeding us constantly with bullion, drawn from other parts of the world. I have before me MELISH's description of the United States, in which I find an account of the imports and exports of bullion for the year 1821, the book not coming down to a lower date. I here find, that that country, in that year, scratched together eight millions of dollars from all parts of the world; from Holland (as the *entrepot* of Germany); from France, Spain, Portugal, the Levant, and South America; that they shipped away a part of it in their own concerns to China and elsewhere; but that, three millions one hundred and seventy-one thousand dollars came to the British dominions, over and above any thing that they received from the British dominions. This traffic has been going on from that day to this; and, in proportion to the depreciation of their own paper-money, as compared with ours. In short, we have been receiving, for several years, about five millions of dollars in bullion, clear and net, from the United States; and, if the present change in America make us send ten or fifteen millions of dollars instead of receiving five millions, how will the "*vaults*" of the old devil in THREADNEEDLE-STREET look then? In a word, if President JACKSON destroy the paper-money in America, ours must be destroyed. The beggars of France and of Germany, if they were all to combine to assist us, could not save the

prodigious monster. Mr. JACKSON is not another LOUIS-PHILIPPE, to lend us a prop. By-the-by, how truly I foretold what would be the conduct of this stock-jobbing King, who, when he accepted of the kingship, overcame by his sensitive feelings, fell fainting in the arms of LAFITTE! I did not like the fainting, I must confess: it was a great deal to see a Bourbon faint from tenderness of feelings: I did not like the fainting of the Bourbon; I thought it foreboded something that was not quite right; but, having read "LA FAYETTE," I thought the thing must still be right. But, looking again, and finding that it was really LAFITTE, the loan-jobber, in whose arms the citizen-king had fainted, I at once foretold and proclaimed, as far as I was able to proclaim, that the French people had gained nothing by their revolution; that they had changed an old capricious tyrant, and an obsolete noblesse, for a steady, working, sharp-biting, and always biting, damned aristocracy of money. Thus has it been; and the French as well as we, are now looking to the United States, to the sensible people, and their wise and just President, for deliverance.

My lord, as I said before, if the opposition of the American people to the infernal paper-system, which oppresses them, were an *unreasoning* opposition, I should think very little of it. They have, sometimes, been very violent and very wrong for a little while; but, then, the cause was quite of a different character. The question was a fair question of dispute; and, in time, reason has prevailed over all violence. But, their present opposition is founded in clear reason, elucidated and established in their minds by nearly forty years of ample and most woful experience. The subject is become familiar to the mind of every man in that country: sensible in all things, they have been peculiarly sensible in this. First, they have ascertained with the greatest exactness, the *expenses*, the bare expenses of the several banking establishments in the country. Not to leave room for dispute; not to bewilder their minds about the

effects of loaning and discounting, they have cast aside every thing relating to the *profits* of banking. They have taken the bare expenses of the banking establishments; the bare annual cost, of the houses, of the paper, the printing, and the labour and time of the persons employed in the horrid trade. This cost, say they, *must be paid for by the people at large*; cannot come out of the pockets of the banking people; but must be paid by the people at large; and then they find that this sum exceeds the annual sum required for the carrying on of the whole of the civil Government of the United States!

Stopping here, the grounds of their opposition are solid as the hills. For, what advantage can there possibly arise to the community at large? The paper-money creates nothing, and can create nothing. It makes nothing come that is good for any body. It is a mere invention, by Scotchmen, let it be remembered, LAW, BURNET, PATTERSON; a mere invention by cunning knaves to live in idleness and become rich, at the expense of the honest and industrious.

To this letter I attach, or subjoin, two Lectures, as I call them, which I wrote several years ago, for the instruction of the members of the Mechanics' Institute, who were then in the hands of a set of Scotch humbugs, of the same stamp as those that you have now tinkering upon the poor-laws. The members of the Institute were principally artisans, and I was particularly desirous to make this great matter plain to them; and, I do not think that it is to insult your lordship to request you to read them now; the fate of the country is, in some degree, in your hands; I am perfectly convinced that its fate depends in a great measure upon the measures that shall be adopted as to this matter; as a native of this country I must feel a great interest in its fate; and, therefore, I am sure you will not deem it presumption in me, if I request you to read these papers, in which you will see portrayed by anticipation, all that has now taken place in America, and a great deal of that which is likely still to take place.

For reasons similar to those just stated, your lordship will excuse me, if I most earnestly press upon your attention, the little book which I republished last August, a copy of which I did myself the honour to send to your lordship, entitled, "*The curse of Paper-Money; or, a short Account of the Paper-Money and Banking in America.*" If every landholder in England could read that book attentively, or only a tenth part of them, and a tenth part of the farmers and tradesmen, we should not be in our present situation for six months longer. That book, if your lordship read it with attention (and its contents are of a nature to have induced your lordship to do so), must have prepared your mind for that which has now taken place; but, then, that you should have anticipated what has now happened, and have proposed, at the same time, to make Bank of England notes a legal tender, does, I must confess, appear something strange. For, if the President and the people stand firmly to that which they have begun, to a gold and silver currency we must come throughout this kingdom, or to *assignats*, and a thorough rooting-up revolution.

Your lordship has not forgotten "*PEEL'S BILL.*" You remember, I suppose, there was something said about it in the House of Commons in May last; and that Leviathan of mischief is at work still. I was in *Long Island* when that bill was passed. When the news arrived, the merchants at New York fell down across one another, like the trees of a forest in a hurricane. There were thousands of men out of employment at the end of a fortnight. There was actually a project for sending off many thousands to the back woods. If "*PEEL'S BILL,*" passed in London, could produce such terrible effects in the United States, though it did nothing but make a preparation for a part payment in specie; and that, too, at the distance of four years from the time of its passing; if the passing of that bill in England could produce such effects in the United States of America, what is the effect that would be produced in

England by the total abolition of the paper-money in the United States! Why, my lord, it must be evident to every one, that it would put an end to this abominable system of paper-money, which has caused rows of palaces to rise up; which has made gateways to cost seventy-five thousand pounds each; which has stripped the hamlets and beggared the cottages, and which is now employing a gang of Scotch quacks to invent a classification, a dividing, a badging, and a shutting up of the working people. That this truly infernal system may be destroyed by the President and people of America, who will therein merit the grateful thanks of all the virtuous part of mankind, is the anxious prayer of

Your lordship's
most humble,
and most obedient servant,
WM. COBBETT.

TWO LECTURES

FOR THE MECHANICS' INSTITUTE.

LECTURE I.

*On the Injuries inflicted on the People
by means of Paper-Money.*

GENTLEMEN,

1. SOME of you will recollect, that I was present at the CROWN and ANCHOR public-house, when your association was first proposed; that I subscribed five sovereigns towards its establishment; that I expressly declared, that I would never meddle in the management of the affairs of the association; that I related to you how the "*LITERARY FUND,*" instituted by the late Mr. DAVID WILLIAMS for the purpose of giving pecuniary aid to *authors* who had suffered in their circumstances *by writing in favour of public liberty*; you will recollect that I related to you this affair, as soon as it was found to be likely to have extensive effect, was *got hold of* by the *THING*; and that, at last, poor DAVID WILLIAMS had, before he died, the cruel mortification to hear,

at the annual meetings of this society, a thing they called an "Ode," recited by a *pensioned* author, FITZGERALD, in praise, not of "*public liberty*," but in praise of its most bitter foes, and in abuse of every thing tending to restore that liberty to England. You recollect this, and also, that I concluded with exhorting you not to suffer a little knot of political intriguers to obtain a mastership amongst you, and then to *hand you over* to the THING.

2. In spite of this warning, solemn as it was, the intriguers have, I see, pretty nearly effected their purpose; and I almost wonder, that you have not been called together to sign a declaration to support, even at the expense of starvation to yourselves and families, the "respectable" issuers of *paper-money*. All in good time; for, occasions for calling on you for this purpose may not be far distant. Fall into this Scotch, Jew, Quaker trap, too, you may; it will do your deceivers no good, indeed; but you shall fall into it with both your eyes open, or you shall shut those eyes up for the express purpose of securing the fall into that trap.

3. You have been "*lectured*" on the qualities and powers of *gas*, of *steam*, of *water*, of *wind*, and of various other elements, simple and compound; but, your Scotch lecturers have taken special care never to advert to the qualities and powers of *paper-money*, a thing, however, which affects you, and every other creature in the community, *more closely* than you can be affected by any other thing on earth; because it immediately relates to the means which are absolutely necessary to sustain you in existence. I will endeavour to supply this deficiency; and let me beg of you, not to believe Dr. BIRKBECK and Mr. BROUGHAM, if they should tell you, that you have nothing to do with paper-money, while as they say, you are deeply interested in "*the theory of the winds*," and in the "*procreative faculties*," of docks, thistles, cockle, and nettles. There is a man now working for me, who has a SAFFRON-WALDEN bank note, which he had, poor fellow, *saved* to pay his *rent* with! What is

this poor man to do? What is the "*theory of the winds*,"; what are the qualities and powers of *gas* and *steam* and *water* and *wind* to him, compared with the qualities and powers of *paper-money*? England, once happy and plentiful England, contains, at this moment, *hundreds of thousands* of men and women in a state like this; and thousands upon thousands in a great deal *worse* state; old men, old women, widows, orphans, who have, in the twinkling of an eye, been reduced from competence to pauperism; and solely through the means of the *accursed paper-money*; a curse, which, like the pestilence, is no respecter of persons; it spares neither high nor low; delusion marches in its front, and general destruction comes close upon its heels.

4. You have seen, and, indeed, *felt*, the effects of the stoppage of only *six* banks (out of *seventy*) in London; and of about a *hundred* (out of *eight hundred*) in the country. What would you have seen and felt, if the *whole* had stopped! This was not only *possible*; but this is what *must* have taken place, if *one-pound notes from the Bank*, and other measures the most extraordinary, had not been resorted to. If it had taken place, there would, at the end of four days, have been, within five miles of St. PAUL'S, more than *half a million* of *people* without bread to put in their mouths! Is not this a matter, then, that concerns *every man*? Ought we not to inquire, whether the *paper-money* be a thing *necessary in a country*? Ought we not to inquire, *why we have it at all*? Ought we not to inquire, *whether we can get rid* of the desolating curse, more destructive far than war and pestilence, and than any famine, except that famine which paper-money itself produces?

5. When a thing produces such enormous evils; when such masses of human misery are *seen* to proceed immediately from the paper-money; when you can speak to scarcely any man, not actually in the poor-house, who cannot pull from his pocket the rag of a broken bank, as a proof of the amount of his loss: when this is the case, and when we hear the enraged and silly people

crying out, as at Plymouth, York, Birmingham, Norwich, Bristol, and elsewhere, "*We will have no more Banks!*" do we not naturally echo their cry? Do not reason, justice, humanity, loyalty to the King, and love of our country, bid us exclaim, "*No more paper-money!*" Yes; but the selfish crew, who live and thrive and flourish, by the means which cause the great body of people to suffer, and many of them to perish, still cry aloud for the paper-money; and they put forth, as the means of new delusion, the following assertion, namely,

"That the trade, commerce, manufactures, and wealth, of this country have now become *so great*, that it would be *impossible to find gold and silver enough to carry on our affairs with.*"

6. This is the new delusion, playing off by that troop of Scotch knaves, who call themselves "*political economists*," who live, or aim at living, in luxury on the fruit of English labour; and who well know, that, were this ruinous bubble blown to air (as it soon, I trust, will be), they must do that which their very nature abhors, namely, *work for their bread*. This is the new delusion, which you will now hear echoed from Rag-Rookery to Rag-Rookery, which you see rogues pour forth incessantly, and which you will see gulped down by fools without a wry face, or any sign of dislike. But I hope that there are some, at least, amongst you, the *MECHANICS OF LONDON*, who have, in spite of all the numerous doses that Scotch quackery has prepared for you, retained your natural *sound sense*; and if you will but spare me the application of that *sound sense*, for only about a quarter of an hour, I will show you, as clearly as you can see those useful tools that you work with, that the above-stated assertion is *altogether false*, and that it is fairly ascribable to the grossest of ignorance, or the most impudent of roguery.

7. Before entering on an answer to the assertion, some observation relative to former times, may be useful. The Scotch quacks always insolently take it for granted, that *England was a poor*

little country, until Scotland was united with her, and until our old and great and glorious name was *sunk*, as far as they could sink it, in that of "*BRITAIN*," as they call it. We got *strength and richness* from that union, just as a pot of strong beer does by having a pint of the poorest small beer put into it. But, as to our present point, they would have you believe that England had no commerce until the Scotch scheme of *banks and paper-money came*. Indeed! Why, then, was the *Royal Exchange of London* built so many years before England ever dreamed of such a thing as a bank, or as a bit of paper-money? The commerce carried on before the days of paper-money (130 years ago) was greatly more *profitable to the people than that which is now carried on*. The real *wealth* of the kingdom was greater than it is now; and England was much more the indisputable mistress of the seas than she now is. We may, then, reasonably ask; if England could be mistress of the seas; if she could carry on a great commerce; if she could use *three times as much malt* as she uses now; if these facts were (and they are undeniable) while there was no paper-money, *why may she not dispense with the use of paper-money now?*

8. As I am, in No. XVI of the "*History of the Protestant Reformation*," to prove, that England was *more wealthy*, before that Reformation, than she ever has been since, I will not forestall myself here; and, in order to obviate all dispute as to the *premises* of the above assertion, I will, for argument's sake, suppose, that the nation has now greater trade and commerce, more extensive manufactures, and greater wealth, and far greater, a thousand times greater, if the Scotch philosophers please, than she ever had before; and, having, in the way of supposition, admitted this, I will show *how brutishly stupid* it is to suppose, that such augmentation of commerce and wealth demands, or requires, *or renders at all useful*, an augmentation of the quantity of circulating money, whether that money be of gold or of paper.

9. In order to make this *brutish Scotch*

appear in its true light, I will first endeavour to explain to you the *origin and nature* of money; for you must see this in order to feel an adequate degree of contempt for this new delusion of these miserable quacks.

10. Let us suppose a nation to be *wholly without money*, as every nation must, in its first stage, have been. In such a state of things, one man must *deal* with another; for the same man could not be farmer, tailor, smith, weaver, and every thing else. The dealings, then, must be by *barter, or exchange*; so much wheat for making a coat: and so on. This is found to be very inconvenient, and therefore, a *standard, or measure*, common to all things and all men, is introduced; and this is called **MONEY**, or, the **MEASURE OF VALUE**; and, then, instead of my giving the tailor, as I used to do, *two bushels of wheat* for making me a coat, I give him *as much money* as two bushels of wheat will sell for.

11. But, *how*, by what authority and in what manner, did money first come to circulate in nations, and to be received and acknowledged by all the people of each nation respectively? Why, it was coined by the *sovereign* power of the nation; and, in this nation, by the *King*; who first bought the gold and silver with the proceeds of his revenues, and then issued them *in coin* to his people, affixing on that coin his own image, giving it the denomination that he chose, and causing each piece to pass at the amount that he thought proper to fix on it. Other metals, and things not metals, have, in some countries, been used as money; but *gold and silver* became, in time, to be the general money of the civilized world. They were *scarce* things; a small quantity had *great value in itself*; nobody could **MAKE** gold and silver; they were not easily *imitated* so as to deceive even the poorest and most *illiterate* persons; but nobody on earth could **MAKE** them; and, therefore, the quantity of them, in any country, could not, in any case, be *suddenly augmented*; and that quantity could not be *augmented at all*, unless by the means of a profitable and gaining

commerce carried on with some other country.

12. Such are the *origin and nature* of money; and, now, let us see how its *quantity* in any country affects *commerce*. Let us suppose a country, where the whole of the sales, purchases, *bar gains*, in short, all the *dealings* in it, require money in circulation to the amount of *twenty millions* of sovereigns. Then let us suppose, that, from some cause or other, the dealings fall off *one-half*; that, instead of two bushels of wheat there would be only *one*; and so on with every thing else; and, let us suppose, that *the quantity of money were to remain the same*. The consequence would be, that the *one* bushel of wheat, and the *one* every thing else, would have as much money employed in the removal of it from hand to hand, as the *two* had before; for, observe, *all the money in the country would still be used*; competition would make men employ the whole of it.

13. Now, suppose the contrary of this. Suppose the *dealings* in the country to be *doubled*, and suppose *the quantity of money* in the country still to *remain the same as it was before*. The consequence would be, that *two* bushels of wheat, and *two* of everything else, would have no more money employed in the removal of them from hand to hand, than the *one* had before. *There would be no additional quantity of money*; but, *all the dealings would go on*, just the same as they did before. *Every one would sell* all the things that he had to sell for what he could get; and, as he would buy at the same rate, no injury would arise to any one. There would be double the dealings; but, the whole quantity of money in the country would be the same that it was before; and yet no sort of inconvenience could possibly arise from this.

14. Is it not plain, then, that this notion, that an *augmented commerce* cannot be carried on without an *addition to the quantity of money* in the country, is a gross absurdity? But, mark, if this were the case, the quantity of money must be *continually fluctuating*. In a year of great trade, there must be addi-

tional parcels of money made. Nay, in case of an *abundant harvest*, the money must be *augmented* in quantity, and that quantity must be *lessened* in case of a scanty harvest. So that such things as *dearth* and *cheapness* would never be known.

15. In former times, the quantity of gold and silver that was in use was very small, compared with what that quantity is now. The *American mines*, which have been the greatest source of these metals, were not found out until about *three hundred years ago*. Before that time there was, comparatively, little gold and silver. What there was, divided itself, of course, amongst the several nations, in proportion to their respective dealings and wealth, just as the gold and silver that are in any one country naturally and necessarily divide themselves amongst the several persons in that one country in proportion to their respective dealings and wealth. Each nation became thus possessed of its *due share* of gold and silver; and England had its share, and no more. In the year 1237, the price of a *quarter of wheat* was 3*s.* 4*d.*; barley, 2*s.*; oats, 1*s.* But, after the discovery of the *American mines* and *before paper-money and banks came*, the price of wheat on an *average of years*, and counting according to our *present measure*, was 1*l.* 8*s.* 6*d.*

16. The cause of this change was, that there was now about six times as much gold and silver amongst the nations as there used to be; and, as every one who had a part of it would *lay it out* in dealings, there would, of course, be six times as much money given for a quarter of wheat as there used to be given. But, mind, the 3*s.* 4*d.* was in its day, of just so much use as the 1*l.* 8*s.* 6*d.* was in its day. Just as many and as great dealings could be, and were carried on with the 3*s.* 4*d.* as with the 1*l.* 8*s.* 6*d.* Is not this as clear as daylight? Can any Scotch quack render this obscure?

17. What becomes, then, of the assertion, that, "an *increase of dealings* demands an *increase of the quantity of circulating money*"? What! had the

corn and sheep and cattle and pigs and wool and houses and clothes *increased six fold*, at the last of the above-mentioned epochs? Monstrous supposition! There had been no increase at all in any of these any more than there had been in the quantity of the land; and, if there had been an increase, why should there have been an increase in the quantity of money? A quarter of wheat would have sold for *less than 3*s.* 4*d.** that is *all*: no more money would have been wanted. No more *was* wanted: it was not *wanted*, but the mines having made it more abundant, people *had* it; every nation had its proportion; every individual had his proportion: and, having it, they *used* it; and thus *prices rose*: there was more of it to give for things; and if one man would not give it, another would; and yet the things were to be bought, and might remain all the while, just what they were before; in other words, the trade and commerce, that is, the whole of the *dealings*, might still be, in number and value, what they always had been.

18. MONEY is, as was shown in paragraph 10. the *standard or measure of value*. It is the thing by which we tell *what degree of value* there is in any thing. Of course, this standard, this measure, ought, if possible, always to *remain the same*. But, according to the stupid, or roguish, notion of these Scotch philosophers, this measure ought to be *continually changing*, as the quantity and amount of dealings change! This would be a pretty *standard of value*! Yet this sort of *standard* must exist in every country that is afflicted with the curse of *paper-money*, which is a thing that man can *make out of rags and ink*, and to the quantity of which, therefore (while there are *laws allowing it to be made*), no human being can proceed to set bounds.

19. If there *were any truth* in this Scotch doctrine of money, how is it that all nations *went on*, for so many ages, without ever having thought of such a thing as *paper-money*? All nations have, first or last, experienced *augmentations* in their commerce or dealings.

How came paper-money, then, never to be thought of in the world, till the roguish idea entered into a Scotchman's head about a hundred and thirty years ago? Nay, how comes it that paper-money is not wanted in France now? I believe, that there is no doubt, that the trade and commerce of France have greatly increased within the last ten years. New and extensive manufactories have started up; and of various sorts too: great improvements have been made in the affairs of the land. Yet France wants no paper-money. The bushel of wheat is at much about the same price, effects of seasons expected, that it was ten years ago. It would, on account of the increase in the dealings, be rather lower than it was ten years ago; but France has now more than a due proportion of the gold and silver of the world, because we having a paper-money, a large part of our share of the gold and silver goes to France. However, we all know that France has no paper-money; and if that great kingdom, which, mind, has fleets, immense armies, many seaports, great trade and commerce, and a debt besides. She has all these, and yet she wants no villanous paper-money.

20. It is false, then, to assert that a paper-money is necessary to us. The mischiefs of it we all now behold. You, yourselves, most severely feel them at this moment. In the country, thousands upon thousands of poor mechanics have been robbed by it. Thousand and thousands of you, in and about London, drawn up here by the prospect of continued work, have been thrown out of employment by this sudden crash. Your employers will, in many cases, be ruined. And is there, then, any man, who is not a rogue or a fool, who must not anxiously wish to see this cheating and misery-making thing put an end to as soon as it can be done with safety to the state, and with justice to individuals?

21. To convince you of the necessity of putting an end to it shall be my endeavour in the next Lecture; and, in the mean while I shall, I hope, have obtained your attention to a subject, which

is of more importance to you than the "procreative powers of plants," the "theory of the winds," or of any other "scientific" and silly rubbish, with which the Scotch quacks have been amusing you, in order to make you believe that they are sublime scholars, that you are a set of ignorant creatures, and that they have a right to live, in some way or other, upon the fruit of your labour.

WM. COBBETT.

LECTURE II.

On the Royal Prerogative of making Money; and on the necessity of putting an end to its being exercised by others; and on the dispute about the Corn Bill.

GENTLEMEN,

22. My first Lecture ended with paragraph 21, and therefore I now begin at paragraph 22. You will find it very convenient to be able to refer to paragraphs by their number; and I dare say that I shall, before I have done, have a good deal to say to you, though I shall not be able to continue to address you every week, until I have done. Indeed, it is my intention to address you occasionally, in order to keep your minds guarded against the Scotch quackeries, with which it is manifestly intended to cram them. At present, let us finish the subject of paper-money, respecting which, you will observe, something in the way of change must now be done, and then I have a word to say to you about the Corn Bill.

23. In Lecture I, I clearly showed you, I proved to you, I demonstrated, that paper-money can never be wanted by any body but cheats or insolvents; that it can never be wanted for the purposes of honest dealings; that an increase of any money is not wanted for the purpose of carrying on an increased commerce; and that, of course, a paper-money is not wanted for any such purpose. These points are, then, settled.

Let us see how the *royal prerogative* of making money has been *usurped*.

24. We have seen, in paragraphs 10 and 11, how money *first came*. The *Sovereign* issued the money, stamped his image on it, and said at *how much each piece should pass*. There was no fear of the *Sovereign* doing any wrong in the exercise of this prerogative; because the injury done to his people would necessarily recoil upon himself. If he *gained* by the coining of money, he only took so much from his people and put it into his *Exchequer*; so that, the gain was at last applied to *public purposes*, and it spared, in proportion to its amount, the purse of the people as to taxes.

25. But what must be, not what *has been* only, but what *must be* the consequence, if this prerogative be taken from the King, or sovereign, and *exercised by COMPANIES*, or by *INDIVIDUALS*? There are several prerogatives vested in the King for the good and safety of the people; but this of *making money* is the *greatest* of them all. The calling and dissolving of Parliaments; the making of peace and of war; the power of pardoning criminals; in short, all his other prerogatives put together, are not equal in importance to this; for this affects, at once, *the property and even the life* of every soul in his dominions. By changes in the measure of value, the King *might* destroy, actually *destroy*, the lives of half his people in a month. Suppose the King were to issue a proclamation, declaring that none of the money afloat should be considered as money any longer, and were to issue no other money in its stead. There could be no sales, no purchases, no debts, no wages paid. The people must starve, or seize the food by force; all law and all government would be at an end.

26. You may ask, "Is it not then *dangerous to trust a king* with such a *tremendous power*?" No: because he could not do this without *destroying himself*. The power must, in every country, be lodged *somewhere*; and where so safely as in the hands of him, who *can* in no degree abuse it, without *immediate injury to himself*; and who

cannot abuse it in the extreme just contemplated without totally destroying the kingly power and office?

27. Now, how plainly the very reverse of all this is, and must be the case, when *private persons*, when *mere members of the community*, when *individuals* are allowed to become the issuers of money! It is the business of a King *not to gain* from the community, but to stand by and see that they deal fairly with each other. It is the business of individuals to *gain from the rest of the community*. What the King nominally gains by issuing money, is, as we have seen, a gain to the community as well as to himself; but that which individuals, or bodies of men, gain by the issuing of money, they gain *for themselves*: they enrich themselves by it; they deposit the gain in their own coffers; *they get away other men's goods and estates and wages* by their issues; and, observe, if they produce great and general calamities, and even anarchy and a destruction of the Government, *their own destruction* is not, like that of the King, *necessarily a consequence of their deeds*. They *may*, and they, being amongst the cunningest of the community, *very likely too*, gain by general confusion: that which would level to the earth nobles and princes, *might* raise these cunning money-issuers to eminence.

28. Is it not, then, a monstrous thing, that this *great prerogative* of the King, should have been taken, in reality, from him, as we now behold it? The prerogative was vested in *him*, and in *him only*, for the protection of *the whole of his people*; and do we not now behold the fatal consequences of allowing bodies of men and individuals to exercise this prerogative of issuing money? At the very lowest computation, *half a million* of persons must, *within the last two months*, have suffered *loss of property*, direct *loss*, by these issuers of money. And there sits our lawful King on his throne, with this great prerogative still nominally his, but without any more power than any one of you have to afford protection or relief to these his suffering subjects! Ought this to be?

Can this last long? Every man exclaims, "It ought not to be; it cannot last; the King must exercise his prerogative again, or there must be anarchy."

29. I have here spoken of the *direct* and *visible* losses only; of the persons who have lost their all in a moment; of the beggared widows and orphans; of the poor men, stripped of their little savings, and in many cases of their *week's food*. No less than *three suicides* are announced in one Yorkshire newspaper, committed by persons who had been reduced from competence to poverty by the breaking of banks. These are things to fill us with indignation, when we reflect on the *warnings* that the Ministers have had on the subject; but even these, which are *direct* and *visible* effects of this issuing of money by bodies and individuals; even these, dreadful as they are, are nothing, really nothing, when compared with the *more slow silent ruin*; with the insolvencies, the bankruptcies, the loss of fortune, goods, and estates; the shifting of property from hand to hand; the uncertainty in all money affairs; the want of employment, the pauperism, the cruelty, and all the numerous crimes, that proceed from this accursed source.

30. But, bad as it has been and is, it *might* have been and it still *may* be *worse*, and a great deal *worse*, too. All the banks *might* have stopped; and then, what is the *scene* that we should have beheld! The *Courier* newspaper (a *ministerial* one, mind) recommended country bankers to *hold a general meeting*, and to come to a *resolution* not to discount to tenants of landlords, who had notified that they would not, in payment of rents, *take the paper-money of these people*! Monstrous audacity! But, if these money-makers could meet to resolve on *one thing*, they might meet to resolve on *another thing*. Suppose, then, that they had met, and had resolved **ALL TO STOP ON THE SAME DAY!** There would have been *general anarchy the next day*. The laws would all have been laid prostrate. The law of *strength*, of *force*, would have prevailed; for, every man and every

woman would have taken food and raiment and bedding and fuel *where they could find them*. Such is the power of money; and such the tremendous evils that may arise from that power being, in effect, taken from the Sovereign and given to private persons.

31. While some persons will say, that such a resolution on the part of the money issuers is *quite improbable*, all men must agree that it is **POSSIBLE!** And, ought such a **POSSIBILITY** to exist? Ought it to be in the power of *eight hundred individuals*, self-constituted money-makers, to plunge *twenty millions* of people into anarchy, to dissolve all the ties of society, to lay prostrate all the laws, and set the King's crown itself on the cast of a die! *Ought* this to be?

32. Nor need we resort to a supposed *combination*: the same thing may come without any combination at all: nay, and it *very nearly did come last month*, without any such combination. The whole were going, and the whole would have gone, if the nobility and gentry, the owners of the soil, had not stepped forward to prevent it, by pledging their words, and indeed their estates, in support of those money-makers who had brought those estates into such imminent danger. They detested the money-makers; but they saw, that if their money were wholly and instantly put an end to, there must be *anarchy*, and all the inevitable consequences of anarchy. They came forward in defence of themselves, their estates and their lives. Good God! What a thing is here! And this is plain, visible, as clear as day-light to the whole world! Curious, strange "workings of events"! The lords and gentlemen saw *with delight* the Small-Note Bill sending out that paper-money, which raised the price of land and of corn, and enabled them to escape from a part of the demands of the fundholder; but soon did they find, that that very Small-Note Bill had produced imminent danger to all property, and to the very frame of society itself!

33. The *humiliation* of this transaction must have been *felt* by these noble-men and gentlemen; but *what were*

they to do? How were they *themselves* to escape? For, where hunger takes command, there can be no property. They, whose property was real, came forward to prop up the paper of the Quakers, as virtuous women are anxious for extinguishing the flames of a brother; lest they should finally consume the city. But (and it is a most interesting question) will these noblemen and gentlemen NOW suffer this thing to continue? Will they NOW shut their eyes to the peril? Will they NOW leave the people, themselves, and their Sovereign, constantly exposed to this same frightful danger? Or, will they seek and secure their own safety and that of the King and the people?

34. There is this satisfaction in putting these questions; namely, that they *must soon be answered*. A month cannot now pass, without our *knowing* whether this intolerable curse be to be suffered still to scourge us. In the meanwhile, it may be observed, that no *palliative* will serve any end, except that of making the final consequence more dreadful. Some talk of banks "*upon the Scotch plan*." One of the Scotch banks has broken; but that is no matter. The "*Scotch plan*" admits *any number of partners*, and our plan only of *six*, to *one* money-shop. How does this change the matter? How does it make it better? It is the *quantity of paper-money* out, and not the number of partners. There can be no security for **PAYING GOLD**, unless there be gold to pay with; and, if there be the gold, *six* can have their proportion as well as *sixty*. Others are for *taking security* from the country bankers, and holding it in the hands of the Government; and, that is a *Government paper*; and *Government paper* is assignats, if not really, and instantly, and **AT ANY MOMENT**, and **EVERY WHERE**, exchangeable for gold; and, if this be the case, there will be nobody to put out paper-money. Another project is, to have only **ONE BANK**, with *several branches over the country*; or, in other words, to fix about the country shops, kept by *agents of the Bank of England*. But, if the paper be, at all times, and at

all places, convertible into gold, will people take this new paper instead of gold? And, what is to make this paper-money *more secure* than the present country-paper? Oh! "*the Government will take care* that the Bank do not issue too much; it will look into its accounts; see its stock of gold; and compare the amount of its gold with that of its paper." Well, then, if the *Government* be to do all this, why not *issue the paper itself*, and **RETAIN THE PROFIT FOR THE USE OF THE PUBLIC**?

35. What! is a company of private persons to issue money for the country, and **GAIN FIVE PER CENT. ON IT FROM THE PUBLIC**; and, is the public to support a department of Government to superintend the issues! What *justice*, what *sense*, is there in this? As the thing now stands, the banks get five per cent. from the people *for nothing*; and, if this project were adopted, this gain would come all in one great body, instead of being divided amongst a great many small ones. Would a paper-money, issued by the Government itself, be *less secure* than one issued by private persons under its direction? No: but it would *deceive nobody*: we should all see the reason for issuing it: and the **THING** would soon be brought to a close.

36. However, the close cannot, by any devices that can be hatched by Scotchmen or by any body else, be long put off. It must come, in one shape or another, and too, I imagine, in a short time. I have had hundreds of persons to say to me: "Yes; it must come at last, to be sure, Mr. Cobbett; but you and I shall not live to see it come." I have always answered: "Speak for *yourself*, if you please. I expect to *see it*." Such people are either very weak people; or, which is oftener the case, they, **AT BOTTOM**, love the paper-money; though they know it to be destructive of every thing valuable in the country. Many such persons imagine, that *high price* is the sign of riches; and the country, and they themselves, would be poor; if *real money* and *low prices* were to return. This, as I

have shown you, is a false notion; but it is, nevertheless, a notion which has great influence on the conduct of men, and it tends to uphold the paper-system, because it induces men to speak of it favourably, and to cause the paper to pass. But like all other foolish notions and base acts, it only produces a postponement of the consequences that the parties dread.

37. But, WHY is it, then, that the Government does not repeal the *Small-Note Bill*, at once, and do away with this ruinous, this dangerous thing, called paper-money? WHY? you shall now hear WHY; and this will lead me to speak of that *CORN BILL*, against which the London newspapers are now crying out so loudly.

38. Whatever else we may think of the Ministers, we cannot suppose that they love the paper-money for its own sake, or for the sake of the Quakers that issue it. They would, with all the veins in their hearts, toss paper-money and Quakers all to the devil together, I am quite ready to do them that justice. But, they cannot get on without the paper-money. "No!" say you. Why not? You have proved to us, in the preceding Lecture, paragraphs 12 to 17, that the quantity of money, in any country, is a matter of no consequence; that dealings to any amount may be carried on with a very small quantity of money; that, if our commerce were augmented ten thousand fold, there would, and could, no injury arise from there being no augmentation at all of the quantity of money; and that France gets on very well without paper-money. Why, then, cannot our Government get on without paper-money?

39. Gentlemen, I have told you all this; but, I never told you, that the expenses of a debt, a dead-weight, a great standing army, a long pension and a sinecure list, and a dreadful pauper-book, that amount to more than sixty millions of pounds a year, could be paid without a greater quantity of money in the country, than there was in 1792, when all these amounted to only about eighteen millions a year. This is what renders more money necessary than

used to be necessary; because, taxes are not of the nature of DEALINGS. In dealings a man gives one thing in EXCHANGE for another thing. But, taxes are so much taken from a man, who receives nothing in exchange. Pray mark that distinction. You have seen, in the foregoing Lecture, paragraphs 16 and 17, that prices rise as the quantity of money increases, and that they fall as the quantity of money decreases, supposing the dealings to remain the same; and that this is no injury to the community; because, what men lose on one hand they gain on the other. But, taxes are of the nature of a subscription, the amount of which is to be given away by the people. So that the taxes being a fixed sum, it is of great consequence to them, whether the quantity of money, in the country, be great or small. If the quantity of money be great, prices are high; if it be small, prices are low. Now, then, here am I, a farmer, subjected by law, to an annual subscription of eight shillings, payable in January. This year I pay it by selling ONE bushel of wheat; but, in 1822, I was compelled to sell TWO bushels of wheat to pay it. Therefore, you see, that in order to enable the people to pay our present great sum of taxes, the Ministers must make prices high; and in order to make prices high, they must have a great quantity of money in circulation.

40. The Ministers wished, most anxiously wished, to get rid of the ever-to-be-accursed paper-money. PEEL'S BILL was, in 1819, passed for the purpose of getting rid of this worse than a pestilence; and the Ministers and Parliament thought that they had done the job; for, Mr. CANNING called for an unanimous vote, to "SET THE QUESTION AT REST FOREVER." Look, now, at the *Gridiron and the Motto*, Gentlemen! Alas! they despised my prophecy, and they acted in despite of my warnings. I told them, that their bill for gold payments would bring wheat down to 5s. a bushel from 12s. It did bring it down to 4s., and that, too, nine months before Peel's Bill was to arrive at full effect. They now found

my prophecy fulfilled; they could get on no further; and, in July, 1822, they passed the *Small-Note Bill*, which caused the paper-money to come out again; this *greatly augmented the quantity of money in the country*; it raised prices; and, thereby, enabled people to keep on paying the taxes. Therefore, gentlemen, the sun in the sky, in the brightest day of last summer, was not clearer to our sight, than this fact is to our minds; namely, that the Ministers must have, in the country, *a great quantity of money*, of some sort or other; or, that they cannot collect *any thing like the present amount of taxes*; and yet, without that amount of taxes, they cannot pay the present sinecures and pensions, present dead-weight, present army, and present interest of debt.

41. Do you ask me, "*Why, then, since they must have this great quantity of money; why, then, do they not get gold and silver money, which would free us from late panics, and losses and perils?*" I will tell you, *why*. We have seen, in the foregoing Lecture, that there is only so much gold and silver circulating, or saleable, in the whole world; that nobody can make them; that we can make no addition to ours, except we draw them from other nations by a *gaining trade*; and that if we get gold to make a sovereign from France, for instance, we must first send to France a *sovereign's worth of our produce or our goods*. So that here is no easy matter to accomplish. "But," say you, "the newspapers all swear, all take their oaths, that *gold is cheaper than bank-paper*, and that the Bank *GAINS by buying gold and having it coined into sovereigns.*" WHY, then, has the Bank issued one-pound notes again? And why do the country bankers refuse gold, and tender Bank of England notes? Gentlemen, listen to your own sound common sense, and turn from the lies of hired impostors. But, they tell you, that *gold is coming into the country at a great rate*; that **THREE TONS** of it have been brought over from France. It may be true, that three tons have come; for, I am

aware, that, *for the moment*, such a quantity, and a much larger quantity may have been bought at a loss; and, if bought and brought here, at a loss it must have been.

42. But, what are three tons of gold? They have a big sound; but, men of sense go a little further than sounds. Turn, therefore, gentlemen, from the impudent and botheration Scotch quackery; leave the "*theory of the winds,*" and take up the *slate and pencil* that your plain and honest English parents had you taught to use; and you will soon find, that *three tons of gold* are not enough to pay off the notes that **ONE BROKEN BANK**, that of WENTWORTH, CHALONER, and Co., is said to have had out! Fifty-six sovereigns weigh a pound; a ton is 2,240 pounds weight; one ton gives 125,440 sovereigns, and *three tons* 376,320 sovereigns; and the notes of Wentworth and Co. are, in the newspapers, said to have amounted to 400,000*l.* Do not be humbugged, gentlemen. Why should you be humbugged? Why should you be duped by a set of most stupid, though concerted, quacks? Let Mr. BROUGHAM believe his "*best possible public instructor*"; let him and Peter Macculloch and Lord John Russell set up their "*LONDON UNIVERSITY,*" for the purpose of giving the southern youth Scotch "*antulluc mon*"; but, be not you the dupes of mere sounds.

43. "**THREE TONS,**" is it? Why, according to the *returns, laid before Parliament*, **MORE THAN FORTY TONS** went out of the country in the single year of 1824. And, gentlemen, pray consider, that the present amount of *Bank of England notes only* cannot be much short of *thirty millions* of pounds; and, your arithmetic will, in defiance of Scotch quackery, teach you that, to supply the place of only *that one batch of paper-money* would demand **TWO HUNDRED AND SEVENTY TONS OF GOLD**; sufficient to load, lawful turnpike-weight, **FOUR HUNDRED AND FIVE WAGONS**, requiring one thousand six hundred and twenty horses to draw them! There, then, you peddling quacks: put up the

three tons into your cheating packs, and be off with you! Take in the country bank paper, now and lately out, the Scotch paper and the Irish paper; and there is not *circulating in the whole world*, gold and silver sufficient to pay the whole off.

44. We never can be *safe* again, for a single month at a time, unless we have a real gold and silver money, issued by authority of the King, and *nothing but that real money*. But, the rest of the world must still have their *due proportion* of these metals. So that, we could not have a *very great* quantity. In short, if we were to come to real money, and nothing else, wheat would be at less than *three shillings* a bushel in years of plenty; and would hardly ever exceed *six shillings* in years of scarcity. This would do very well for *dealings*; just as good for *you, for me, and for every body else*; but, then, the *taxes must come down in proportion*: where about *nine millions* are now paid, there must be only *three* paid: and with these taxes the Ministers could not pay what they now pay, unless some Scotchman will tell them *how to pay nine millions with three*.

45. This is the pinch; and to this pinch every *funding system*, and every *paper-money system*, have at last come. Now, gentlemen, if you have done me the honour (and a real honour I should deem it) to attend strictly to what I have said above, you will need little from me on the subject of the *Corn Bill*. I am, and I always have been, an enemy of the *Corn Bill*, against which I petitioned at the time of its passing, being convinced that England would never want to import corn, if English farmers were as lightly taxed as those of other countries. But, because I hate this odious law, am I to *join* that senseless or knavish crew of writers, who, because landlords wish to keep their estates, and farmers wish not to go to the poor-house, accuse them of wanting "*a monopoly of corn*"? The silk-weavers are now complaining that, in consequence of the recent law to admit foreign silks, they are ruined. But does any body accuse them of wanting "*a monopoly*" in silks?

They say, Let us have *as cheap bread as the French*, and *then* let French silks come in; and the farmers say, let us have as little tax on the windows, the malt, the hops, the beer, the soap, the candles, the leather, *used*, by us, our labourers, smiths, and *wheelwrights*, as the French farmers have, and *then* let French corn come in. And have not the farmers as much reason on their side as the weavers have?

46. Aye, but the landlords want "*high rents*." Who does not want to make the most of his property or his labour? To talk thus is nonsense: it is a base trick to gain unmerited popularity; a trick, however, which, in the long run, is sure to fail. The landlords, like other men, wish to obtain the *full worth* of their property; and it is not in the nature of things, that, on an average, they should get *more* than that. And, do not *you* wish to get the *full worth* of your labour, which is *your property*? What reason, what justice is there in calling upon the landlords to *sacrifice their property* for the benefit of the rest of the community? or, rather, for the benefit of the fundholders and the rest of those who live upon the taxes?

47. The landlords are charged with wanting to *force* people to give them "*exorbitant*" rents just in the same way, and with as much reason, as *you*, when you *combine* for a rise of wages, are charged with wanting to *force* the people to give you, "*exorbitant wages*"; for, it is the *people* who pay for your labour at last, as it is the people who at last pay the rents. But, when workmen *strike* for more wages, do I, or does any just man, ever *blame* them? Why, then, are we to blame landlords for getting the full worth of their lands? Is there any injustice in this? And ought injustice to prevail? But, moreover, it is not the *interest* of landlords that rents should be *high*; nor is it *your interest* that your *wages should be high*. In the reign of HENRY VI. the wages of a *servant*, in the country, were *3d.* a day, but, wheat was then *3s. 4d.* the bushel of *nine gallons*, beef was a *farthing* and a *quarter* a

pound, a fat pullet was a 1d. and a fat goose 2d. Was not a sawyer better off then than he is now? Strong ale was 1d. a gallon then. So that the workman was, beyond all comparison, better off then than he is now when he gets the very highest wages; but, what then, is his lot now, if he have low wages! If he have only a shilling or two a day? Alas! millions have not sixpence a day! In the same reign the rent of arable land was not more, *on an average*, than 9d. an acre; and it is now perhaps 20s. But that 9d. would go further with the landlord than 20s. will now. Red wine was then 4d. a gallon, and white wine 6d. a gallon; and, observe, the landlord had then to pay no TAX on all the things mentioned above, and, besides, for his land, house, windows, horses, dogs, servants, hair-powder, carriage, and armorial bearings; and he had not, when he received his estate, to pay for probate of the will, and for any legacy that might come to him; nor had he to pay a stamp-duty on his deeds, on his leases, and on every legal process, or document, touching his estate. All these he has to pay now, and they take away a pretty good slice of his rent. Now, then, my friends, reason like men of sense; and do not be misled by stupid newspaper-brawlers, who cry out for cheap bread, without saying a word about the taxes; and, who seem to entertain the ridiculous wish, that the owners of the land may be made to pay their present taxes, and to starve in the highways themselves.

48. In one thing, indeed, the landlords have been and are to blame, and greatly to blame; namely, that they did not, and that they do not, seek for justice for themselves in that way which would also give justice to the labouring people. The landlords have approved of, and do approve of the paper-money; because it gives them rents; and, if they could have got rents in no other way, they would be fully justified in thus liking and wishing to support the paper-money. But, this is not the fact: they might have secured their rents by an equitable adjustment, by justly reducing the interest of the debt,

by very greatly reducing the dead-weight, by discharging the army in time of peace, and by abolishing the sinecures, the unearned pensions and grants, and by curtailing all salaries and all sorts of expenses, except those of the navy. This mode of obtaining rents would have given the working man a quart of strong beer for three half-pence, and would have dispersed those enormous hordes of idlers, who now eat what the working people ought to eat. It is in this way, and only in this way, that the landlords and farmers are to blame for the horrible misery in which the labourers now are. They cannot, while the present taxes last, pay them better than they do, without ruin to themselves. But, it was their duty, and it is their duty to take the amount of a large part of those taxes out of its present channel, and give it to the working people. Their own interest, too, demands this; for, what is their situation amidst a mass of misery in their labourers, which those labourers impute to them; and, for the reason above stated, not altogether unjustly? But, this is a species of blame, which the clamourers against their "monopoly" never impute to them. Oh, no! These clamourers are never for taking off taxes: they are, as I said before, for making the landlords pay all the present taxes; and, at the same time, having corn so low priced, that no farmer can pay any rent!

49. Besides, even if this could take place, even if all the land were taken from the owners, and let by the Government for the use of the public, the present amount of taxes could not be paid in gold. The farmers, if they held the farms free of rent, could not pay the present taxes and rates in gold for five years. In 1822 thousands of farms were offered free of rent, and nobody was found to venture a shilling upon them. And yet, observe, we were not then come to gold payments, nor any thing like it. There was still a great deal of country bank paper out, besides about twenty millions in paper of the Bank of England. If we had actually come to gold payments, the farms would all have

been abandoned to the overseers, who must have had them cultivated to raise food for the poor; or, which is much more likely, partial insurrections of the starving people would have led to general anarchy.

50. It was, therefore, absolutely necessary to do one of two things; namely, to put out paper-money again so as to raise prices; OR, to reduce the interest of the debt, discharge the army, reduce the dead-weight, lop off the sinecures, and make an "equitable adjustment" of contracts. The Ministers chose the former; out came the paper-money; that raised prices; it pacified the landlords and farmers; but it was not long in producing the "*laté* panic" and all the ruin and all the masses of misery which we now behold, and the much greater masses that will come, and must come, sooner or later, unless this paper-money system be wholly put an end to.

51. Hoping that I have, upon these subjects, now put you upon your guard against the delusions of Scotch quackery, I remain,

Your friend and
most obedient servant,
WM. COBBETT.

HISTORY OF GEORGE THE FOURTH.

No. XIV.

THIS number, which is just published, continues, and brings nearly to a conclusion, the History of the last American War; and, of course, it records the knockings and beatings about; the real thrashings, which our navy got in that war, about which the people of England have never known any more than the people of China have; but it is right that they should now know a pretty deal about it, having to pay 1,607,966 pounds for services rendered in the last war, and not for services now; and having to pay for *half-pay* to naval officers alone, 847,630 pounds a year, while the whole of the American navy, augmented as it has been, costs only

about 600,000 pounds a year. This being the case, it is right that the people of England should know something about the exploits on account of which they pay all this money; and in this history of mine they will see all about it. The truth has been smothered from the year 1812 to the present day; but it is not to be smothered any longer.

LOCUST TREES.

I HAVE about seven thousand of these left; and I sell them at five pounds a thousand. They can be had at BOLT-COURT at any time, in six days after they are ordered. They are very fine, having been removed, and having the finest roots possible. Any one who plants them ought to have my book called the *WOODLANDS*, or he will not do it well.

LOCUST SEED.

Very fine and fresh to be had at BOLT-COURT for eight shillings a pound. A pound, if properly sowed, will produce from eight to ten thousand plants. To sow the seed properly, you must read the "*Woodlands*." If you follow the directions therein, almost every seed will come up: if you do not, you will get very few plants, and, perhaps, none at all.

FIELD SEEDS.

I notified, some time ago, that I should not make any distinction in price, whether a single pound, or a number of pounds were sold; but, by some mistake, the old prices were inserted in last week's *Register*. The prices will, for the present, be as follows:—

Deep red MANGEL WURZEL Seed, 9d. a pound. — SWEDISH TURNIP Seed, which I warrant to be the finest and truest that ever was grown in England, 9d. a pound. — ITALIAN CLOVER SEED, one shilling and threepence a pound.

GARDEN SEEDS.

Bags of seed for large gardens (the seeds tied up in paper bags, and those sewed up in a canvass bag), with a

printed list of the seeds in the inside, along with a manuscript card of my writing, with the following words on it, "Garden seeds, raised at Normandy farm, in 1833, by Wm. Cobbett," 25s. each.

Bags for small gardens, having all the same sorts of seeds, but in half the quantity of the preceding, with printed list and card the same, 12s. 6d. each.

The following is the list of my seeds, which contains the KNIGHT-PEA, not contained in my list of last year. The EARLY-FRAME pea is the very quickest in coming that I ever saw in my life; and I think I can defy all the world for cabbage seed, though I have not got it, even yet, into that state of perfection that I shall have it next year.

KITCHEN-GARDEN SEEDS.

- No.
1. Asparagus.
 2. Bean—Broad, or Windsor.
 3. Long Pod.
 4. Early Masagan,
 5. Kidney (or French). Scarlet Runners.
 6. White Runners.
 7. Bean—Black Dwarf.
 8. Dun Dwarf.
 9. Robin-Egg.
 10. Speckled.
 11. Beet—Red.
 12. Brocoli—White.
 13. Purple.
 14. Cape.
 15. Cabbage—Early Battersea.
 16. Early York.
 17. Savoy.
 18. Cate—Curled—Scotch.
 19. Carrot.
 20. Cauliflower.
 21. Celery.
 22. Chervil.
 23. Cress.
 24. Cucumber, early frame.
 25. Corn (Cobbett's).
 26. Endive.
 27. Leek.
 28. Lettuce—White Coss.
 29. Brown Dutch.
 30. Mustard—White.
 31. Nasturtium—Dwarf.
 32. Onion.

33. Parsnip.
34. Parsley—Curled.
35. Knight-Pea.
36. Pea—Early-frame.
37. Tall Marrowfats.
38. Dwarf Marrowfats.
39. Radish—Early Scarlet.
40. White Turnip.
41. Spinage.
42. Squash (from America, great variety).
43. Turnip—Early-Garden.

FLOWER SEEDS.

44. Canterbury Bells.
45. Catch Fly.
46. China-asters.
47. Convolvulus—Dwarf.
48. Indian Pink.
49. Larkspur—Dwarf Rocket.
50. Lupinus—Dwarf Yellow.
51. Poppy—Carnation.
52. ... French.
53. Stock, Scarlet, ten-week.
54. Mignonette.
55. Sweetwilliam.
56. Sweet Pea.
57. Venus's Looking-glass.
58. Virginia Stock.
59. Wall-flower.

HAND-LOOM WEAVERS.

Bolton, 31. January, 1834.

At a meeting, of manufacturers and Hand-Loom Weavers, held at the Rope and Anchor,

W. BOLLING, Esq, M.P., in the chair,

Supported by Colonel TORRENS, M.P.,

It was resolved, 1st. That it is the opinion of this meeting, that petitions from the manufacturers and weavers of England, Ireland, and Scotland, should be presented to Parliament as early as possible in the ensuing session, praying the House of Commons to appoint a select committee, to inquire into the distresses of the hand-loom weavers, with a view of devising a remedy, by the establishment of boards of trade to fix a uniform rate of wages, or otherwise.

2nd. That the following manufacturers and weavers, with power to add to their number, form a committee to carry the above resolution into effect, and that six form a quorum.

MANUFACTURERS.

Mr. Brodie,
— Crook,
— Dean,
— Tong,
— Bailey,
— Henton,
— Blinkhorn,
— Hitchen,
— Green,
— Wm. Haslam,
— Arrowsmith,
— Horrocks,
— Mallett,
— T. Wood.

WEAVERS.

Phillip Halliwell,
Rd. Needham,
Jno. Aston,
Jno. Young,
Wm. Pilling,
Jas. Whiteford,
John Welsby,
W. O'Carrol,
Wm. Hatch,
Thos Monks,
Geo. Thompson,
Chas. Rothwell,
Richard Wood,
Thos. Wolf.

3rd. That the thanks of the meeting be given to W. Bolling, Esq., M.P., for his able and impartial conduct in the chair, and also to Colonel Torrrens, M.P., for his cordial co-operation and support of the business of the day.

JOHN MAKIN, } Secretaries.
THOMAS MONKS, }

The following petitions in behalf of the hand-loom weavers are now in course of signature, and will be sent to London for presentation during the week. Contributions, in aid of their expenses, are respectfully solicited by the operatives.

To the Honourable Commons of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, in Parliament assembled.

The petition of the undersigned hand-loom cotton manufacturers, residing in the borough of Bolton, in the county of Lancaster, humbly sheweth,

That your petitioners are master manufacturers, residing in the borough of Bolton; that the hand-loom weavers in their employ are labouring under great depression of circumstances, in consequence of a series of reductions in their wages, which has been going on for many years.

That these reductions have mainly proceeded from a spirit of competition long in operation, chiefly originating with manufacturers at the greatest distance from the market.

That when any reduction has taken place in the wages of weavers in the distant parts of the country, it has inevitably compelled us to reduce our weavers' wages in self-defence.

That great insecurity to capital has thereby ensued, and many industrious and enterprising manufacturers have been thereby ruined.

That these evils have been proceeding in the face of demands every year increasing; and your petitioners humbly believe, that if wages could be established upon a certainty, and made uniform through the United Kingdom for the same fabric of cloth, manufacturers would have confidence to manufacture in periods when the demand decreases, and thereby prevent those great fluctuations which have at different periods affected our trade.

And, therefore, your petitioners humbly pray your honourable House to appoint a select committee to inquire into the practicability of equalizing wages, by a board or boards of trade to be established, or stop this ruinous process by any other means which your honourable House may devise.

And your petitioners will ever pray.

To the Honourable the Commons of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, in Parliament assembled.

The humble petition of the undersigned hand-loom cotton weavers and others, of the borough of Bolton, in the county of Lancashire, humbly sheweth,

That your petitioners have been long labouring under very severe privations, resulting from a depression of wages, much below the standard of existence in this country.

That these extensive reductions in our wages have been progressing for a long series of years, and are mainly attributable to a competition, supported on principles as unwise in theory as they have been ruinous in practice; namely, reducing the wages to cover any loss in the market that manufacturers may sustain by underselling each other.

That this source of grievance and oppression has proceeded always, in the first instance, from manufacturers residing at a distance from the market; that, in a short time, the reductions begun in the country extend by consequence to the town; and thus has been effecting a silent process of destruction to the comforts of the weaver.

That these reductions have been making, not because the demand for our labour is diminished; on the contrary, it has been continually increasing, as witness there has been lately a demand in this borough for two thousand weavers more than could be supplied, and yet our wages remain without any advance; that it is notorious that the difficulty of producing goods which we weave is every year increasing.

That, therefore, your petitioners humbly pray your honourable House to appoint a select committee to inquire, if it would not be practicable to appoint a board of manufacturers and weavers, to regulate or equalize wages, as circumstances may occur, and thus to stop this ruinous system, or to adopt any other remedy or relief for our grievances,

which your honourable House may suggest.

And your petitioners will ever pray.

To the Honourable the Commons of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, in Parliament assembled.

The humble petition of the boroughreere, constables, churchwardens, and overseers, and of the clergy, magistrates, and gentry, and the mill-owners, landlords, shopkeepers, owners of cottage property, and others of the borough of Bolton, in the county of Lancaster, sheweth,

That your petitioners commiserate the distress of that numerous body of industrious and well-disposed work-people, employed in this neighbourhood, in the business of hand-loom weaving, and having observed the increased privations to which they are subject, and which are now become almost unparalleled, beg to approach your hon. House, and humbly pray that your hon. House will be pleased to institute an inquiry into their distresses, and the cause thereof, with a view to provide an early and effectual remedy.

And your petitioners will ever pray.

It is thought desirable to have evidence on the following questions.

1st. From shippers, to show that competition in foreign markets is not from foreign manufactures, but from British.

2nd. To prove that as goods are reduced in our markets, foreign powers lay high duties upon them when imported, and thus enrich their treasuries by our labour.

3rd. To prove that unless the hand-loom weavers are protected, a gradual extinction of the business must result, inasmuch as the weaver is now unable to furnish himself with implements necessary to execute his work.

4th. To prove that a very unequal rate of wages is paid.

5th. To show that a board of trade for the equalization of wages is practicable.

6th. To show that the poor-rates would be greatly reduced by affording to the weaver a fair remuneration for his labour.

"THE CURSE OF PAPER-MONEY."

SIR,—If you had not, by the means of your *English Grammar*, done more than any other man living to promote education, in the usual acceptance of the term; and at the same time removed from us the reproach of HUME, that we had not even "a tolerable grammar of our language"; if you had not given to Frenchmen the best grammar for teaching them the *English language*, and to Englishmen the best for teaching them the *French language*; if you had not, in your *Protestant Reformation*, unveiled the hypocrites who figured in that affair of blood and plunder, and shown to all the world the true foundation of our "Church as by law established"; if you had not, by your *Poor Man's Friend*, informed the poor of the extent of their rights, and taught them how to recover and to maintain them, without infringing upon the rights of those above them; if you had performed none of these things, or the numberless others that might be enumerated, but have confined your labours solely to the subject of paper-money, you would still have entitled yourself to be enrolled amongst those who have conferred the greatest benefits not only on their own country, but on the whole human race.

Paper against Gold contains every thing necessary to be known respecting our own affair; but *here* the hold which the "grinders" have upon the people, renders vain all hope of any effort being made to shake them off. The present proceedings in AMERICA; therefore, are of the utmost importance to us; because, as you have observed, the effects of those proceedings must reach us, and finally destroy the most stupendous system of villany that the world ever saw. "The Curse of Paper-Mo-

ney" is a most valuable appendage to your "Paper against Gold": it leaves nothing wanting to complete the hideous picture. But, sir, there is one part which, to me, is peculiarly interesting: I mean that which relates to the paying off of its debt by the Government of AMERICA. If the Government had collected the money from the people in taxes, and had placed that money in its exchequer, the operation might have occasioned some embarrassment to the people; and I do not think that it could have been done; but, at any rate, the returning the money into circulation would have given a stimulus to trade. The course pursued, however, has been very different from this; and a little explanation will show how it is that the paying off of a national debt (a mere chandler's-shop score compared to some others) produces embarrassment and distress amongst the people. The money raised by the Government for the purpose of paying off the debt, has never, it appears, been taken out of circulation at all. It has been received by the Bank, on account of the Government, and lent out at interest by the Bank, as fast as received. Nay, more: the great quantity of money thus put at the disposal of the Bank, induced it to extend the issues of paper, which example all the minor banks followed. So that when the period arrived for paying an instalment upon the debt, the Bank found itself compelled to apply to the Government to obtain a postponement of the payment, upon the ground that the money had been lent to the people (!), and that the calling it in would greatly embarrass the borrowers, and through them the nation at large! This, sir, is one of the prettiest illustrations of the effects of national debts and paper-money that ever came under my notice. You, who know all the principles relating to this great subject, know that the effects *must* be such as are here stated; but it is valuable to have, under the hands and seals of the actors themselves, these details so completely corroborative of the principles you have always maintained. For seven years past the paper-system has been reeling along; it has "exhibited all the

symptoms indicating decay"; and the final catastrophe cannot be far distant. That you may live to witness it is the prayer of

A GRATEFUL DISCIPLE.

POOR-LAW LECTURER.

I TAKE the following from the *Bury and Norwich Post*. I wonder if this fellow belongs to BROUGHAM's "*Useful Knowledge Society*." If this Scotch project be carried into effect, it will, in all probability, be the last act of the present system.

REFORM IN THE POOR-LAWS.

(From a Correspondent.)

Last Wednesday evening Mr. J. H. Elliot, from London, a gentleman of known respectability, delivered a Lecture to the members of the Mechanics' Institute in Norwich, on the above subject, and detailed the plan for reforming the poor-laws, which Ministers intend bringing forward in the present session of Parliament. We have been informed, on very excellent authority, that there is no question as to the correctness of his information, which we have reason to believe has been received directly from one of the Poor-Law Commissioners. The proposed reform is certainly a most sweeping one; but not more sweeping than necessary. If carried into effect, we are strangely mistaken if paupers will not soon be as uncommon as they were fifty years ago, and if the same disgrace will not be attached to receiving parochial allowance, as was once attached to it in the estimation of our rural population. We are happy to find that it comprehends all those essential changes which we have so long contended for, which we were amongst the first to suggest, and without which we are sure no real relief or improvement can ever be experienced. The difficulties with which the subject had always appeared enveloped, in our opinion, disappear before it. Its practicability and efficiency must, we think, appear obvious to every one who has

thought deeply on the matter; and we are sure its necessity cannot be disputed. Should Ministers carry so excellent a measure, they will prove the saviours of their country, as the plan itself has proved that they are well able to grapple with the most complicated questions of political economy.

The lecturer commenced by noticing the article in the *Quarterly Review*, and from which an extract appeared in our last, and said he was much gratified that the subject had been brought before the world on such authority. The poor-laws, he stated, originated with Henry the Eighth, and were soon after extended by Elizabeth; but provision was then only made for the sick, the old, and the infirm; and it was not until the year 1795, in the time of Mr. Pitt, that the plan of reducing wages and making them up out of the parish-rates was introduced. He was quite aware that he should make some rather startling propositions; but the present laws were quite unsuitable to the present age, and instead of promoting the happiness of the greatest number, they had an effect quite the reverse. It was right that there should be such an institution for the relief of indigent persons, as would prevent them from starvation, when not able to support themselves; but it was ordained that man should live by the sweat of his brow, and each was bound to provide for himself when no longer able to work, which would be done if a comfortable asylum in the workhouse did not form part of their expectations. If four hours' labour was enough to obtain food and clothing for the present time, or if four days in the week would do it, the obligation to work the other part of the time was too often forgotten, the labourers calculating that the poor-laws would supply their wants whenever there was a necessity. The treatment in these houses was so good, that one of the Poor-Law Commissioners states that a governor in one of them, which he visited, declared that he never stinted the inmates. They had beer, bread, and meat three times a day. Some of the ale was offered to the Commissioner, who, though a lawyer, re-

marked that it was much better than that which he kept for his own table. They were much better off than the independent country labourers, or the rate-payers out of the house. Many mechanics, after having earned 20s., 25s., or 30s. a week, and supplying their immediate necessities, took the rest for a debauch on the Sunday; knowing that if they were turned out of work to-day, they could go into the workhouse to-morrow. He knew a brickmaker, a person of great skill and activity, who would earn 5*l.* a week, and take out his wife and family on a Sunday in a glass coach, and have a glorious dinner on ducks and green peas; and as soon as he was out of employment, his next move was to the workhouse. Another instance had come under his notice, of a mechanic who was an excellent cutter of stones for columns, and who, from being a very superior hand, frequently earned as much as 2*l.* per day regularly when in employment. He took a portion every week while the work lasted, and at the end of the job had as much as 100*l.* to take. Then followed a regular debauch, which lasted until he was cleaned out, and having no more work, he then took a spell at the workhouse. The same person was now employed in cutting column stones for Canterbury cathedral, where he is now again in the receipt of 2*l.* per day, and in all probability, when his work is done, will again find a comfortable asylum in the workhouse. The present poor-laws gave a single man no chance at all, and it was only men of extraordinary strength who remained single—men who were capable of great exertions alone depending on their own resources, and seeing it prudent to remain single until they had some prospect of an independent livelihood. Out-door relief was another great evil. Multitudes who were in constant employment were known to have received relief of the parish for years. The evil consequences of this practice, according to the Poor-Law Commissioners' Report, were most astounding. The following case, which was not published, had been told him by one of these gentlemen.

In a town in Sussex, fishermen, could not be induced to go out at all, because they got as much of the parish as they should have earned by being at the trouble and danger of braving the seas; and the masters were obliged to get people from another parish to do it. The system arose from an interference with the rate of wages: by these means the industrious were mixed up with those who were not so; they caught the infection, and were all made paupers. Many of the agriculturists had absolutely paid off their men, that they might receive them back at reduced wages. Now whether there was or was not a superabundance of labourers, such an interference had a direct tendency to pauperize the whole. He had been lately in conversation with one of the Poor-Law Commissioners, who commenced his inquiry with very strong prepossessions that there was a superabundance of labourers, but he had told him he now felt satisfied that there were not. In many places in England, Irish labourers were employed, while our own were shut up in the workhouse, or out of employment and upon the parish funds, because their own, receiving as much money for playing as working, could not be got to do any thing. In Putney, for instance, the masters said foreigners were worth from 3*s.* to 4*s.* per week more than the parishioners. Upon the whole wages were not lower than it was desirable they should be, for if more money was earned than was necessary for food and clothing in the present low state of morality, extravagance and gross sensuality would be the consequence. A knowledge of domestic arts was almost extinct in the working classes. Although food was increased three-fold, the misery and wretchedness of the working classes had increased also. It was therefore quite necessary to inquire into the cause of this. Poor-laws have had the same effect in other countries, under quite different circumstances. They had been adopted in some of the United States of America, where there was much land and few people, yet the result was just the same; and wherever there was such

a legal provision made for the poor, it had invariably been the case.

A reform in the poor-laws would be one of the first subjects to which the legislature would turn its attention in the present session of Parliament, and from the astounding mass of evils connected with the present system, collected by the Poor-Law Commissioners, if properly supported by the people out of doors, he had no doubt but these evils would be effectually reformed. There was no doubt but the morbid and sickly sensibilities of some would lead them to oppose the plan of Ministers; and it was therefore the duty of the people to examine well the matter, and give all possible support to the Government. It was the duty of the public, on all occasions, to urge them on to the adoption of measures calculated to benefit the country, and he had no doubt but, if thus urged and supported by public opinion, they would do more good than they had done.

The plan which the Government proposed to introduce, was to establish a General Administrative Board in London, and to take the management of the local funds into their own hands by also establishing local boards. Out-door relief would no longer be allowed, and in the workhouses every sort of mismanagement, peculation, and extravagance would be done away with. It was well known that the tradesmen were in the habit of making from ten to twelve per cent. by what they supplied to the parish. The present method of supply was a system of local jobbing, that certain influential individuals secured for themselves or their friends; but the Government would establish paid officers, and it was thought better to employ two or three in a district, and pay them well, rather than have a great number. To maintain the poor, a national rent or tax would be proposed, and there was no reason that the country should not keep all the paupers as well as the army and navy. And in case those persons who lived in villages not now burdened with poor should object; it would be proposed to allow their present rates to remain for four or

five years, at the end of which period, if the plan worked well, they would be obliged to come into the general arrangement. Another important part of the measure would be to abolish altogether the interference of the magistrates, which was found to be very mischievous. The overseers were certainly the best judges of the wants of the poor; but the magistrates had always a strong sympathy with paupers, who were always running to them on every trifling dispute between themselves and the overseers; the consequence was that orders were given to increase their allowances. A shilling or eighteen-pence per week was added to their wages, which was too frequently a full and complete bounty on idleness. He knew a person who received such an allowance that spent 1s. 2d. for snuff. The magistrates too frequently judged of the value of money by their own expenses. He was last night talking on the subject with a Norfolk agriculturist, who told him he never would allow any appeal to go before the magistrates; for he was sure if he had it would have been decided against the parish, and that the evil consequence on the rest of the parish would have been great. Whenever, therefore, any demand of an advance of allowance was made by a pauper he granted it. Mr. Walker, the magistrate of Lambeth, would never interfere in this matter, and the consequence was that paupers were very few there, and the poor-rates low. The Government were also aware that the boundaries of parishes were too small, and they would therefore propose that several should form a district, that there should be a workhouse in each district, and that all indigent persons who required assistance should be at once taken into the house. Suitable provision would be made for the sick, and there would be a strict separation of the sexes. [Not including married couples, we imagine.—Ed]. Workhouses would not be allowed to be warrens for breeding paupers, nor would they any longer be places of comfort for the idle, to which they would be glad to resort and to invite their friends. It was

not to be supposed that the blanket should be torn from the woman who had been provident, and given to warm her who had been inconsiderate or profligate; the last comfort must not be swept away from an industrious family to accommodate the inmates of a work-house. It was also thought proper to establish a uniform national dietary throughout the kingdom. The work-house must be a place that no one would remain in a day longer than could be avoided. It must not be a place where the inmates can eat meat and drink ale, while those who had to support it are drinking water and eating potatoes. It had been shown that while the independent hard-working labourer obtained only 122 oz. of food per week, the soldier obtained 168, the able-bodied pauper 151, the suspected thief from 181 to 203, the convicted thief 239, and the transported thief 330, or that the latter had as much in one year as the honest hard-working labourer in three. It had frequently happened that the latter had written to their friends to come over to them, for that they never were so well off in their lives. [This is not now the case.—EDITOR.] Workhouses would be better than prisons, but they would no longer be palaces for the encouragement of idleness. In the Liverpool workhouse the effects of proper discipline had been very obvious; there a good system of management had been introduced. Whenever it happened that there was nothing to do the house was full, but as soon as a cart-load of junk (old rope to be pulled into oakum) arrived, it was a signal for them to be off. It was also intended to abolish the law of settlement. It was exceedingly absurd to spend 50*l.* to ascertain what poor house a pauper should be maintained in. These changes would encourage the free circulation of labour. Labourers would no longer be confined to the narrow boundaries of a parish, or refuse work at a few miles distance from home. He recollected that the labourers in Snettisham, in this county, a few years since, had an opportunity of getting work in Marshland. Several of them went at first and earned 16*s.* a week, but

they soon grew tired of it, and would no longer work out of their own parish. A young man in the same village was offered a situation in London as a porter, but he would not accept of it, because he might lose his parish. In Northampton, there were 100 men in the work-house, and 100 Irish labourers were now employed where the Northampton men might have been: but by the law of settlement they knew the parish was bound to keep them, and they therefore refused to go out for the employment because it was twenty miles distant. The bastardy law also required, and would doubtless undergo revision. A case had been reported from Swaffham, of a woman who had seven illegitimate children receiving 2*s.* a week with each, while a widow with the same number of legitimate children would have received 4*s.* or 5*s.* less.

When these alterations were made, the Government would prove the disputed point as to whether there was or was not a superabundance of labourers. If this should be the case, an extensive scheme of emigration would be encouraged, by which the surplus labourers would be drawn off. It was found, upon a careful calculation, that the eight millions of money which the management of the poor now cost annually, would actually depopulate the country in a few years, and a sixth part of it would enable them to drain off such a quantity of young persons as would totally prevent any increase of young persons, and leave the country without another generation. It was not their purpose to keep down the working people, but to raise them to that equality of independence and happiness amongst their fellows, to which, he contended, they were entitled. He was quite aware that these propositions would be startling to many, and fault would be found with them on the account of their not leaning more to what was falsely called charity. But in injudicious charities we frequently defeated our own objects. In 1832 no less than 800,000*l.* was spent in private charities, in addition to the above eight millions; but it was very questionable whether

they had not done more harm than good. It turned the regular course of things into new channels; people seldom thought of providing themselves with that which they could obtain of a charity, and small tradesmen were generally sufferers. The owners of houses perhaps reaped the advantage, and the keepers of the modern palaces called gin-shops. In the town of Bedford there were most stupendous revenues for different charities. They at one time amounted to 12,000*l.* a year, and, when a building now going on was completed, there would be no less than 14,000*l.* a year available for the purposes of charity. There were certain sums for binding out poor children apprentices, and as much as 30*l.* was giving to a young woman when she married, and the poor had coals given them; but after all the poor-rates in this place amounted to from 2,000*l.* to 3,000*l.* a year. The charity which was enjoined upon us in the Bible was not to do evil to our fellow-creatures but to do good. This reform was necessary, not so much for the sum of money which the poor-laws took from the country, for this was but a small part of the evil connected with them, but for the pauperism, degradation, misery, and immorality which it brought upon the working people themselves. This eloquent and admirable lecture ended by a powerful appeal to his audience to support by all their influence the Ministers in carrying the present measures. The lecturer sat down amidst loud and hearty cheers.

MALT-TAX.

SIR WILLIAM INGILBY brought forward his motion on this subject last night, which was not for a total repeal of the tax, but for the House to resolve itself into a committee, "for the purpose of taking into consideration the propriety of reducing, or wholly repealing, the duty on malt." The motion was lost by a majority of 101.

There being for the motion .. 170

Against it 271

From the LONDON GAZETTE,

FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 21, 1834.

INSOLVENT.

BARBER, W., York, shoemaker.

BANKRUPTCIES ENLARGED.

DALY, P., Liverpool, bricklayer.

FOSTER, W., Liverpool, tailor.

BANKRUPTS.

BAILEY, W. W., Quarndon, Derbyshire, commission-agent.

HANSEN, L. P. C., Clink-street, Southwark, and Albany-road, Camberwell, coal-merchant.

ROMANIS, J., Gracechurch-street, hosier.

WHALLEY, J., Lockwood, Yorkshire, grocer.

WILLINS, J., Warwick, broker.

UPTON, G., Boroughbridge, Yorkshire, scrivener.

SCOTCH SEQUESTRATIONS.

HAMILTON, J., Edinburgh, bookseller.

SPANKIE, J., Dundee, merchant.

TUESDAY, FEB. 25, 1834.

INSOLVENT.

PAYNE, S., Quebec-st., Marylebone, horse-dealer.

BANKRUPTCY ANNULLED.

GERARD, C., Salford, Lancashire, cotton-spinner.

BANKRUPTS.

ATKINSON, R., Huddersfield, woollen cloth-manufacturer.

BETTS, T., Charles-street, Grosvenor-square, upholsterer.

HAYWARD, J., Queen Ann-street, Portland-place, and Cumberland-mews, Regent's-park, builder.

HEALE, R., Mincing-lane, City, wholesale-grocer.

SAMUEL, M., Liverpool, merchant.

SHAW, T., Charlsworth, Derbyshire, cotton-spinner.

WATTS, G. F., Bath and Bathampton, money-scrivener.

WHITE, J. and G., Kentish-town, coach-proprietors.

LONDON MARKETS.

MARK-LANE, CORN-EXCHANGE, Feb. 24.

The supplies of Wheat from the home counties fresh up to this morning's market, have been liberal; which, added to the parcels left over from last week, caused the stands to be well filled. The condition of the samples exhibited proofs of amendment, though many still

handled rough. The millers bought sparingly the better descriptions at the rates of last Monday, but all other sorts hung on hand at a decline of fully 1s. per qr. from the quotations of last week. Kubanka Wheat was held at improving rates, owing to the demand for Lisbon, the Portuguese Government having allowed the admission of 30,000 qrs. of hard Wheat, and 12,000 do. of soft.

Barley was in moderate supply, and selected parcels were taken rather more freely off hand at last week's prices. Secondary qualities, as well as distilling and grinding sorts, were very difficult of disposal, and prices nominal.

Malt extremely dull.

The extensive supply of Oats from England, Scotland, and Ireland, has completely depressed the trade, and sales to any extent could not be effected, unless at a decline of 6d. to 1s. per quarter from last Monday.

Beans were difficult of disposal, and for Peas of any description there was little or no demand, but prices of both articles remained unaltered.

The Flour trade ruled extremely dull, and where the sale of ship qualities was pressed, a decline of 1s. per sack was submitted to.

Wheat	50s. to 58s.
Rye	—s. to —s.
Barley	23s. to 25s.
— fine	28s. to 31s.
Peas, White	—s. to —s.
— Boilers	33s. to 38s.
— Grey	30s. to 32s.
Beans, Small	33s. to 37s.
— Tick	29s. to 33s.
Oats, Potato	22s. to 23s.
— Feed	17s. to 20s.
Flour, per sack	43s. to 48s.

PROVISIONS.

Pork, India, new	95s. to 100s.
— Mess, new ...	55s. to 57s. per barl.
Butter, Belfast ...	80s. to 83s. per cwt.
— Carlow	80s. to 87s.
— Cork	70s. to 75s.
— Limerick ..	70s. to —s.
— Waterford ..	70s. to 76s.
— Dublin	66s. to —s.

SMITHFIELD, February 24.

This day's supply of Sheep and Beasts was moderately good, both as to numbers and quality: its supply of Lambs, Calves, and Porkers but limited. Trade was, with each kind of meat, exceedingly dull, at barely Friday's prices.

Full three-fifths of the beasts appeared to consist of about equal numbers of short-horns, Scots, Devons, and Welsh runts; the remaining fifth of about equal numbers of Herefords, Irish beasts, and Town's-end Cows, about 40 Sussex beasts, a few Staffords, &c.

About a moiety of the Sheep were South-Downs, about a fourth new Leicesters, in

about equal numbers of the South-Down and white-faced crosses; and the remaining fourth of about equal numbers of Kents, Kentish half-breds, and old Leicesters, with a few pens of old Lincolns, Dorsets, horned and polled Norfolks, black-faced Berkshires, horned and polled Scotch and Welsh Sheep, &c.

About 1,730 of the Beasts, chiefly consisting of about equal numbers of short-horns, Scots, and Devons, with a few Norfolk home-breds, and Welsh runts, were from Norfolk, Suffolk, Essex, and Cambridgeshire; about 450, chiefly short-horns, with a few Herefords, Devons, Welsh runts, and Irish beasts, from Lincolnshire, Leicestershire, and others of our northern grazing districts; about 200, chiefly Devons and Welsh runts, from our midland and western districts; about 60 from Kent, Sussex, and Surrey; and most of the remainder, including the Town's-end Cows, from the stall-feeders, &c., near London.

The Lambs, which only consisted of a few pens, were chiefly Dorsets.

MARK-LANE.—Friday, Feb. 23.

The arrivals this week are moderate. The market dull at the prices of Monday.

The prices of malt are from 50s. to 58s. the quarter.

THE FUNDS.

3 per Cent. } Fri. Sat. Mon. Tues. Wed. Thur.	
Cons. Ann. }	90½ 90½ 90½ 89½ 89½ 90½

COBBETT-LIBRARY.

New Edition.

COBBETT'S Spelling-Book (Price 2s.)

Containing, besides all the usual matter of such a book, a clear and concise
INTRODUCTION TO ENGLISH GRAMMAR.

This I have written by way of

A Stepping-Stone to my own Grammar;

such a thing having been frequently suggested to me by Teachers as necessary.

1. ENGLISH GRAMMAR.—Of this work sixty thousand copies have now been published. This is a duodecimo volume, and the price is 3s. bound in boards.

2. TULL'S HORSE-HOEING HUSBANDRY; or, a Treatise on the Principles of Tillage and Vegetation. With an Introduction, by WM. COBBETT. 8vo. Price 15s.

3. THE EMIGRANT'S GUIDE.

Just now Published, under this Title, a little Volume, containing Ten Letters, addressed to English Tax-payers. A new edition, with a Postscript, containing an account of the Prices of Houses and Land, recently obtained from America by Mr. Cobbett. Price 2s. 6d. in bds.

4. THE WOODLANDS; or, a Treatise on the preparing of the ground for planting; on the planting, on the cultivating, on the pruning, and on the cutting down, of Forest Trees and Underwoods. Price 14s. bound in boards.

5. YEAR'S RESIDENCE IN AMERICA.—The Price of this book, in good print and on fine paper, is 5s.

6. FRENCH GRAMMAR; or, Plain Instructions for the Learning of French. Price, bound in boards, 5s.

7. COTTAGE ECONOMY.—I wrote this Work professedly for the use of the labouring and middling classes of the English nation. I made myself acquainted with the best and simplest modes of making beer and bread, and these I made it as plain as, I believe, words could make it. Also of the keeping of Cows, Pigs, Bees, and Poultry, matters which I understood as well as any body could, and in all their details. It includes my writing, also on the Straw Plait. A Duodecimo Volume. Price 2s. 6d.

8. MARTENS'S LAW OF NATIONS.—This is the Book which was the foundation of all the knowledge that I have ever possessed relative to public law. The Price is 17s., and the manner of its execution is I think, such as to make it fit for the Library of any Gentleman.

9. MR. JAMES PAUL COBBETT'S RIDE OF EIGHT HUNDRED MILES IN FRANCE. Second Edition. Price 2s. 6d.

10. A TREATISE ON COBBETT'S CORN; containing Instructions for Propagating and Cultivating the Plant, and for Harvesting and Preserving the Crop; and also an account of the several uses to which the Produce is applied. Price 5s.

11. LETTERS FROM FRANCE; containing Observations made in that Country during a Residence of Two Months in the South, and Three Months at Paris. By JOHN M. COBBETT. Price 4s. in boards.

12. PROTESTANT "REFORMATION" in England and Ireland, showing how that event has impoverished and degraded the main body of the people in those countries. Two volumes, bound in boards. The Price of the first volume is 4s. 6d. The Price of the second volume 3s. 6d.

13. SERMONS.—There are twelve of these, in one volume, on the following subjects: 1. Hypocrisy and Cruelty; 2. Drunkenness; 3. Bribery; 4. Oppression; 5. Unjust Judges; 6. The Sluggard; 7. The Murderer; 8. The Gamester; 9. Public Robbery; 10. The Unnatural Mother; 11. The Sin of Forbidding Marriage; 12. On the Duties of Parsons, and on the Institution and Object of Tithes. Price 3s. 6d. bound in boards.

A Thirteenth Sermon, entitled "GOOD FRIDAY; or, The Murder of Jesus Christ by the Jews." Price 6d.

14. An ITALIAN GRAMMAR, by Mr. JAMES PAUL COBBETT.—Being a Plain and Compendious Introduction to the Study of Italian. Price 6s.

Price 12s.

A GEOGRAPHICAL DICTIONARY OF ENGLAND AND WALES;

CONTAINING

The names, in Alphabetical Order, of all the Counties, with their several Subdivisions, into Hundreds, Lathes, Rapes, Wapentakes, Wards, or Divisions; and an Account of the Distribution of the Counties into Circuits, Dioceses, and Parliamentary Divisions.

ALSO,

The names (under that of each County respectively), in Alphabetical Order, of all the Cities, Boroughs, Market Towns, Villages, Hamlets, and Tithings, with the Distance of each from London, or from the nearest Market Town, and with the Population, and other interesting particulars relating to each; besides which there are

MAPS;

First, one of the whole country, showing the local situation of the Counties relatively to each other; and, then, each County is also preceded by a Map, showing, in the same manner, the local situation of the Cities, Boroughs, and Market Towns.

FOUR TABLES

Are added; first, a Statistical Table of all the Counties, and then three Tables, showing the new Divisions and Distributions enacted by the Reform-Law of 4th June, 1832.

THE CURSE

OF

PAPER MONEY AND BANKING, Or, a short History of Banking in the United States of America, with an account of its ruinous effects on Landowners, Farmers, Traders, and on all the industrious classes of the community.

By W. M. GOUGE, of Philadelphia, in 1833. To which is prefixed an Introduction by WM. COBBETT, M.P. for Oldham. Price 4s. 11, Bolt-court, Fleet-street, and all Book-sellers.

Just published, price 2s.,

FOUR LETTERS

TO THE

HON. JOHN STUART WORTLEY,

In answer to his "Brief Inquiry into the true award of an Equitable Adjustment between the nation and its creditors."—By WILLIAM COBBETT, M. P. for Oldham.

Price 6s. a new edition of the
ENGLISH GARDENER,

OR,

A TREATISE

On the Situation, Soil, Enclosing and Laying-Out of Kitchen Gardens; on the Making and Managing of Hot-beds and Green-Houses; and on the Propagation and Cultivation of all sorts of Kitchen-Garden Plants, and of Fruit-Trees whether of the Garden or the Orchard.

AND ALSO,

On the Formation of Shrubberies and Flower-Gardens; and on the Propagation and Cultivation of the several sorts of Shrubs and Flowers;

CONCLUDING WITH

A KALENDAR,

Giving instructions relative to the Sowings, Plantings, Prunings, and other labours, to be performed in the Gardens, in each Month of the Year.

By WILLIAM COBBETT.

CHEAP CLOTHING!!

SWAIN AND CO., Tailors, &c.,
93, FLEET-STREET,
(Near New Bridge-street.)

BEG the attention of the public to their extensive stock of goods for the present season, which they supply at the following prices:—

FOR CASH ONLY.

	£.	s.	d.
A Suit of Superline Clothes.....	4	18	0
Ditto, Black or Blue.....	5	10	0
Ditto, Imperial Saxony.....	6	0	0
Petersham Great Coats.....	3	3	0
Barogan or Velvetten Shooting } Jackets.....	1	10	0
Cobbett's Cord Trowsers.....	1	2	0
A complete Suit of Livery.....	4	10	0
SPANISH, OPERA, and WALKING CLOAKS, LADIES' HABITS AND PELISSES, and CHILD- REN'S DRESSES, and every other article in the trade made in the most elegant manner.			

I recommend Messrs. Swain and Co as very good and punctual tradesmen, whom I have long employed with great satisfaction.
WM. COBBETT.

"COLES'S TRUSS IS THE BEST."

I am ready to subscribe to the truth of this assertion, which appears on the front (I will not say ornaments his establishment at Charing Cross) and I can do it from personal experience. Having in the course of thirty years tried a great many trusses, I have recommended Coles's Truss to several persons, particularly professional characters, and intend, if I live, to continue to do so, being convinced, that in promoting the general adoption of Coles's Patent Trusses, I am serving a meritorious mechanic and the cause of humanity.

THOMAS RICHARDSON.

West Hendon House, near Sunderland.

1st Month, 10th, 1834.

I can subscribe to a similar testimonial, after having tried several other trusses without experiencing its complete prevention.

THOMAS EDMONDS.

Wycombe, Bucks.

1st Month, 21st, 1834.

Sir,—I have been wearing trusses of different kinds for the last thirty years, but never found one of them to keep up the rupture effectually, until thirteen months since I purchased one of your patent: and, although my rupture came down in a most frightful manner then, it has never come down since, nor have I scarcely the appearance of ever having had such a complaint. At my age, 77 years, I do not intend leaving off wearing a truss, and I know too well the importance of your ingenious contrivance to keep the world in ignorance of it.

JAMES SHARE, Commander, R. N.

19, Bury-street, Bloomsbury,

28th May, 1832.

Colonel Francklin informs those who have ruptures, that he has been wearing trusses thirty years, and he never met with but one individual who was master of the complaint. He has likewise an elder brother, a Colonel in the Honourable East India Company's service, who has worn a similar kind of truss for many years, who can say the same. Mr. Coles of Charing-cross, is the individual alluded to.

Blackheath, July 16th, 1832.

Sir,—Having the misfortune to rupture myself several years ago, I purchased one of Salmon's self-adjusting Trusses, which, although it afforded me considerable relief, did not entirely keep the rupture in its place, particularly when I had to stand for any length of time. I felt a disagreeable gnawing pain, attended with a bearing down of the hernia, so that I was frequently unable to wear the truss. In mentioning to a friend what I had suffered, he strongly advised me to try one of your patent, which I did, and found to my great comfort, that it kept up the rupture effectually, without producing any of those painful sensations which I had endured while wearing the ball and socket truss, and I can now stand or walk for hours together without the least pain or inconvenience, in fact, as

well as though I had never been ruptured. I send you this statement to make what use of it you please.

I am, sir, your obedient servant,

WILLIAM MATTHEWS,

Quarter-Master, Royal Artillery.

Woolwich, Sept. 12th, 1832.

A gentleman at Lloyd's Coffee House has also sent Mr. Coles a similar testimonial of his case, which had been of thirty years' standing.

Sir,—While serving the office of first lieutenant of a line-of-battle ship off Toulon, in 1809, I had the misfortune, through extreme fatigue, to bring on a rupture. Since that period I have tried every description of truss which came to my knowledge, but I never succeeded in supporting the hernia effectually until 1831, when I purchased two of your Patent Trusses; and it is but justice to own that no descent has occurred since I have worn them, and I freely give you liberty to publish this testimonial in favour of your excellent invention.

I am, sir, yours obediently,

J. P. BAKER, Commander, R. N.

28, Duke-street, Manchester-square,

Oct. 17, 1832.

Sir,—Seven years ago I applied to you to stop a rupture, which I have laboured under upwards of fifty years, which was as large as a man's head, which you accomplished with apparent ease, when no person that I had previously consulted, was able to stop it a single day. I am now 86, and am entirely free from any external appearance of the complaint. My object in writing this testimonial, is, not merely to express my gratitude for the services you have rendered me, but to guard my fellow sufferers against the use of imperfect trusses.

GEORGE CARPENTER.

24, Regent-street,
21st October, 1833.

A surgeon of the R. N., about 60 years of age, who had been wearing trusses of several different kinds, employed one of Coles's manufacture, and ere he had half worn it out, threw it aside, and left his trusses in London, while he made a tour on the continent. Being at sea and exposed to severe weather, a sea sickness brought on the complaint, and he was compelled a second time to wear his truss, and after wearing it about twelve months, has again been perfectly cured, and does not wear a truss.

Sir Astley Cooper knows a case which had been getting worse for thirty years, and which had escaped a hundred times a day, and does not escape from Coles's Truss.

Sir,—In November last I purchased one of your Patent Trusses. I was then suffering severely from a hernia of thirty-six years' standing, which has escaped from my truss

twenty or thirty times in a day. I am now happy to state, that it never escaped from your truss: and I have no hesitation in pronouncing it to be of more value, when compared with any truss I had previously worn, than gold when compared with silver.

I am, Sir, your obedient servant,

WILLIAM MINTRAM.

No. 7, Burlington Arcade,

July 12th, 1833.

COLONEL GREEN hesitates not to acknowledge, that the trusses furnished to him by Mr. Coles have effectually put a stop to his malady. He cannot say that of any other truss which he has worn for the last thirty years.

No. 3, Windham-place, Montagu-square,

August 27th, 1833.

Sir,—Having worn trusses for twenty years, and suffered the most excruciating pain of strangulated hernia, which occurred while wearing my truss, and, without a doubt, should have lost my life, but for the great skill and attention paid me by Mr. Mayo in the operation. And, notwithstanding I had the best medical aid, and, as I supposed, the best trusses that could be procured, my rupture continually increased, and escaped from every truss that I had employed, until I had yours; and am happy to state, that I now feel perfectly comfortable, and more secure, under every position of the body, than at any period, either before or since I underwent the operation.

I am, Sir, with gratitude, yours, &c.,

JOHN QUICK.

No. 70, Great Titchfield-street, Marylebone,

June 14th, 1833.

Sir,—About twelve months since I purchased one of your Patent Trusses for my father, Lieutenant Munro, who has worn trusses thirty years, and such is the estimation in which your Truss is held by him, that he would not part with it for the value of all the trusses he had previously worn.

I am, Sir,

your very humble servant.

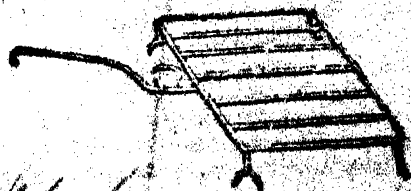
A. T. MUNRO,

Lieut. and Adjut. Royal Horse Guards.
Tain, 21st Sept. 1833.

John Berthwick Gilchrist, Esq. has published his case. He had been a great sufferer for many years from rupture, and he says that none of the Truss-makers in Germany, Belgium, France, Switzerland, nor in England, except Mr. Coles, ever made him an efficient truss, whose professional abilities, he adds, combined with his truly scientific discovery justly entitles him to universal confidence.—See *Doctor*, No. 69.

* * * Read the case of **William Cobbett, Esq.** published in Boyle's "Court Guide" for Jan. 1833—4.

Printed by William Cobbett, Johnson's-court; and published by him, at 11, Bolt-court, Fleet-street.



FATE OF THE CHURCH.

Bolt-court, 6. March, 1834.

This church is manifestly on her last legs. She is, this very year, **TWO HUNDRED AND EIGHTY-SIX YEARS OLD!** A good round age. She was **CREATED** by act of Parliament, sprung new, in the year 1548, in the 2nd year of the reign of the Protestant saint, King Edward the Sixth. The act states, that the **COMMON-PRAYER-BOOK** was made with the "**aid of the HOLY GHOST**"; but the same Parliament that enacted it, *repealed* it, when the Royal Protestant saint died. *Repealed!* Repeal that which had been made "**by the aid of the Holy Ghost**"! Hold your tongue, reader; we are not to pretend to understand high matters like this. However, it was in about five years *re-enacted*; and it has continued to this day; *how many days longer* it will continue, I do not pretend to say! That the old Dame is going the way of all flesh, must be evident to every one; and all good men must desire that she should go in a proper manner; that justice should take place; and that the thing should be **EFFECTUALLY DONE**.

In order that such may be the result, the people at large must *clearly understand* all about this church; her rise, her progress, her present state; what she *does to the people*, and *why* it is that they anticipate her fall with pleasure. The debate on the **DEVONSHIRE PETITION**, which will be found in another part of this *Register*, only shows that there is a *confusion of notions*, on the subject; and,

[Printed by W. Cobbett, Johnson's-court.]

unless that confusion can be removed, we shall only blunder along from error to error; and from one act of injustice to another. Now, to avoid this, we ought to have the complete history of this church, and of all those of its doings, which have brought it into its present state, and prepared it for its approaching fall.

The History of the "**Protestant Reformation**" did good service; it pulled the mask off that tyrannical and bloody set of proceedings, out of which this church arose, and it took a hasty view of her progress for some time; but, that view was too **HASTY** to leave much impression on the mind of the reader; and it was, besides, defective as to the conduct of this church, especially relative to *that conduct in these latter times*. That history vindicated our forefathers, and the religion which they followed; it is complete as to that point. But, there was wanting *an addition*, bringing down the history of *this church* to the present time; showing how it has worked along, keeping to itself all the *wealth* of the Catholic church, taking a great deal more than that church took, and, in short, becoming, at last, *what we now behold it*, a bloated mass that the people will no longer endure.

I will now make *that addition to my history*, and will publish it under the following title:

THE FATE OF THE CHURCH; BEING A SEQUEL TO THE HISTORY OF THE PROTESTANT REFORMATION.

SHOWING
How this Church rose, by what means it has been sustained, and also the causes of its approaching fall;

WITH REFERENCES TO
All the Acts of Parliament relating to the Church, and particularly all those that relate to **TITHES**, whether Clerical or Lay, and also to those which relate to the **ABBAY LANDS**.

By W. COBBETT, M. P. FOR OLEHAM.

L

Now, as to the *manner* of doing this. It may be done in about EIGHT OR TEN SHEETS of print, or (in duodecimo) about 200 pages. It might, and it may, be inserted in ten or fifteen REGISTERS; but, this would not answer all the purposes, nor half the purposes, that I have in view. Ten REGISTERS would cost an artisan or a labourer TWELVE SHILLINGS, and that would not do. Besides, I want the matter to be in a little *snug volume*, that people may have it to read again and again. Therefore I will, life and health permitting, have it ready to publish in *two weeks after Easter*; that is, by the FIFTEENTH OF APRIL; or, at the latest, by the first of May. This will be the CHURCH REFORM MANUAL: here will be a reference to all the acts of Parliament, which, from time to time, have been procured to be passed for the purpose of upholding this church. It will be a real SEQUEL to the History of the "PROTESTANT REFORMATION"; and, without it, that famous work will not be complete. *Vanity* for a man to call his own work famous! No: not when it has been translated into all modern languages; not when hundreds of thousands of copies of it have been sold in England and Ireland and Scotland; not when two stereotype editions have been printed in the United States of America, where, and in South America, the Americans say, a *million* of copies have been sold. It is not *vanity*, but truth necessary to be stated, for me to call this work famous.

There are *two English editions* of the "Protestant Reformation"; one in LARGE OCTAVO, and the other in DUODECIMO. I shall print some of the Sequel to *suit both*; so that all those who have the book, may complete it at a trifling expense, and may be prepared at all points to give an opinion upon matters that *must* now become subjects of general conversation and discussion. This church has gone on creeping over us by slow and imperceptible degrees. We feel the effects of its monstrous powers; but we do not know how it came to be possessed of those powers; and it is to the *origin* of them that we must now look. And then, as to the *present state*

of the church, we have nothing in any *manageable shape*. I will bring all the information into a *small compass*, and dispose of it at a *small price*; so that every man may know, if he chooses, every thing necessary to be known as to this important national concern, involving, or affecting, in one way or another, not less than a *third* part of the whole of the real property of the kingdom.

When I wrote the History of the "PROTESTANT REFORMATION," I was sure that it would produce a *great change* as to THE CHURCH. It has produced great changes indeed! But, far greater are now to be produced; and, that we may proceed upon solid grounds and act *justly*, we must have the history of the conduct and effects of the church down to this our own day; and this history I now mean to give.

"COBBETT'S MAGAZINE."

THE following notification has appeared in this magazine.

"OUR MAGAZINE.—John M. Cobbett and James P. Cobbett, Esquires, no longer conduct this magazine, nor are in any way connected with it. No other change will take place in the work; it will steadily advocate the same principles in politics as hitherto; it has now the character of being the only Radical monthly periodical, professing to be devoted to the cause of the people aggregately, which has not been led away from its principles to advocate the interest of classes in the community, or been captivated by the liberty-subverting but specious schemes of the *philosophers* and political economists. We want no new cut-and-dry constitution, the work of men calling themselves philosophical radicals. We wish to see the restoration of the old Saxon constitution, or rather, we wish to have the alterations which the combined oligarchy of Whigs and Tories have made in it—swept away with the accumulated abuses of which they have been the originators. In this good work, we shall lend all the assistance in our

"power to Mr. CONBETT, whose unaided mind has already accomplished so much in promulgating true principles in politics."

Now, this being the case, and the magazine still bearing the name of "CONBETT'S" the public will naturally suppose, that *I have something*, at least, to do with it; which *I have not*, and *never have had*, not even so much as to offer *any opinion* as to the undertaking of it, the conducting of it, or the discontinuing of it. The last sentence in the above notification would admit of a construction which was certainly not intended; but, it has rendered this public explanation, on my part, absolutely necessary.

A mere *accident* prevents me from inserting a long article, which I had prepared for insertion here. An accident by FIRE! Not, as the newspaper people call it, an "*incendiary fire*." But, its effects have been as bad as if it were.

POOR-LAW COMMISSION.

THE following are the recommendations of the Poor-Law Commissioners. I beg my readers to have the patience to go through these recommendations with attention: they will see what a brace of bishops, a brace of lawyers, and two couple of newspaper reporters, or something of that sort, are capable of recommending, as the suitable treatment for the most unfortunate part of the working people of England. There is no bill brought in upon the subject as yet; and I should hope that there would not; for I by no means wish to hold the King's servants in detestation, which I should do, if they were to sanction and adopt these barbarous recommendations.

1. That except as to medical attendance, and subject to the exception respecting apprenticeship hereinafter stated, *all relief whatever to the able-bodied persons or to their families, otherwise than in well-regulated workhouses* (i. e. places where they may be set to work according to the spirit and intention of the 43. of Elizabeth) *shall be declared unlawful, and shall cease*, in manner and at periods hereafter speci-

ed; and that all relief afforded in respect of children under the age of 16, shall be considered as afforded to their parents.

2. We recommend the appointment of a *Central Board*, to control the administration of the poor-laws, with such *assistant Commissioners as may be found requisite*; and that the Commissioners be empowered and directed to *frame and enforce regulations for the government of workhouses*, and as to the nature and amount of the relief to be given, and the labour to be exacted in them, and that such regulations shall, as far as may be practicable, be uniform throughout the country.

3. We recommend that the Central Board be empowered to cause any number of parishes which they may think convenient to be incorporated for the purpose of workhouse management, and for providing new workhouses where necessary to declare their workhouses to be the common workhouses of the incorporated district, and to assign to those workhouses separate classes of poor, though composed of the poor of distinct parishes, each distinct parish paying to the support of the permanent workhouse establishment, in proportion to the average amount of the expense incurred for the relief of its poor, for the three previous years, and paying separately for the food and clothing of its own paupers.

4. We recommend that the Central Board be empowered and required to take measures for the general adoption of a complete, clear, and, as far as may be practicable, uniform system of accounts.

5. We further recommend that the Central Board be empowered to incorporate parishes for the purpose of appointing and *paying permanent officers*, and for the execution of works of public labour.

6. We recommend that the Central Board be directed to state the general qualifications which shall be necessary to candidates for paid offices connected with the relief of the poor, to recommend to parishes and incorporations proper persons to act as paid officers, and to *remove any paid officers whom*

they shall think unfit for their situations.

7. We recommend, that the Central Board be empowered to direct the parochial consumption to be supplied by tender and contract, and to provide that the competition be perfectly free.

8. We recommend that the Central Board be empowered and required to act in such cases as public prosecutors.

9. We recommend, that under regulations to be framed by the Central Board, parishes be empowered to treat any relief afforded to the able-bodied or to their families, and any expenditure in the workhouses or otherwise incurred on their account, as a loan, and recoverable not only by the means given by the 29th section of the 59 Geo. III., c. 12, but also by attachment of their subsequent wages, in a mode resembling that pointed out in the 30th, 31st and 32nd sections of that act.

10. We recommend, that the Central Board be empowered to make such regulations as they shall think fit respecting the relief to be afforded by apprenticing children, and that at a future period, when the effect of the proposed alterations shall have been seen, the Central Board be required to make a special inquiry into the operation of the laws respecting the apprenticing children at the expense of parishes, and into the operation of the regulations in that respect which the Board shall have enforced.

11. We recommend, that the Central Board be empowered and directed to frame and enforce regulations as to the relief to be afforded to vagrants and discharged prisoners.

12. We recommend, that the Board be required to submit a report annually to one of your Majesty's Principal Secretaries of State, containing — 1. An account of their proceedings; 2. Any further amendments which they may think it advisable to suggest; 3. The evidence on which the suggestions are founded; 4. Bills carrying those amendments (if any) into effect, which bills the Board shall be empowered to prepare with professional assistance.

13. We recommend, that the Central Board be empowered to appoint and remove their assistants and all their subordinate officers.

14. We recommend, that settlement by hiring and service, apprenticeship, purchasing or renting a tenement, estate, paying rates, or serving an office, be abolished.

15. We recommend, that (subject to the obvious exceptions of persons born in prisons, hospitals, and workhouses) the settlement of every legitimate child born after the passing of the intended act, follow that of the parents or surviving parent of such child, until such child shall attain the age of sixteen years, or the death of its surviving parent; and that at the age of sixteen, or on the death of its surviving parent, such child shall be considered settled in the place in which it was born.

16. We recommend, that whenever there shall be any question regarding the settlement by birth of a person, whether legitimate or illegitimate, and whether born before or after the passing of the intended act, the place where such person shall have been first known by the evidence of such person, by the register of his or her birth or baptism, or otherwise, to have existed, shall be presumed to have been the place of his or her birth, until the contrary shall be proved.

BASTARDY.

17. We recommend that the general rule shall be followed, as far as it is possible, and that every illegitimate child born after the passing of the act, shall, until it attain the age of sixteen, follow its mother's settlement.

18. As a further step towards the natural state of things, we recommend that the mother of an illegitimate child, born after the passing of the act, be required to support it, and that any relief occasioned by the wants of the child be considered relief afforded to the parent.

19. We recommend that the same liability be extended to her husband.

20. On the other hand, we recommend the repeal of that part of the 35 Geo. III. c. 101, s. 6, which makes an unmarried pregnant woman removable,

and the 50 Geo. III. c. 51, s. 2, which authorises the committal of the mother of a chargeable bastard to the house of correction.

21. We recommend therefore that the second section of the 18 Elizabeth, cap. 3, and all other acts which punish or charge the putative father of a bastard, shall, as to all bastards born after the passing of the intended act, be repealed.

EMIGRATION.

22. We recommend, that the vestry of each parish be empowered to order the payment, out of the rates raised for the relief of the poor, of the expenses of the emigration of any persons having settlements within such parish, who may be willing to emigrate; provided, that the expense of each emigration be raised and paid, within a period to be mentioned in the act.

TITHES.

I HERE insert the debate on the Devonshire petition, which was presented on Monday last. It may be regarded as leading the van in that attack under which the church is certainly destined to fall. We have here the sentiments of several noblemen and gentlemen, persons of great consequence. The two county members, Lord ENNINGTON and Lord JOHN RUSSELL, here give us their sentiments. It is impossible not to perceive, that they and the Government are most prodigiously embarrassed; and it is also impossible not to perceive that this is too late to make any efforts to preserve this church.

DEVON TITHE PETITION.

Lord ENNINGTON presented a petition from the owners and occupiers of land in the county of Devon, agreed to, at a public meeting of both divisions of the county, most respectably and numerously attended by those on whose behalf it was presented. The petition complained of the injustice of the cler-

gyman demanding a tenth of the gross produce of the soil when he had contributed nothing to its production, and when, as often happened, the entire crop would not pay the expenses of the cultivator. (Hear, hear). They earnestly prayed that House to take the subject of tithes into its most serious consideration: and that that heavy impost might be commuted, on the basis of supposing the tithe-owner to be a tenth proprietor of the soil, but they preferred that tithes should remain upon their present footing, to their owners, by any plan of commutation, being relieved from the payment of their just proportion of the parochial burdens. These were the sentiments of the numerical majority of the payers of tithes in the county of Devon, although a small proportion only of the great landed proprietors attended at the meeting which adopted the petition. He thought that the sentiments which he now expressed were those of the majority of the large landed proprietors. At the same time, he felt how unpleasant it was, that he was compelled on this question to differ from a large portion of the inhabitants of the county; but more particularly how unpleasant it was that he should differ from a great portion of those to whom he was indebted for the seat he held in that House. He had never, however, disguised from them his real opinions on the subject. From the first moment when he became a member of this House from that constituency, he had been the advocate of equitable commutation, because he thought that a fair and equitable commutation would be equally beneficial to the impropiator of tithes as to the occupier of the lands. He also thought that had the question (in that point of view) been agitated many years ago, there would not have been that difficulty and discontent which now attended the settlement of the question. But he never had considered, and he firmly believed that he never should consider, that the principle of one-tenth of the rent was a fair and equitable principle upon which to regulate the proposed commutation; he did not think that it would be fair and just, and it

had stated to his constituents that to such a proposition he never could conscientiously give his consent. He would not trespass further on the attention of the House, but proceed at once to lay the petition before the House.

The petition was then read, and the petitioners, after reciting the grievances attending the present system of tithes, in conclusion prayed the House not to pass any measure which would have the effect of exempting the owners of tithe property from contributing their fair proportion to the payment of parochial rates.

Lord JOHN RUSSELL said that this petition, from the county of Devon, emanated from a large and respectable meeting, and contained the signatures of 9,000 persons. He quite agreed with the petitioners in their opinion of the unjust and oppressive nature of tithes. Nothing could be more unjust or injurious than a law which discouraged the cultivators of the soil, and which interfered with any cultivators of the soil who might be disposed to turn new lands into cultivation. He considered tithes in themselves to have been the institution of a barbarous age, and his only surprise was that it should be left to these times to supply a remedy. He could bear testimony to the integrity of the petitioners, as well as their kind feelings towards all classes of their countrymen. Though he differed with the petitioners in their conclusions, yet he believed that they meant to do justice to the clergy and other classes of tithe-owners. He believed that they were led to those conclusions, respecting the property of the church, by the high tone which was taken regarding that property. But those who had so often said that tithes should be considered as private property, ought to be told that if it were private property, it ought to be held as other private property was, and not that private property the holders of which, whilst a portion was only claimed by them as a right, often took possession of the whole. He thought that where the profits were large, the clergyman was entitled to his share of those profits whilst tithes remained; but whenever

the profits were small, he should be equally content with his share of them in a fair proportion. He must say that the reasons advanced by the petitioners in this respect were not unnatural. But at this point he was compelled to differ with these honourable and respectable men. He did not think that tithes, which were legally a tenth of the soil, could be fairly commuted for a tenth of the rent or profits of the land. (Hear). In the county of Devon, the rent of the land was one-third of the soil, and if the prayer of the petitioners were acceded to, the tithe to be paid to the church would not be a tenth, but a thirtieth of the produce of the land. (Hear, hear, hear). Having considered the question both this session and last, he must say that he was most anxious for a fair commutation of tithes, but he must repeat that he did not think that a tenth of the rent would be a fair remuneration for tithes as at present paid. He concurred in those expressions of regret used by his noble Friend in being obliged to differ from those gentlemen who did him the honour to send him into that House, but he was comforted by that knowledge that the farmers of England generally were not inclined to go the length of the present petitioners, and therefore he was led to believe that the feeling of England was not in accordance with that expressed by the petitioners.

Mr. BULMER declared his dissent from the proposition put forth in the petition; and he did so with the less reluctance because he was certain that his opinion was not at variance with that of the majority of the yeomanry of the county of Devon. (Hear). He felt satisfied that if the petition had not contained that proposition to which the noble Lord who preceded him had referred, it would have received 40,000 signatures, instead of 9,000. All through Devon there was a great and deep anxiety upon this subject. (Hear). He could not help congratulating the House on the sentiments which had been expressed by his noble Friend who had just sat down, and he could not help feeling pleased that so desired a

measure was to be proposed by his Majesty's Ministers. A measure, he was happy to say, which would have the effect of settling for ever the dispute between the two parties—the clergy and the farmer; a measure which would relieve the country from a tax on one important branch of its productive industry; a measure by which the agriculturist could improve his land to the utmost improvable point, without fear of coming into contact with his clergyman. He could not sit down without again expressing his delight at the announcement of the noble Lord, the Paymaster of the Forces, and expressing his hope that the measure to be brought in would meet the approbation of the House.

Sir W. CHAYTOR was understood, from the very low tone in which he spoke, to concur in the prayer of the petition. He was only astonished how the people of the country had continued to pay tithes so easily. An hon. Gentleman who had spoken said that 40,000 signatures would have graced the petition, if a different ground had been taken, but if that was the case, the 9,000 whose names were attached, formed the majority of a contrary opinion. He begged to know how the people were to be relieved. The right of the clergy to the present amount of their tithes had been admitted by the noble Paymaster of the Forces, but he repudiated their being collected under the denomination of tithes. The noble Lord called tithes a relic of the barbarous ages, but still admitted the right of the church to one-tenth of the labour and capital of the country. He supported the prayer of the petition, for although a commutation of tithes might not be fair in Ireland, it was in England, where the occupier as well as owner of the soil was a Protestant.

Mr. BULTEEL and Lord EBRINGTON explained.

Mr. PARCET, as having had the honour to be present at the meeting which adopted the petition, begged to make a few observations upon the principle on which the petitioners acted. But first, he must make a remark on what fell

from the noble Lord opposite. It was true that the petition had not the signatures of the majority of the great landowners of the county, but had the signatures of some few. He found, in the first sheet, the names of no less than nine magistrates of the county; and, without imputing any improper motives to the great landowners of Devon, he must say that he thought their not sanctioning the petition might be accounted for from the fact that many of them were themselves largely interested in tithes, as church patrons, (hear, hear), and any thing which went to diminish tithes must diminish the value of their patronage. With respect to tithes, it was the universal feeling that they should neither be taken in kind nor in money, to the full amount of the value in kind. To make a commutation which would fix them with the payment of the full tenth of the gross produce, instead of relieving the agricultural interest of its grievances, would be a great aggravation of them. And for this plain reason, that on half the land in the country to take a tenth of the gross produce would be to take the whole profit of cultivation. Therefore it was that the petitioners came forward and constitutionally pointed out how they wished to be relieved. It had been observed by the hon. Member for Marybone the other night (he believed under a mistake), that there had been combinations in the county of Devon against the payment of tithes. Now he (Mr. P.) had never heard of any such combinations, or at least of any combinations to do illegal acts; but he had heard of a requisition most numerous and respectably signed, having been presented to the sheriff, who, in consequence, convened a meeting, also most numerous and respectably attended, at which many highly influential and respectable individuals fully and fairly delivered their opinions on the subject of tithes. He also thought that there was considerable misconception on the part of hon. Members on the subject of the real intentions and wishes of these petitioners. He was, he considered, from his connexion

with them, in a situation to be able correctly to explain what really were their objects. What the petitioners really meant and wished was, that the land should be valued as tithe free in the first instance, as also of being free of rates and taxes. The value having been ascertained in this manner, then a tenth part of that value was to go to the tithe-owner, subject to the same rates and taxes as the other nine parts. (Hear, hear). This was a very different thing from a tenth part of the rent; this was one thing and that was another. The rent might be a low rent, as a portion of the net produce for the use and occupation of the land. (Hear, hear, hear). The amount of the composition in Devonshire did not exceed 2s. 6d. in the pound. Now, if the land was valued in the way the petitioners required, it would exceed 2s.; indeed it would, in his opinion, very nearly amount to the 2s. 6d. But it was necessary that the House should really know what the petitioners really sought for. They did not require to commute the tithe at 2s. in the pound upon the net rent, because, in that case, it would not be a fair arrangement; they would in fact be then doubly taxed. What they wanted was that the land be valued as tithe free, the tenth part, of course, to belong to the tithe-owner, but that this tenth should be subject to the poor and other rates, from which under the present system is now exempt. It sometimes happened that the tithes were not in the hands of one proprietor. Now in such cases the petitioners proposed that the fair liabilities of each tithe-owner should be ascertained by arbitration. In looking at the question of tithes, it would be well for hon. gentlemen to bear in mind the circumstances under which they were granted. At that period the land was in a state of nature, and a very inconsiderable portion of it was under cultivation; but even then tithes were appropriated to four different objects. The maintenance of the bishop, the clergy, repairing of churches, and the support of the poor. They were subsequently divided into three parts; but when they came into Protestant hands,

they laid hold of the whole of the tithes, and threw the keeping of the poor upon the land itself. (Hear, hear, hear). Taking all those circumstances into account, he must say, that he considered the proposition of the petitioners most reasonable (hear, hear, hear); and Ministers would do well if they did not adopt the suggestions of the petitioners, that they would, in any plan which they might bring in for the commutation of tithes, adopt a course not less reasonable than that proposed by the petitioners. The noble Lord who presented this petition had truly said, that these petitioners were loyal subjects, and that they most materially assisted his Majesty's Government in carrying the measure of reform. And what did they do this for? Why, to get rid of the practical grievances under which they laboured. What was the use of the Reform Bill to these petitioners unless the grievances of which they justly complained were either disposed of altogether, or so modified that they would not press with that weight which heretofore they had done. He agreed in the entire prayer of the petition, and he begged to point out to the noble Paymaster of the Forces the golden opportunity which the Government now had, by acceding to the prayer of the petition before the House, of attaching a large and influential body of people to his Majesty's Government. (Hear). If this opportunity were thrown away, it might, perhaps, never come again. The great complaint of the country was, that since the passing of the Reform Bill, Government had not brought forward any of those measures in which the public feelings were encouraged: they had now this last opportunity afforded them of doing justice to the people; and he trusted his Majesty's Ministers would not suffer that opportunity to be thrown away.

An hon. MEMBER said, that as a landlord of the county of Devon, he had been requested to support the prayer of this petition, and he took the earliest opportunity of expressing his full concurrence in its prayer. The petition proceeded from one of the largest meet-

ings he ever beheld, and was assisted in by the most respectable and wealthy landholders in the county. The noble Lord had stated, that if the petition had been otherwise drawn up, it would have been signed not alone by 9,000, but by 40,000 persons. The inference intended to be derived from this was, that a part of the county differed from the prayer of this petition. And, if that was the case, let it be proved; and he defied them to get up a petition of a different nature. As to the argument, that the tithe-owner was entitled to one-tenth of the produce, he could only say, that in Devonshire, within his own memory, the tithe had been as low as one-tenth of the rent. Twelve years ago it was 2s. 6d. in the pound, and it was only within the last nine years it was raised to 3s. He did not see why it might not be reduced to 2s. from 2s. 6d., as reasonable as it had been raised to 3s. There would be (as we understood the hon. Member) no more infraction, if right in one case, than in the other. Another argument against the reduction of tithes was, that the occupiers of land and the consumers generally would not be benefited by it, but that the saving would all go into the pockets of the landlords. It was true, that, under the present system, land which was tithe-free brought a higher rent than that which paid tithe; but if the impost were altogether swept away, the public would be benefited by the greater cheapness and abundance of produce, but the landlord would have no more than his fair and equitable proportion of the general advantage. He cautioned the noble Lord, that if he did not bring forward a temperate measure, it would give satisfaction to none of those whose acquiescence would be worth having.

Mr. WILBRAHAM thought the existence of the present system of tithes an anomaly, and its effects harsh and preposterous. It tended to the destruction of all improvement in agriculture, while, at the same time, it had the effect of impoverishing the farmer. On these grounds, therefore, he should most willingly support any measure to be proposed by the Government which, while it pre-

served the integrity of the established church, should relieve the country from the oppressive tax of tithes. While he was on the subject, however, he could not avoid protesting against the constituency of any part of the country dictating to its representatives (Cries of Oh, ah) on this subject. It should be left to the wisdom of Parliament (a laugh)—to the deliberate consideration of that body, by whom every interest in the country was equally and justly attended to. He should not have entered into the present discussion, had he not been anxious to explain what he had said on a former occasion, and which had been misunderstood by the hon. Member for Oldham. That hon. Member, on the debate upon the distress of the country, stated that he (Mr. Wilbraham) attributed it solely to tithes, which was not the case.

An hon. MEMBER (Mr. Fellowes, we believe) begged to add his little testimony to the respectability of the petitioners, but could not to their disposition to discuss the question in fairness and moderation. He declared his belief that the greater number of the petitioners went to the meeting with the determination to support a petition for a composition of two shillings in the pound upon the rent. The hon. Member for Totness had endeavoured to explain away that part of the petition, but had not at all succeeded in relieving his mind upon the point. He thought he should not be justified in consenting to the arrangement the petition proposed, as it was, in his opinion, conducive to spoliation. The noble Paymaster of the Forces had stated tithes to be a relic of the barbarous ages, and was astonished that they had existed so long; but he (Mr. Fellowes) attributed their long continuance to the great moderation shown in their exaction. Tithes had risen during the war, according as the price of provisions had risen during that period; but he believed had not fallen in the same proportion after peace. He hoped the Government plan would include some provisions for a redemption of tithes, and thus put an end to heart-burnings, which had so long existed.

He regretted he could not support the prayer of the petition.

Mr. O'CONNELL begged to say a few words on this petition, as the noble Lord the Member for Devonshire had at this meeting expressed something he (Mr. O'Connell) was supposed to have said.

Lord JOHN RUSSELL said he was not at the meeting.

Mr. O'CONNELL.—Well, at some other meeting (a laugh) the noble Lord had been represented as saying, that if tithes were abolished, he (Mr. O'Connell) would be moving for the transfer of Woburn Abbey to the Catholic clergy.

Lord JOHN RUSSELL said, he was not before aware that such language had been attributed to him in the newspapers, but he was glad of the opportunity of stating that he had not used it. What he had said, in reference to the hon. and learned Member, at some public meeting, was this: That as to the abbeys, he supposed that nobody wished them to revert to their original destination, except the hon. and learned Member for Dublin, who desired to see monasteries and nunneries restored. (Laughter). He said this, in consequence of the hon. and learned Member having, at a meeting in the county of Kildare, lamented that the nunneries of Kildare no longer flourished as they did in the 14th century.

Mr. O'CONNELL said the noble Lord did him injustice in supposing that he had any such feeling as that which the noble Lord seemed inclined to attribute to him. Whatever his private opinion might be with respect to the value of these institutions, and it certainly was very strong (hear, hear, hear), he never could think of transferring any species of private property, sanctioned by acts of Parliament, from that purpose for which it was thus legally sanctioned. The greater part of his property was of the nature of that adverted to by the noble Lord. But he now wished more particularly to allude to another observation by the noble Lord. He said that tithes originated in barbarous times. Well, tithes were introduced into Ireland by the English, so that the English were the barbarians that forced them upon

Ireland. (Hear, and a laugh). But attempts have been made to get rid of the tithes, and the Government say that it is their intention to bring in a bill to alter the present system of tithes. Now the question was this, was this alteration a good alteration? If the alteration was not only not a good one, but was in fact an aggravation of the existing evil, why then it ought to be given up. (Hear). If corn was cheap, if potatoes were cheap, why, if he then chose to give up part of his crop, and not pay money, he had the option of so doing. If corn was dear, why he had rather pay money; if corn was cheap and superabundant, why then he had rather pay in kind. The consequence was, that when corn was cheap, the party preferred to pay in corn and not in money. The peasantry of Ireland were not, generally speaking, possessed of great capital, and the consequence was, that while the choice lay in his power, he preferred to pay in kind, and it was well for him he had that choice. But by the Tithe Commutation Act, that choice was taken away from him, and a power was put into the hands of the clergyman of increasing the miseries of his debtor to an alarming extent. By that act the clergyman had the right to distrain upon every atom of the property of the poor creature for the sum due to him, even to the extent of the growing crop; so much so, that in July and August, in those months of the year in particular, the clergyman had a right to come twice upon the property of the debtor. (Hear). Before he could come only once, but now the clergyman could come upon both crops, and in addition could throw the poor debtor into gaol, if, when he had not of his own a single potato left, he should take from the seized property one to give to his family. Again, commutation in Ireland had considerably increased the amount of tithes, and they had even been more remarkably increased by the last commutation. He knew instances where, in one parish, the amount had been increased from 200*l.* to 450*l.*; in another, 50*l.* had been raised to 70*l.*; and in another, 60*l.* to 146*l.* (Hear, hear). The alteration had in fact, made

the thing worse than before. He would beg English members not to imagine that commutation would be any boon. With regard to the bill that had been brought forward for Ireland, his opinion was that its only effect would be to aggravate evil. He would caution the House before they consented to a commutation, to reflect whether or not it was calculated to lessen the evil. The honourable and learned Gentleman went into a history of the original appropriation of tithes, and their division first into four and afterwards into three parts, and contended that it was quite ridiculous to talk of spoliation. The right to dispose of the property of the church by the Parliament was sufficiently established by their former transfer from the Catholic to the Protestant clergy. (Hear, hear). If the tithes were commuted to a poundage on the rent, as the petitioners desired, it would not only give relief to the occupier, but it would serve as a check upon the landlord, and keep down the amount of rents. He was glad to see such a petition emanating from such a meeting as had been described, and from such a great English county like Devon. (Hear). He did not think that the petition was disparaged by what had fell from the hon. Member for Cheshire. (Hear). The House could not but pay regard to the opinions of 9,000 yeomen who had signed that petition (hear); and as for the 30,000 who had not signed it, the House could know nothing of their sentiments. The hon. Member (Mr. Divett) reminded him of Sir John Roche's happy remark, that he was surprised to hear the Chancellor of the Exchequer sit silent. (Laughter). Now, he (Mr. O'C.) had very little respect for people whom he heard sitting silent. (Hear, hear, and laughter).

An hon. MEMBER (name unknown) denied that it was an exclusive question. It was as much the interest of the landholders as of the landlords, to have it settled. He deprecated all present discussion of the principle of the question, but when the bill came before the House, he hoped it would be fully and fairly considered.

Mr. R. Todd concurred in the obser-

vation of the hon. Member who preceded him.

Sir HENRY WILLOUGHBY would not object to the petition being allowed to lie upon the table, but he very strongly condemned the prayer it contained. He thought if the House acceded to the prayer of that petition, it would be guilty of as gross an act of robbery and plunder, as had ever been perpetrated. (Cries of, Oh, oh). This was his firm and decided opinion. The average rent of tithes paid in England was 5s. an acre. (Cries of No, no). Well suppose it was three shillings. If they reduced that three shillings to two, would they not, he put it to the House, be guilty of a pure and unadulterated act of confiscation? The honourable and learned Member for Dublin had spoken a good deal about the origin of tithes. He (Sir R. W.) thought this question had been long since set at rest; he conceived that it had been consigned to the tomb of the Capulets. Now, if the hon. and learned Member had any wish to revive it, if he was prepared to argue the question in that House, he could find an hon. Gentleman who would discuss it with him, and he was satisfied would be able to prove to the satisfaction of any hon. Member that such a division on the question never existed in England. He could not think that the people of this country, as a people, had any interest in trenching upon those funds dedicated for the support of the church, religion, and morality. Important questions might arise upon the distribution of those funds, but he denied that the people, as a people, had any interest whatever in the confiscation of a single shilling of the property of the church.

Mr. O'CONNELL begged to say that the hon. Member had totally mistaken him when he supposed him to have said that the Irish part of the question included the whole of its details. He had never denied that the interests of the present incumbents, who got four shillings in the pound, should be respected. He had also distinctly avoided going into detail, and had mixed up, with the subject no more of the Irish question

than was absolutely necessary to illustrate his argument. The question would never be settled till one religion ceased to pay by force tithes for the support of another.

Mr. WILKINSON explained.

Mr. A. BARNES deprecated any delay in bringing forward the Government plan with respect to tithes.

Mr. SMITH concurred in hoping that there would be no delay in the announcement of the present plan. With respect to the lay tithes, he was not disposed to touch them; but if the property of the church was the property of the state, the church could not be spoliated by the state appropriating it, as the state had before appropriated church property. In the reign of Mary an act of Parliament was passed, with the sanction of the Pope, and at the instance of Cardinal Pope, confirming Woburn and Derryane abbeys (a laugh) to their proprietors.

Mr. SANDFORD said, with respect to what had fallen from the hon. Member for Tipperary, he thought that any measure which did not apply itself to the correction of the evils attendant on lay tithes, as well as on those of the church, would be based on injustice.

Mr. BENNETT thought that the hon. Member for Tipperary's real meaning was, that he did not intend that the lay tithes should not be subject to commutation, but that they were considered as being *bona fide* private property, as contrasted with the others, which were the property of the state.

Mr. SHEIL.—Yes. (Hear.)

Mr. BENNETT believed that was the real meaning of the hon. Member. He agreed with the hon. Member, that lay tithes were to be considered in the light of private property, and therefore sacred; while the others were the property of the state. He felt it his duty at the same time to say what he knew on the subject of the opinions of dissenters on this subject. He believed that no respectable dissenter wished to be relieved from the payment of tithes unless they substituted an honourable equivalent. They were hostile to tithes, it was true, as was he (Mr. Bennett), but

it was because they considered them injurious alike to the church as to the country. (Hear). Church property was now most hazardous property. If the freehold of church tithes were put up to sale, it would not bring within two-thirds of what it was sure to bring five years ago. This was a cause arising solely out of the opposition of the preceding Government to a commutation of tithes. He trusted that tithes would be commuted for a land-tax, and that the price of redemption should be as low as possible. (Hear).

Sir ROBERT PEEL hoped that the House would act with the greatest caution in respect to any commutation of tithes which it might be deemed advisable to make, and that it would act under the influence of public opinion in respect to this most important matter. (Hear, hear, hear). They should remember that they were either large lay impropritors or landlords having a deep interest in an alteration in the present system of tithes. For if any one thing more than another was calculated to lessen the character of the House in the eyes of the people, it would be their feeling that they had attended to their own interests, without having any regard to those of the people generally. He should pause before they established a difference between the property of lay impropritors and the property of the church. The clergy had a vested interest in this property for their lives. This property had been secured for the purpose of affording spiritual consolation to the people, the poorest as well as the richest; and would they not, by appropriating this property to their own purposes, be guilty of an act of spoliation? The hon. Baronet proceeded to contend that to take this property from the church would be an act of spoliation. They had no right to alienate that property from the purposes for which it was vested in the hands of the clergy. Did they mean to say that reducing the tithes to 2s. instead of 10s. per acre, was not spoliation? (Hear, hear, hear). If the principle of spoliation was once established with regard to the property of the church, he could assure the House that

two years would not elapse before that principle would be applied to every other species of property.

Mr. HANVY remembered that the sentiments uttered by the right hon. Baronet, were precisely those which he himself had expressed upon a discussion upon Irish tithes, and he well remembered too, that certain of his Irish friends around him, were not quite pleased with the view he took upon the subject. The real fact was this, and it was incumbent upon hon. Members to know it, that it was the duty of the House to see that the funds of the church were not improperly diverted. (Hear, hear). Let the tithes of this country belong to whomsoever they might, whether to the church or to the nation, of this fact there could be no doubt, that they did not belong to the landlords. (Loud cheering). The House was greatly indebted to the noble Lord, the Member for Devon, for affording hon. Members an opportunity to deliver their sentiments upon that important subject. If the noble Lord brought forward any proposition for a commutation of tithes which would turn the tithe now levied into money's worth, it would be universally disapproved of. What the people wanted was, the real value of the tithes ascertained, and then dealt with as might be thought proper. No dissenter wished to put the tithe into his own pocket, but there was certainly a kind of nondescripts in the country who did not speak out as well as the dissenters, who preserving existing interests, wished to see the revenues of the church not wasted for the purposes of the church. Notwithstanding he thought, however, that he saw a disposition on the part of the great landed interests, even in that House, to fight their battle quietly, and without any display of what is called dangerous principles, behind petitions of this kind, which ought, properly speaking, to be called petitions pointing out how each man might best help himself to a share of the public property. (Hear, hear, hear). The tithe belonging to the public which was now paid was about 5s. per acre, and what these very disinterested and very re-

spectable petitioners wanted, was to put three of those shillings into their own pockets, one of the most barefaced propositions he ever heard. The hon. member had stated, that tithes were every day becoming more and more unpopular, this, no doubt, would be a very good suggestion from a landlord. There could be no doubt but the landlords would, for their own sakes, take care to propagate this doctrine, because the tithes would go into their own pockets; but, for his part, he would much rather see it in the hands of the church than in the pockets of the landlords. (Hear, hear). But the first thing to be done was to ascertain the value of tithes in every parish in the country. This done, let the property be secured and appropriated afterwards to such purposes as might be deemed necessary, provided that the House saw the necessity for any alteration.

Sir R. PEEL wished to say one word in explanation, for the purpose of disclaiming a compliment paid him by the hon. Gentleman who had just addressed the House. From what had been stated by the hon. Gentleman, he would induce the House to believe that there was a community of feeling between him (Sir R. Peel) and the hon. Gentleman on the subject of tithes. He certainly agreed with the hon. Gentleman, that the property of that great corporation, the church, should be sacred. (Hear). But he was most hostile to the property of the church being taken by the state and applied to the purposes of the state. This doctrine he was entirely opposed to, and he should contend against it upon all occasions.

Mr. PARROTT explained.

Mr. BAYLY, in explanation, admitted that although the dissenters did not want to put the tithes in their pockets, yet that they were anxious that after the death of the present incumbents, they should be done away with altogether.

Mr. O'DWYER concurred in the prayer of the petition. He thought the hon. Member for Tipperary was quite justified in drawing a line of distinction between lay and ecclesiastical tithes. From

the one benefit might arise to the country, from the other it could not.

Mr. CURTIS said the yeomanry of his part of the country strongly sympathised with those of Devonshire; he should, therefore, support the prayer of the petition.

An hon. MEMBER could not let pass the assertion of the hon. Member for Devonshire, that those who did not sign the petition were opposed to its prayer. He did not believe that such was the case, for he was sure if they did, they would immediately come forward with a counter-petition, which they had not done. He did not see why a great county like Devonshire should not come forward. It had done so nobly; and he could assure the House that the example would not be lost on the other parts of the country. (Hear). He should be most anxious to have it understood that if a more earnest or warm demonstration of public sentiment had not taken place, it was because the people were anxious to wait until they saw what kind of a measure would be brought forward by his Majesty's Government.

Mr. BOWEN explained.

Lord EBRINGTON took occasion to make a few observations, and gave his Majesty's Government credit for the best intentions. No persons were more incapable of being influenced by improper or unworthy motives. He also repudiated the imputation that the landowners, who had not signed this petition, were influenced by their connexion with church property, or other selfish wishes; such was by no means the case.

After some further observations respecting the meeting from which this petition had proceeded, the noble Lord concluded by thanking the House for the attention with which this petition had been received.

RAIL-ROAD IMPOSITIONS.

I TAKE the following from a pamphlet that has just been published. I never thought about the matter before; but it really is a matter of great public

interest. It is certain that much mischief may arise from these projects. They are unnatural efforts, arising out of the resources of the country having been drawn unnaturally together into great heaps. I think this paper worthy of great attention, and as such, I lay it before my readers.

RAIL-ROAD IMPOSITIONS DETECTED;

Or, Facts and Arguments to prove that Rail-roads never can compete effectually, with Canals, Steam-Carriages on Common Roads, or even Stage-Coaches. Comprising a Critical and Statistical Review of all the Estimates now before the public, both for construction and revenue; with comparative Tables of the ACTUAL and the ESTIMATED cost and profit, &c.; thus presenting the only SURE guide yet published for future Investments.

At a moment when the *mania* for railway speculation is not unlikely to involve at least SIXTY MILLIONS of capital, should all the 3,000 miles be laid down which have been contemplated by the treasurer of the Manchester-railway, it may not be uninteresting to prove to the satisfaction of those most prejudiced in their favour, how perfectly unable rail-roads are to compete with canals, steam-carriages on common roads, or even stage-coaches.

That rail-roads have a decided superiority over all other methods of conveyance yet adopted, is certainly true, but only where great weights are required to be carried very quickly, and without regard to expense.

For example: locomotive engines, on the Manchester and Liverpool railway, have drawn 90 and even 100 tons at one time, at the rate of 20 miles an hour; being twice as great as boats on the Paisley canal, and steam-carriages on common roads.

But as the whole weight carried, in the most profitable half-year of the Manchester and Liverpool railway, was 90,972 tons in 5,293 trips, averaging about 17 tons per trip at most, as the profitable

weight; it is plain, that as the engine, tender, fuel, water, and attendance, may be said to average about 12 tons, the weight not profitable was more than *two-thirds of the whole weight carried*. Assuming, therefore, the whole estimated burden carried on the railway, to be 4,000 tons daily, for 312 days, or, according to the original estimate, 1,248,000 tons, the total weight paying NOTHING to the shareholders would be in the same ratio, at least 880,941 tons.

Hitherto, the calculation has been made on the supposition that no carriages or wagons travelled empty. But from the statement issued by the directors for instructions to Messrs. Rustick and Walker, dated 12. January, 1829, the following calculation is made, showing that the total weight paying no toll daily, to carry 2,970 tons of profitable weight, would be as under:

	Tons.
Wagons and empty wagons from Liverpool to Manchester ..	2,180
Ditto from Manchester to Liverpool.....	2,500
Nineteen engines and tenders, at 10 tons each.....	1,960
Total dead weight paying no toll	6,640

Thus, if 2,970 tons of profitable weight cannot be carried without 6,640 tons of weight, paying no toll, 4,000 tons of the former would burden the railway with 8,942 tons, which, for 312 working days, would be 2,789,904 tons, paying nothing, for 1,248,000 tons of profitable weight; thereby showing that the rail-road must carry nearly *twice* and a third of the whole profitable weight gratis, to make even a gross profit of $7\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. per annum, according to the last half-year's income. Thus explaining why the expenditure in wagon department was 73 per cent. of the income, while in the coach department it was only 44 per cent.

But, it will be said, that the question is not about the surplus weight, or the amount of expenses generally, but whether a satisfactory return can be made for the capital. To this however it may be replied, that the gross weight

not only does now, but must shortly diminish still more fearfully the dividend. For the weight paying nothing, is yearly giving birth to fresh expenses, exceeding already 14,000*l.* per annum for repairs alone; whilst it threatens at no distant date, to stop the railway altogether. That this is no designedly mischievous view of the case is proved by the fact, that every year has actually produced a diminished dividend, although the goods for conveyance have increased nearly cent. per cent.

Of this unpropitious finale to a plan, that opened with such fascinating prospects, the cause is to be traced to the miscalculations of those, who, devoting all their mind to producing velocity of transport, overlooked every fact likely to impede the prosecution of a speculation, that could not fail to be a mine of wealth to engineers, surveyors, and solicitors, whatever it might be to the less fortunate shareholders themselves.

The extent, to which these miscalculations have been carried, is such as almost to stagger belief. Some of the estimates, it is true, have stated in round numbers the probable cost; and a few have even condescended to enter a little into detail; but the majority have wisely failed to furnish any data at all; the projectors being well aware, that some influential names were all that were necessary to blind the avidity of capitalists, who depend more upon the integrity of ignorant committees, than upon their own good sense.

That these miscalculations have been wilfully made, far be it from us to assert. All that we are anxious to impress upon the mind of the public is, that in questions of apparently easy solution, engineers, publicly announced as the "most eminent," and surveyors of "undoubted talents and activity," are not only confessedly at variance with each other, but even with their own statements.

For example: after the Manchester line had been twice surveyed and all the levels taken by engineers and surveyors, declared by the directors to be of the highest character; and after more than 20,000*l.* had been paid for their

labours, no sooner were they examined, in May, 1825, by a committee of the House of Commons, who were no engineers at all, than, says Mr. Treasurer Booth, in his *Treatise on the Railway* (p. 18), "a considerable ERROR in the levels and sections was found to have been committed; and upon that ground, as well as upon others, the bill was rejected for the time being, with the exception of the preamble, which was carried by a majority of one in a committee of 78.

A fresh estimate was then issued by the directors, raising the capital from 400,000*l.* to 510,000*l.*; that is, from 12,000*l.* to 17,000*l.* per mile, and in order to produce the most perfect confidence in the accuracy of this estimate, after all the previous blunders, it was stated, "that to avoid all chance of similar complaint in future, the committee had engaged the professional services of the 'most eminent' engineers, aided by assistants of 'undoubted talents and activity'; whose combined efforts justified the fullest assurance, not only of the correctness of the plans and sections, but that the whole line would be arranged with that skill and conformity with the rules of mechanical science, which would equally challenge approbation, whether considered as a national undertaking of great public utility, or as a magnificent specimen of art."

Unhappily, however, not even the "most eminent engineers," nor the "undoubted talents and activity of the surveyors," have been able to prevent a fourth break down in the professional estimate, the cost having risen from 17,000*l.* to nearly 40,733*l.* per mile.

Before, however, we proceed more particularly to point out other errors in the calculations for the Manchester line, it may be as well to remark, that the dexterity exhibited for *mystification*, appears to be quite equal to the talent for *miscalculation*.

Among the fascinations in the report of the directors, in March, 1832, the shareholders were told that the expense of omnibus accommodation was no

longer to be paid by them, but by the public. The cost for carrying passengers in the half year ending the 31. of December, 1831, is stated to be 2*s.* 0*d.* each, including 3*d.*, or about 15 per cent. for omnibuses; yet, in the last half-year, the cost for passengers, instead of being 1*s.* 9*d.*, averaged about 2*s.* 10*d.*; thus adding to the cost more than four times the amount of the whole saving professed to be made by the directors fifteen months previously!

So, with regard to the revenues, the picture was equally flattering. For the carriage of goods was estimated to produce 50,000*l.* per annum, or 5 per cent. on one million of the capital, instead of which the half-year ending the 31. of December, 1831, did not even yield one per cent. In two whole years, 1831 and 1832, it did not average yearly 2 per cent., and in the last half-year, only 1½ per cent. The coal and turf were estimated to return 20,000*l.* per annum: yet, the utmost they have produced in eighteen months is less than 2,300*l.*

Among other delusions, previous to the opening of the railway, it was said by some of the engineers, that in proportion as the speed was increased, the expense of conveyance would be diminished, as the engines, by doubling their speed, would do, in the same time, double work. Accordingly, Messrs. Stephenson and Locke, in their original estimates, calculated the expense of an engine doing 936 trips yearly, or three trips per day, at the rate of 15 miles per hour, dragging a dead weight of about 30 tons, at 324*l.* 12*s.* 10*d.* including a sum of 54*l.* wisely laid aside each year for replacement of engine and interest on cost, so that the estimated expense for motive power, was calculated at less than 6*s.* 6*d.* per trip.

The exact number of thirty-mile trips made by the engines on the Liverpool railway in the most productive half-year, ending 31 December, 1831, was 5,392, of which, 2,944 were with passengers. The total profitable weight carried, including passengers at fifteen to a ton, was, as before stated, about seventeen tons, instead of thirty tons; yet the expense or cost of these 5,392

trips for coke, wages, and repairs alone (allowing nothing for replacement), was 12,203*l.* 5*s.* 6*d.*, or a little above 2*l.* 5*s.* 3*d.* per trip, instead of 6*s.* 6*d.* per trip; or the bare cost of an engine doing 936 trips was 2,107*l.* 14*s.*, instead of 270*l.* 12*s.* 10*d.*; thus proving two eminent engineers to be out in their calculations, in this item alone, more than seven times over!

To prove also how strangely some of our reviewers are out in their calculations, as to the capabilities of this railway, Dr. Lardner states in his treatise, that the locomotives actually travel over 25,000 or 30,000 miles without any expense whatever for new tubing; yet in the same half-year as last alluded to, the charge for repairs and attendance on the Liverpool railway coaches is stated to be 7,455*l.* including 3,254*l.* for omnibus accommodation; leaving, therefore 4,201*l.* for repairs and attendance alone. The number of thirty-mile trips being 2,944, the total number of miles was 88,320, and as twelve out of twenty-four engines employed may be considered actually engaged in the coach department, it follows, that instead of these engines travelling 30,000 miles for NOTHING, they cannot travel even one quarter of the distance without an expense of 4,201*l.*

In confirmation of this result, the directors state in their report, July last, that "the expenses include the cost of two new engines. But a considerable saving is expected to take place by the recent application of *brass tubes* in the engines, in lieu of copper tubes, previously used, which were almost continually bursting," so that where the Doctor got his data for the wonderful economy of the engine, the next edition of his work will perhaps explain.

But one of the most vulnerable parts of the whole question is, the bare cost of keeping the railway fit for use. For this expense, under the head of "Maintenance of Road," i. e. a sum not only more than 14,000*l.* per annum, sufficient to pay five per cent. on 280,000*l.* annually, but instead of being a mere bagatelle comparatively, as originally

estimated, it actually now threatens, at no distant date, to stop conveyance altogether upon it, till the road is re-laid throughout the whole distance.

The *Foreign Quarterly Review*, for October, 1832, observes, "The rails are not supported uniformly by lying on the surface of the road, but rest upon stone pillars or sleepers, as they are called, placed at distances of a yard from each other; and as the great weights pass over them with considerable velocity, these sleepers are driven deeper into the ground; so that the rail-road soon becomes uneven, one rail having one direction, and the next a different one. Though these defects are not easily detected by the eye, yet they are very sensible upon close inspection with instruments; and still more so by the carriages that pass over them, as the wheels in passing over the joining of two rails, receive a severe jolt, and also a change of direction. Driven first on one side of the road, then on the other, the carriage rocks like a ship at sea; whilst, at every swing, one wheel or the other strikes a rail with considerable violence."

Another writer (Mr. Vallance) after much investigation, adds, "The stone blocks or bases which carry the rails are two feet square. The weight of the large locomotive engines is above ten tons, more than half of which being thrown on two of the wheels, each block has three tons weight on it, when those wheels pass over it; consequently the pressure upon every square inch of the foundation is above four times as much as in the boilers of Bolton and Watt's steam-engines, from which result the sinkings and drivings into the ground alluded to in the *Foreign Quarterly Review*. In fact, there are in the whole, including every liability to derangement and repair, above 80,000 parts or places in every mile of the Manchester railway where adjustment or repair may daily be required."

But let us see how this same item will affect steam-carriages on common roads. First, It should be remem-

bered, that five or six years must be lost altogether, besides a very large sum in *interest* alone, before rail-roads for long lines can be constructed, even for the chance of income; and then at a cost, which, as compared with turnpike-roads, and the Manchester railway, is as 40,733*l.* to 1,500*l.* per mile, or more than twenty-seven times dearer than the latter. But according to the plan of Sir Henry Parnell and Mr. Telford, the expense of a stone railway to Birmingham will be about one-tenth of the estimated cost of the iron railway by four engineers; whilst, on the principle recommended by Colonel Macerone, even new lines will be wholly unnecessary.

Secondly. Steam-carriages have not to wait five or six years, or a single moment for income, having 28,000 miles of road ready made for their use, besides the benefit of not being constantly burdened as the locomotives on the Manchester railway are, with a drag to each wheel more than 400 times heavier in the shape of the first cost; whilst instead of paying 48*l.* per mile for repairs, or "maintenance of road," steam-carriages can maintain their road by paying merely twopence or threepence-halfpenny per mile for every mile they travel upon it, and not before they *do* travel upon it; whereas, the Manchester railway must pay annually in *interest* or toll, more than 2,000*l.* per mile, besides the 48*l.* per mile for repairs, whether the road be used or not; whilst the stone railway repairs will cost no more than 30*l.* per mile.

Thirdly. It may be said that steam-carriages never will succeed, owing to the complexity of the machinery, and the impossibility of freeing it from the effect of jolting, and wear and tear, on the common roads. But this, like all other objections, must surrender at last to the ingenuity of man. Already has the whole construction been simplified and reduced to a very small compass. The inventors have far excelled the inventors of railway locomotives, ten to one in speed off their own road. For not one of the latter can move effectually, if at all, on a turnpike-road: an assertion supported by the evidence of

some of our most enlightened engineers before a committee of the House of Commons, on the principle, that locomotive engines on the common road, must carry with them from twenty-one to twenty-five times greater power than they want on the railway. Besides, the boilers used on the railway will not bear a pressure of more than fifty or sixty pounds to the square inch; whilst the boilers used on the common road, drive the carriage along at the rate of ten or twelve miles an hour, and bear a pressure of 150 to 200 pounds to the square inch (or more if necessary), that is nearly four to one greater than the railway locomotives.

Nor are the boilers of railway carriages constructed on a principle of perfect safety, being all recipients of great diameter, strong merely by *thickness* and *weight* of metal; but sure to commit sad havoc should they happen to *burst*. On the other hand, the boiler of the steam-carriage patented to July last by Colonel Macerone and Mr. Squire, as well as by Lieutenant-Colonel Sir Charles Dance, Messrs. Gurney, Hancock, Ogle, and Heaton, brothers, are constructed on a principle of separation and division, thereby rendering it next to impossible that any explosion, or rather *opening*, should occur; and even if it did, the effect would be absolutely so harmless, that any one riding on the top of the boiler, would scarcely know that such an opening had been made. For the only inconvenience that can arise, is the stoppage of the vehicle. These assertions have been proved over and over again, by the repeated burstings or *openings* of some of the boilers, or rather tubes, during experimental trips, close to the backs of the passengers, owing principally to the *corroded* state of the boilers, but not to any defect in the principle, nor with any other annoyance than *delay*. Had not this been the case, a committee of engineers, headed by Mr. Telford, would not, after such occurrences under their own eye, pledge themselves to the full practicality of steam-carriages, at a speed *not attainable* by horses. In fact, even

these accidents will shortly be made almost impossible; and steam-carriages rendered as free from delays as they are now destitute of all danger to life or limb on common roads. Yet, says Investigator, p. 107, "more fatal accidents occurred upon the 31 miles of iron railway between Liverpool and Manchester, in three months, than upon all the road between London and Birmingham in so many years." Witness the late Mr. Huskisson, the engineer's own brother, and many others, the names of whom, it is said, there is considerable reluctance in declaring.

Besides, turnpike-roads can and will be made *suitable*. One of our most intelligent engineers, Mr. Macneill, in his evidence before a committee of the House of Commons, observes, "If, on the road from London to Birmingham, there were a portion laid off on the side of the road for steam-carriages, which could be done without difficulty; and if it were made in a solid manner, with pitching and well-broken granite, it would *fall little short of a rail-road*." The Commercial-road, for example, is confirmatory of Mr. Macneill's suggestion.

Colonel Macerone, late *aid-de-camp* to Murat, King of Naples, a well-known distinguished officer and writer, has also edited a pamphlet on this subject, published by Wilson, of the Royal Exchange. The *Times* of the 1. of November, 1833, in noticing this work, observes:

"This is Colonel Macerone's plan, and it appears more simple, sensible, and feasible, than any other yet proposed; and far less expensive, so that the sooner it is adopted the better for the public," &c.

The colonel describes the principle of his plan as under:

"There is a certain, infallible, and very cheap method, by which almost every advantage of the rail-road might be applied to every ordinary road, except, I say again, on such lines as Liverpool and Manchester; the like of which there is not in Europe. If two lines of pavement, composed of stones, six or eight feet long, and one

to two feet square, were laid end-ways, along each side of the road, a track would be formed at a very cheap and durable rate, along which steam-carriages would most undoubtedly easily travel, at the rate of twenty miles the hour. There need be no levelling of hills; no filling up of hollows; no levelling of any kind; nothing but to keep to the surface of existing roads. The two lines on one side would be for steam-carriages going one way; the other lines, for those travelling in the contrary direction. If the road be kept on a level with the surface of the long stones, the carriages could easily quit the stones for any momentary necessity. A well-paved road is a good thing in itself; but a road to which such lines of long stones shall be applied, will allow of a velocity equal to that of a rail-road, at one-hundredth part of the expense. All ordinary hills will be ascended and descended with ease and rapidity; and the road will be equally open and serviceable for horse carriages.

"With regard to the wear and tear of the long stones, or *parallopepidons*, which I recommend to be laid on all high roads for the use of steam-carriages, no inconvenient wear will take place on their surfaces for the space of two or three years. When it does, all that will be required, will be to turn them over so as to present a new side to the surface; and after another lapse of time to do the like, until all the four sides have been worn in their turn. After this, the *parallopepidons* may be submitted to the stone-mason's chisel. In laying these long blocks of stone, care must be taken that they do not sink so as to form disjunctions at their ends. To effect this, piles of wood of about a foot square, and from two to three feet long, previously soaked in hot coal tar, must be forcibly driven into the road, so that the ends of each of the long stones shall rest on the surface of the pile, by which means, if they sink at all, they will both sink equally and together. But on the construction of such roads,

"I shall treat more at length and more minutely, when required, at a future period; I will only repeat, that along such a road, whether hilly or level, such steam-carriages as ours would travel at the average rate of, at least, twenty miles the hour, including stoppages, with ease and safety."

To show also that other minds have been at work preparatory to making roads more suitable for steam-carriages. Sir Henry Parnell has recently written a very elaborate and able treatise, explanatory of the principles on which roads should be made, with plans, specifications, and contracts, actually used by Mr. Telford on the Holyhead road. And a company is now forming to turn, in effect, one side of the turnpike-road into a rail-road for steam-carriages, without "separating parts of the estates" and fields, with immense gashes and "mounds," and without fixing a drag to the wheel of any of the vehicles travelling over it for the first cost, heavier than a few pence in toll, for nearly all the facilities to be had on a railway only made of stone instead of iron. For this company was formed after a committee of engineers had travelled to Stoney Stratford, fifty-two and a half miles from town, in the carriage of Sir Charles Dance, and witnessed with their own eyes facts quite sufficient to satisfy them, that steam-carriages can be made to run *continuously*, with perfect safety, and at a speed greater than can be attainable by horses; whilst the *profit* to the shareholders, as compared with railways or stage-coaches, will be as under:—

ESTIMATED CONVEYANCE BETWEEN LONDON AND BIRMINGHAM.

Steam-Carriages on the Turnpike Line.		
Passengers daily.	Capital invested.	Profit per cent.
500	£350,000	20
Steam-Carriages on the Railway.		
1,424	£3,500,000	63
Stage Coaches.		
550	£120,000	10

But as the weight of *TAXATION* is such, as to compel all classes of the community to obtain the maximum of labour, at the minimum of cost, can

any step be taken more likely to advance that object than one calculated to facilitate inland communication, by the substitution of a power cheaper than rail-roads, and more expeditious than stage-coaches?

To arrive at this desideratum, men of genius and enterprise have directed their attention for more than half a century, and expended a large capital in various efforts to bring to perfection steam-carriages on common roads. Oliver Evans was the earliest to introduce the principle in America; Symington in Scotland; and Gurney in England. The first in 1772; the second in 1786; and the last in 1825.

Mr. Gurney was no engineer, but a chemist, yet did he build a steam-carriage, and actually proved by its performances more than any man had been able to accomplish, the practicability of preconceived impossibilities in the judgment of some of the most eminent engineers. But shall the author of such a boon to his country be driven to the Land's-end like an exile, with his resources almost exhausted, in an honest attempt to serve himself and the nation at large? or, are we to wait till he quietly descends into the tomb of his ancestors, and then raise a monument to his memory in *mockery* of the benefits received?

Sir Charles Dance, though no engineer, next followed the example of Mr. Gurney, and by some valuable improvements in the plan of his predecessor, succeeded in building a carriage, which has already travelled the best part of 5,000 miles. Among numerous other trips, including the grand experimental trip by the Committee of Engineers, we see by a treatise published by Simpkin and Marshall, that Sir Charles Dance completed one journey from London to Brighton and back, *without any failure in the machinery*.

Colonel Macerone is no engineer; whilst his co-patentee, Mr. Squire, is one of our best operatives; yet the practical skill of the latter, aided by the ingenuity and talents of the former, has produced a steam-carriage which justifies the editor of the last *Mechanics'*

Magazine, in saying "We see enough to justify us in coming to the conclusion, that Messrs. Macerone and Squire have, in truth, produced a very capital machine, and one which might be safely left to bear the brunt of competition, on its own unexaggerated merits." It has travelled more than 2,000 miles for days, weeks, and months together, at rates varying from ten to more than fifteen miles an hour, and repeatedly to Windsor and back, including all the steepest hills round London, even when some have been newly gravelled, at a speed of seven miles an hour! whilst the cost for repairs is represented to be considerably less than any other steam-carriage proprietor has yet stated.

Messrs Hancock, Ogle, and Heaton, brothers, are not less entitled to credit, for the efforts which they have used to perfect the principle of steam-carriages. Each having travelled over many hundred miles of ground; the latter 78 miles in one day without any failure in the machinery; whilst Mr. Hancock has actually run for hire for many weeks together, from Paddington to London; so that no very long time will elapse before each of these carriages may be expected to take the field permanently and successfully against horse coaches.

The only question is, which is the best steam-carriage? And the most effectual way of solving the problem is, for the Government to do as they have done in the case of chronometers, and the discovery of the north-west passage, and that is, to offer different premiums for different steam-carriages, in the ratio of the reduction they can effect in the cost of transport on common roads; and as soon as a carriage shall prove its claim to such reward, to give a further sum, not exceeding a reasonable per centage for previous outlay: thus exciting the talent and ingenuity of the kingdom to still greater efforts, and finally accomplishing the grand object.

PETITION.

To the honourable the Commons of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, in Parliament assembled.

The humble petition of the farmers, tradesmen, and labourers, of the parish of Stratton St. Margarets, near Swindon, Wiltshire, agreed on at a vestry meeting of the said parishioners, held this twenty-seventh day of February, in the year of our Lord, one thousand eight hundred and thirty-four,

Humblly Sheweth,

That your petitioners being persons employed in agriculture and in trades entirely dependent thereon, have this day unanimously agreed to approach your honourable House, and set forth notable facts, which no new-fangled doctrinaires and political theorists, can safely dispute. As farmers and tradesmen, your petitioners are greatly reduced by taxation and confiscation of property, so much so, that some of us, who but a few years since were farmers, are now entirely dependent on those who are not yet broken up, and in consequence of which, we view with very great sorrow, that many plans are about to be framed into laws, which we are well assured will create more distrust and animosity amongst us, than what have occurred of late, without any remedy for our sufferings. Amongst them we hear of an act to incorporate the several parishes and tithings into large parishes and districts; while another is dinned into our ears about *rural police* and *Government magistrates*. And another of a still more savage and inhuman nature; the alteration of the basfardy laws; so that our most unfortunate females will probably be induced to add murder and starvation of the offspring of their lusts, to their former misfortunes and vices. Turn which way we will, we see revolution in our old English forms of governing; without any revolution in our ~~times~~ and oppressions. Such being the case, we pray that your honourable House will make a final stand against that faction which seems

determined to drive away all our good old English liberties and customs; and to frustrate the designs of that all-devouring monster, the moneyed aristocracy.

We humbly beg, that you will be pleased to repeal the taxes on malt, hops, and soap; and give our fellow-citizens in Ireland and Scotland good old-fashioned poor-laws, that the poor may have a joint-proprietorship in the land of their birth, as in England.

The vile hireling press accuse us, who produce the very food which they and their master tax-eaters consume, with the title of robbers and plunderers; although it is a well-known fact, that when the present taxes were imposed on us, our wheat and bacon were nearly treble the price they now are.

Hoping that your honourable House will do us justice,

We ever pray.

PETITION

OF THE

CARTWRIGHT CLUB.

To the honourable the Commons of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, in Parliament assembled.

The petition of the undersigned, on behalf of themselves and the other Members of a Club, founded on the principles of the late JOHN CARTWRIGHT, and calling itself "THE CARTWRIGHT CLUB," and unanimously agreed to at their General Quarterly Meeting, held on the 2nd of December, 1833, and by adjournment, on the 3rd and 10th of February, 1834,

Showeth,

That it is from a presumption of a real and not a virtual identity between the constituent body and its representative, that the style and title of the latter is "*the Commons in Parliament assembled*," meaning the representatives of the WHOLE PEOPLE; and, therefore,

your petitioners deeply lament, that they cannot approach your honourable House as the representatives of the whole people, but only of that part, which has, or might have voted in the election of your honourable House.

That your petitioners, in the month of June last, addressed a petition to your honourable House praying for a further reform thereof, and in conformity with your petitioners' determination to annually petition your honourable House, until such their just and constitutional demand should be granted, your petitioners now take leave to state to your honourable House such further reasons in support of their claims, as in the judgment of your petitioners, cannot fail to ensure the gravest consideration of your honourable House.

That, in their former petition to your honourable House, your petitioners claimed, for the community at large, by *unanswerable arguments*, actual representation in your honourable House, on the ground of their having rights as men, and interests as subjects, which were sacrificed to the rights and interests of the smaller number; and in this petition your petitioners claim the same rights, because they are liable to taxation, and subject to laws, to which it was impossible they could have given their consent.

That, bearing in mind the self-evident principles referred to in their former petition, and the free and protecting spirit of the ancient English institutions, your petitioners cannot refrain from stating to your honourable House, that the people having laws to observe, and taxes to pay, made and imposed *without their own consent*, are the slaves of oppressive taxation and arbitrary legislation; and that a Parliament which excludes the people from their proper and rightful share in the government of the country, enervates the political vigour of the state, strikes down the essential confidence of the public mind in the executive, and renders the deputation of the people's power, in the political person of the king, a thing in theory instead of a constitutional entity. Political liberty, of all

species of property, is the most valuable; of all inheritances the most inestimable; and of all rights the most sacred—without it nothing a man has is safe—it is his ultimate, and, in fact, his *sole security*.

In a maxim, which clearly distinguishes between constitutional right, and the law thereon built, it is said “a greater inheritance descends to every one of us from right and the laws than from our parent”; and on this maxim Sir EDWARD COKE remarks, “Right is the best birth-right the subject hath, for thereby his goods, lands, wife, children, his body, life, honour, and estimation, are protected from wrong”;—an observation by no means applicable to any other species of security other than that of political liberty.

That it is a prominent feature of English freedom, that *ALL persons who pay taxes shall enjoy the right of voting for representatives*; and when they do not enjoy such right, they are not in the enjoyment of political liberty; wherefore, as emphatically expressed by the late venerable Lord High Chancellor CAMDEN, “Taxation and representation are inseparably united—God hath joined them; no English Parliament can separate them; to endeavour to do it is to stab our very vitals; nor is the doctrine new, it is as old as the constitution”; and that herein consists the security of property is clearly proved by LOCKE, who says, “The supreme power cannot take from any man any part of his property without his own consent.” Men, he shows, must be in this condition of true freedom, or “they have no property at all”; for, says he, “I truly have *no property* in that which another can by right take from me, when he pleases, *against my consent*.”

That representation being a common right, ought to be fairly and equally distributed throughout the community; for, although every man were an elector, yet, by a mere violation of the principle of an equitable distribution of free and independent suffrage, the entire liberties of a nation may be practically subvert-

ed and taken away; or, in other words, in all operative effect, annihilated.

That it is necessary to the freedom of election, that the mode of voting be by ballot, in order to place the individual above the hope of eventual unjust gain, or the fear of eventual evil to himself or his connexions.

That it is essential, not only to the sacred rights of justice, but to the very being of political liberty, that no Parliament have continuance for a longer period than *one year*, for the reasons, amongst others, stated in your petitioners’ former petition to your honourable House; and because when Parliaments are of “*too long continuance*,” it is not only the estate of the rising generation which is invaded, but also the estate of the whole people.

That it was admitted, upon the passing of the late Reform Bill, that the House of Commons was so extensively corrupted as not to be in any rational or constitutional sense the representative of the people, and yet the Reform Bill has given little freedom to the people. If, by disfranchising a nominee borough, it destroyed the political pest-house of a lordly autocrat, it created, at the same time, exclusive privileges for a band of oligarchs—it despoiled the people, in many instances, of the *elective franchise* altogether, and made the *new franchise* dependent on a certain annual rent or value, and on the payment of taxes by a certain day. Thus this bill branded poverty as a crime, and punished the needy and defenceless with the loss of one of the dearest rights to which Englishmen are entitled.

Your petitioners entreat your honourable House to look well to the present state of society—the progress of republican principles—the unexampled tide of emigration of small capitalists to foreign countries—the resistance made against the assessed taxes, and the various combinations throughout the kingdom—in short, to the growing dissatisfaction expressed by the community, and ask yourselves the cause. With the people the answer is natural and obvious—they *are not represented in your honourable House*; and consequently are without

political protection, and feel its evils; they see lordly domination and corrupt influence as great as before, and the represented few yet giving law to the unrepresented millions.

Your petitioners perceive with deep regret, that much of the same sort of corruption and unsound policy prevails in your honourable House, which brought former Houses of Commons into such disrepute; and recollecting the dire calamities to which the country was subjected by former Parliaments, and under which it yet groans, your petitioners earnestly call upon your honourable House to purge itself, by at once giving a real parliamentary reform, whereby the whole people may be truly and fairly represented.

Your petitioners, for themselves, and likewise on behalf of the community at large, do therefore pray, that they may be forthwith put in actual and full possession of their undoubted rights and liberties, which, for conciseness, may be thus stated;—Male suffrage—co-extensive, with direct and indirect taxation—an equal distribution of it, on one and the same day, throughout the kingdom—vote by ballot and annual Parliaments—and if your honourable House should have any doubt (which your petitioners cannot suppose it will) touching what is herein prayed for, your petitioners further pray to be heard by their counsel at your bar.

And your petitioners will ever pray.

Signed on behalf of the Club by the three chairmen of the three meetings, by the honorary secretary, and by members of the Club.

HISTORY OF GEORGE THE FOURTH.

No. XIV.

This number, which is just published, continues, and brings nearly to a conclusion, the History of the last American War; and, of course, it records the knockings and beatings about; the real thrashings, which our navy got in that

war, about which the people of England have never known any more than the people of China have; but it is right that they should now know a pretty deal about it, having to pay 1,607,966 pounds for services rendered in the last war, and not for services now; and having to pay for *half-pay* to naval officers alone, 847,639 pounds a year, while the whole of the American navy, augmented as it has been, costs only about 600,000 pounds a year. This being the case, it is right that the people of England should know something about the exploits on account of which they pay all this money; and in this history of mine they will see all about it. The truth has been smothered from the year 1812 to the present day; but it is not to be smothered any longer.

LOCUST TREES.

I HAVE about seven thousand of these left; and I sell them at five pounds a thousand. They can be had at *BOLT-COURT* at any time, in six days after they are ordered. They are very fine, having been removed, and having the finest roots possible. Any one who plants them ought to have my book called the *WOODLANDS*, or he will not do it well.

LOCUST SEED.

Very fine and fresh to be had at *BOLT-COURT* for eight shillings a pound. A pound, if properly sowed, will produce from eight to ten thousand plants. To sow the seed properly, you must read the "*Woodlands*." If you follow the directions therein, almost every seed will come up: if you do not, you will get very few plants, and, perhaps, none at all.

FIELD SEEDS.

I notified, some time ago, that I should not make any distinction in price, whether a single pound, or a number of pounds were sold; but, by some mistake, the old prices were inserted in a recent *Register*. The prices will, for the present, be as follows:

Deep red MANGEL WURZEL Seed, 9d. a pound. — SWEDISH TURNIP Seed, which I warrant to be the finest and truest that ever was grown in England, 9d. a pound. — ITALIAN CLOVER SEED, one shilling and threepence a pound.

GARDEN SEEDS.

Bags of seed for large gardens (the seeds tied up in paper bags, and those sewed up in a canvass bag), with a printed list of the seeds in the inside, along with a manuscript card of my writing, with the following words on it, "Garden seeds, raised at Normandy farm, in 1833, by Wm. Cobbett," 25s. each.

Bags for small gardens, having all the same sorts of seeds, but in half the quantity of the preceding, with printed list and card the same, 12s. 6d. each.

The following is the list of my seeds, which contains the KNIGHT-PEA, not contained in my list of last year. The EARLY-FRAME pea is the very quickest in coming that I ever saw in my life; and I think I can defy all the world for cabbage seed, though I have not got it, even yet, into that state of perfection that I shall have it next year.

KITCHEN-GARDEN SEEDS:

No.

1. Asparagus.
2. Bean—Broad, or Windsor.
3. Long Pod.
4. Early Masagan,
5. Kidney (or French). Scarlet Runners.
6. White Runners.
7. Bean—Black Dwarf.
8. Dan Dwarf.
9. Robin-Egg.
10. Speckled.
11. Beet—Red.
12. Brocoli—White.
13. Purple.
14. Cape.
15. Cabbage—Early Battersea.
16. Early York.
17. Savoy.
18. Calf—Curled—Scotch.
19. Carrot.
20. Cauliflower.
21. Celery.
22. Chervil.

23. Cress.
24. Cucumber, early frame.
25. Corn (Cobbett's).
26. Endive.
27. Leek.
28. Lettuce—White Coss.
29. Brown Dutch.
30. Mustard—White.
31. Nasturtium—Dwarf.
32. Onion.
33. Parsnip.
34. Parsley—Curled.
35. Knight-Pea.
36. Pea—Early-frame.
37. Tall Marrowfats.
38. Dwarf Marrowfats.
39. Radish—Early Scarlet.
40. White Turnip.
41. Spinage.
42. Squash (from America, great variety).
43. Turnip—Early-Garden.

FLOWER SEEDS.

44. Canterbury Bells.
45. Catch Fly.
46. China-asters.
47. Convolvulus—Dwarf.
48. Indian Pink.
49. Larkspur—Dwarf Rocket.
50. Lupins—Dwarf Yellow.
51. Poppy—Carnation.
52. French.
53. Stock, Scarlet, ten-week.
54. Mignonette.
55. Sweetwilliam.
56. Sweet Pea.
57. Venus's Looking-glass.
58. Virginia Stock.
59. Wall-flower.

REPRESENTATION OF PAISLEY.

On Monday evening, Mr. Douglas of Barloch, addressed the electors and other inhabitants of Paisley, in the old Low Church, with a view of offering himself as a candidate for the representation of that town.

Mr. DOUGLAS was warmly greeted on entering the church. He addressed himself to the citizens of Paisley generally, whether enfranchised or disfranchised, (applause), for he had always maintained that, by the ancient law, householders

had the right of choosing whoever ruled them; and when the Duke of Wellington was driven from power by refusing all reform, and Earl Grey, who had early and constantly supported a large basis of representation, came into power on promise of reform; but before that had assumed any shape, he (Mr. D.) at the reform Glasgow meeting, had warned Ministers (for he had even then unfavourable forebodings) against transplanting from Ireland the franchise which had been raised to please the opponents of Catholic emancipation. He had written to persons near the Government to avoid this, and give the old constitutional household suffrage to the towns. The evil of such a restricted franchise in towns had been aggravated by the Marquis of Chandos' clause giving the county franchise to land tenants, and not to the whole county householders. From the altered value of money, the tenants were generally in arrear of rents stipulated in paper currency, and they were led with ropes around their necks to the poll, which enabled the landlords to dictate the county representation as effectually as ever the splitting paper freeholds did. (Great applause). The town of Paisley had been always known as a seat for ingenious manufactures, requiring scientific skill, and the people, consequently, studious, thinking, and sober, and well informed; and knowledge necessarily taught the value of liberty to public prosperity and private happiness. (Applause). It was not remarkable, therefore, that such a people were the first and the boldest in demanding the restoration of the representative franchise which alone distinguishes a freeman from a slave. (Great applause). But it was remarkable that the class who chiefly, if not exclusively, petitioned for the franchise, and thereby showed how worthy they were of it, were denied the franchise, which was given to those who had set no value on it and had never sought for it. (Loud cheers). But at a former election the enfranchised citizens of Paisley had acted, not merely without divisions among themselves, but in harmony with their excluded

brethren, as trustees invested with a power to act not for an exclusive, but the general interest of all who were subjected to the laws and the taxes enacted by their representatives. He doubted not that from a sense of common interest, the same harmonious union would, on the present occasion, reject those who merely sought to gratify vanity and sow pernicious distractions among reformers, and enable them to show speedily a decisive majority; which would deter from vexatious distraction. The first session of the reformed Parliament had grievously disappointed the people of those practical reforms of crying grievances which had been the sole object of the reform. (Loud cheers). But this did not proceed so much from individual members as from deep-seated general causes. The franchise had not only been unduly limited in towns, and indefinitely multiplied in landlords' hands in the counties, but the greatest of all errors was the neglect by Earl Grey, to obtain after the rejection of the Reform Bill by the Lords, the power of an extensive creation of peers to correct the deranged balance of parties in that House, without which, he would never have power to carry any practical reform that touched the Tory majority; the reform of the army, navy, law, revenue, colonies, and above all, the church. (Great cheering). Lord Chatham had said that the House of Lords needed reform more than the Commons; and if so in his time how much more, after the host of Tory peers created by the last two Georges to support war against representation abroad and at home; in America and France. (Great cheering). He had at various public meetings unsuccessfully, and others successfully, urged the primary importance of addressing the King to create peers, while the popular excitement could extort it from the court party; for Lord Wharncliffe shrewdly counselled the peers to stand out of the way till the bill passed, and the ferment subsided, well knowing the difficulty of rousing the people on measures of detail for effecting the most necessary practical reforms. The misconstrued franchise had enabled

the same class of persons, though of really or pretended more liberal principles, but all connected with the aristocracy of wealth or of title, to fill the reformed House of Commons. The old House of Commons, nominated by the House of Peers, had systematically plundered the people to pamper the aristocracy and their connexions, who monopolised all influence, employment, and emolument in church and state, and in every ramification of official function. Was this state of things abated, or taxes from which all this profligate expenditure was defrayed, reduced, as they should have been by the reformed Parliament? The master grievance that all candidates and electors agreed should be first reformed, was the nuisance of the Irish church; a non-resident pluralist pampered clergy imposed on nine-tenths of the people who paid another clergy, for the mere purpose of quartering on the people the aristocracy and their connexions. (Loud cheers). Nay, to uphold this this dreadful system of tyranny, and levy the tithes, and suppress the perpetual civil war, such as our ancestors maintained against episcopacy, an army equal to that which gained the battle of Waterloo, as the return of regulars, militia, police, and yeomanry showed, was maintained in Ireland out of the taxes to wage an inglorious war against tithe pigs. (Loud cheering). Did the Ministers commence the session by a bill to reform this nuisance, to tranquilize the Irish people (as William the III. tranquillized Scotland in 1685), and disband this great army, and disarm that most unconstitutional force the Orange yeomanry, mounted and armed, and let loose by Orange justices of the peace, to fire on the people, exasperated by premature and offensive seizures for the tithes of a non-resident clergy? (Loud cheers). No. Ministers—compelled to quit their places or please the bishops—(cheers)—brought in a bill to outlaw the whole Irish nation; to supersede the law of the land by martial law; the judges' ermine on the bench by the scarlet and sword of military dandies, trained to passive obedience, who charged not injuries, but with the bayonet. (Loud cheering). The redress of the intolerable grievance of the Irish church, which made Ireland rock like an earthquake, was put off to a future day which never came, for the only point worth the people's care, the application of surplus church property to relieve the burdens of the people, was in due time sacrificed to the bishops' bench, and the money to be appropriated by a board not as first proposed with a majority of laymen, but of clergymen; with powers to lay out that surplus in building churches and parsonage-houses, in parishes where not a Protestant existed, to keep up the pay of the aristocratic clerical force, on pretence of beating up for as many recruits among the Catholics as would fill up the parochial functionaries of bell-ringer, clerk, and sexton, while neither the living nor the dead required their services. (Cheering). What was the benefit to the tithe-paying people that ten bishops should drop off in twenty years? That a per centage of a pluralist with four horses to his carriage travelling on the Continent, was to be given to one with only two horses, travelling through the English watering places? It was only a more equal division of prize money of both among the aristocracy and their connexions (hear); an equalization by reducing the number of great prizes and increasing the value of smaller prizes in the great church-and-state lottery. (Cheers). By the false measure of applying coercion to a tortured people, instead of trying the soothing effect of the redress of abating the grievance, the Ministers threw away their own characters for consistency, disgusted the people, and freed Tory lords from all fear of a future Whig opposition; so that they could urge Ministers on from one disgraceful act to another, since the threat of going out as baffled reformers, and appealing to the people was utterly impossible after the Irish Coercion Bill. (Cheers). The few honest men connected with the aristocracy, elected by the people, were placed in a false and cruel position by the state of the House of Lords which Chatham had called an hospital of in-

curables. (Cheers). They were forced to support Ministers, or see them turned out, and the Duke of Wellington and the Tories in power. They disgusted their constituents and forfeited their pledges at the hustings, often from a mistaken sense of the superior duty of preventing a collision of the Commons with the Lords, which should throw out Lord Grey, and carry in the Tories. But here honesty both in the Ministers and their adherents would have been, as it always must be, the best policy. Had Earl Grey retrieved his error on the first loss of the Reform Bill, by insisting for a creation of peers rather than meet the first reformed Parliament with a Speaker in the chair whom he had put upon the shelf without a peerage, and proposing, instead of the promised reform of the Irish church, a bill to outlaw the Irish people, and silence by the sword the press and public meetings, and try by red-coated juries all who wrote or spoke for redress of that nation's unbearable wrongs; a tyranny which Castlereagh never would have proposed, had he demanded from the King the power of maintaining himself in a friendly House of Peers by new creations, with the alternative of resignation—the court must have given way—else the spectacle of such a piece of Irish tyranny put into the hands of the author of reform to execute, and his indignant retreat from office sooner than so forfeit all title to consistency as a reformer—would have roused the whole people to carry him back again to office with full power, secure himself firmly there by a duly counterbalanced peerage, and to go on putting into speedy execution all required practical reforms. As it is, the Ministers have, by this dereliction of all their recorded professions out of office—deprived themselves and their devoted adherents of the confidence of the people; and passed a long-ferocious, disgraceful session in soliciting from the bishops and Tory majority of the peerage, permission to pass some miserable paltry measures, to give the air of doing something just to pacify the people as a sort of reform. Indeed, the only measure of real reform, the Scottish Burgh Bill, had

a narrow escape in the House of Peers from the hands of the Tory majority, who would have kicked it out in the close of the session, but that Tory creditors of the bankrupt burgh of Edinburgh wanted to get a loan of the public money, which the treasury would not give to an unreformed burgh. But for this accident, Lord Haddington's argument would have justified a vote of the Tory lords, that the burghs of Scotland should not be reformed (as was done with England), till an expensive commission should solve the very difficult problem of rotten burgh reform. (Loud laughter and cheers). Has the reformed Parliament relieved the people as they ought to do by taking off taxes? The only paltry relief is from a surplus revenue, obtained by the taxes being more severely collected, and partly from the natural fall in the price of articles consumed in the different great public services. No tax has been reduced, generally speaking, by measures producing the requisite reduction of expenditure. (Cheers). The only inquiry having this object, seems to be to reduce the sum paid by the rich in England for the support of the poor, by way of making them more quiet and contented; and a sham commission, to invent new pretexts for refusing to appropriate a part of the wealth of the Irish church to its original purpose, the support of the Irish poor. (Applause). Were the Irish church reformed, two millions might be saved from the army for the extinction of tithes. The overpayments to the aristocratical caste in all offices should be curtailed to the size of the pay for similar service elsewhere. (A voice in the gallery—Pensions). Yes; the Member for Paisley must vote against all unmerited pensions; and he must not have an interest in screening any pensioner. (Loud cheering). This brought him to say something of the blame which the people themselves must bear in having chosen representatives from the aristocratical caste everywhere. They had not yet emancipated themselves from the old and servile habit of imitating the former practice in the selection of representatives solely from the aristocratical

crazy of wealth or of title. The middle classes should assert their own just importance, and select, without respect to such antiquated and trivial distinctions, representatives who were trained to business, who could examine documents, compare evidence, revise laws, who sharing from their position the opinions of the people, had firmness and moral courage to act on their opinions, and by talents for public discussion, and placing intricate subjects in a clear point of view, obtain attention to matters of business, and even to unwelcome truths from a fastidious and unwilling aristocratic auditory, often not very courteous or orderly, when pressed to hear disagreeable remonstrances on behalf of the distresses of the people, and the preference of the interests of the aristocracy which pervades the whole legislation of the last century. (Hear, hear, and cheers). Of this preference of the aristocracy in relief from taxation, nothing could be a stronger instance than what regarded the commercial intercourse with France, which nearly concerned the interests of a most important class of the electors of Paisley.

(To be continued.)

From the *LONDON GAZETTE*,

FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 28, 1834.

INSOLVENT.

GRASEMANN, C. F., Wells-street, Hackney, merchant.

BANKRUPTCY ANNULLED.

STOKES, T., Cradley, Worcestershire, druggist.

BANKRUPTS.

CONNELL, T., otherwise T. P. Connell, John's-mews, Little James-street, Bedford-row, coach-maker.

FARMER, J., Patney, chemist.

HAYNES, G., Trinity-street, Southwark, licensed-victualler.

HONE, J., Northampton, hatter.

KEEF, J. and J., Nottingham, grocers.

KENNING, T., Birmingham, fire-iron-manufacturer.

LEMON, J. H., New-street, Whitechapel, millwright.

PERKINS, H., Reading, Berkshire, corn-dealer.

SAMBELL, P., Truro, Cornwall, timber-merchant.

TAPLEY, J., jun., Torrin, Devonshire, woollen-draper.

WILDE, E., Royton, Lancashire, cotton-spinner.

TUESDAY, MAR. 5, 1834.

INSOLVENT.

RICHARDSON, J., Brownlow-street, Holborn, tailor.

BANKRUPTCIES ENLARGED.

LANCASTER, H., Tunbridge Wells, Kent, upholsterer.

ROBERTS, J., Caernarvon, Caernarvonshire, merchant.

BANKRUPTS.

BARD, W., Fareham, Hampshire, builder.

CHRISTOPHERSON, C., Brighton, printer.

EYRE, B., Huddersfield, Yorkshire, inn-keeper.

HEMMING, P. H., and T. Monkhouse, St. Paul's Church-yard, lacemen.

HENDERSON, T. C., New Bond-street, dealer in dressing-cases and cutlery.

HEYGATE, J., Mansfield, Nottinghamshire, cotton-spinner.

HOLT, R., and J. Giveus, Monk Wearmouth, Durham, common-brewers.

KEAY, W., Birmingham, victualler.

KIDDER, J., Strand, silversmith.

LEWIS, W. J., Troscymarian, Anglesea, merchant.

MEANLEY, R., Great Barr, Staffordshire, farmer.

SILLITO, A., Macclesfield-street, City-road, wharfinger.

WALKER, B. K., Huddersfield, Yorkshire, grocer.

LONDON MARKETS.

MARK-LANE, CORN-EXCHANGE, Mar. 3.—The supplies of Wheat this morning, though moderate from the home counties, yet, in addition to the quantity left over from last week, proved much more than adequate to the demand. Many of the fresh samples were rough and out of condition, and as little disposition appeared to purchase, all descriptions must be voted cheaper; good qualities 1s. and inferior 1s. to 3s. per qr. An inquiry still existed for Eubanka Wheat in bond, for exportation to Portugal, at from 32s. to 34s. but we did not hear of any actual sales being effected.

Fine samples of moulting and chevalier barley being scarce, and meeting rather an improved demand, former prices were fully sup-

ported. In distillery and grinding sorts no alteration, and the trade dull.

Malt is in a very limited request, and with the exception of the better descriptions, prices perfectly nominal.

We had a good supply of Oats, but the article met a moderate demand at last week's prices.

Beans attracted little attention, and prices sustained no alteration.

White Peas continued extremely dull, while Hog Peas were saleable at an advance of 1s. per qr.

The Flour trade remains in a very inanimate state, and ship qualities extremely heavy at last week's reduction.

Wheat.....	50s. to 58s.
Rye.....	—s. to —s.
Barley.....	23s. to 25s.
— fine.....	28s. to 31s.
Peas, White.....	—s. to —s.
— Boilers.....	33s. to 38s.
— Grey.....	30s. to 32s.
Beans, Small.....	33s. to 37s.
— Tick.....	28s. to 33s.
Oats, Potato.....	22s. to 23s.
— Feed.....	17s. to 20s.
Flour, per sack.....	43s. to 48s.

PROVISIONS.

Pork, India, new....	95s. to 100s.
— Mess, new ...	55s. to 57s. per barl.
Butter, Belfast ...	76s. to 80s. per cwt.
— Carlow.....	74s. to 86s.
— Cork.....	70 to 74s.
— Limerick ..	68s. to 70s.
— Waterford..	70s. to 76s.
— Dublin	52s. to 62s.

SMITHFIELD, March 3.

This day's supply of Beasts, Sheep, and Lambs, was, for the time of year, moderately good; the supply of Calves and Porkers but limited. Trade was throughout dull. With Beef and Veal at a depression of about 2d. per stone; with Mutton, Lamb, and Pork, at Friday's quotations.

Full three-fourths of the beasts appeared to consist of about equal numbers of short-horns, Devons, Scots, and Welsh runts; the remaining fourth of about equal numbers of Herefords, Irish beasts, and Town's-end Cows, about 50 Sussex beasts, a few Staffords, &c.

A moiety, at least, of the Sheep were South-Downs; about a fourth new Leicesters, in about equal numbers of the South-Down and white-faced crosses; and the remaining fourth about equal numbers of old Leicesters, Kents, and Kentish half-breds, with a few pens of old Herefords, old Lincolns, horned and polled Norfolks, horned Dorsets and Somersets, horned and polled Scotch and Welsh Sheep, &c.

The Lambs, in number about 300, were chiefly Dorsets.

About 500 of the beasts, about two-fifths of

which were Scots, the remainder, about equal numbers of short-horns, Devons, and Welsh runts, with a few Norfolk home-breds, were from Norfolk, Suffolk, Essex, and Cambridgeshire; about 350, chiefly short-horns, with a few Devons, runts, Herefords, and Irish beasts, from Leicestershire, Lincolnshire, and others of our northern grazing districts; about 150, chiefly Devons, with a few Herefords, runts, Scots, and Irish beasts, from our western and midland districts; about 60, chiefly Sussex, with a few Irish beasts, Devons, and Welsh runts, from Surrey, Sussex, and Kent, and most of the remainder, including the Town's-end Cows, from the stall-feeders, &c., near London.

MARK-LANE.—Friday, March 7.

The arrivals this week are moderate. The market very dull at the prices of Monday.

THE FUNDS.

3 per Cent.	}	Fri.	Sat.	Mon.	Tues.	Wed.	Thur.
Cons. Ann.		90½	90½	90½	90½	90½	90½

COBBETT-LIBRARY.

New Edition.

COBBETT'S Spelling-Book (Price 2s.)

Containing, besides all the usual matter of such a book, a clear and concise

INTRODUCTION TO ENGLISH GRAMMAR.

This I have written by way of

A Stepping-Stone to my own Grammar;

such a thing having been frequently suggested to me by Teachers as necessary.

1. ENGLISH GRAMMAR.—Of this work sixty thousand copies have now been published. This is a duodecimo volume, and the price is 3s. bound in boards.

2. TULL'S HORSE-HOEING HUSBANDRY; or, a Treatise on the Principles of Tillage and Vegetation. With an Introduction, by WM. COBBETT. 8vo. Price 15s.

3. THE EMIGRANT'S GUIDE. Just now Published, under this Title, a little Volume, containing Ten Letters, addressed to English Tax-payers. A new edition, with a Postscript, containing an account of the Prices of Houses and Land, recently obtained from America by Mr. Cobbett. Price 2s. 6d. in bds.

4. THE WOODLANDS; or, a Treatise on the preparing of the ground for planting; on the planting, on the cultivating, on the pruning, and on the cutting down, of Forest Trees and Underwoods. Price 14s. bound in boards.

5. YEAR'S RESIDENCE IN AMERICA.—The Price of this book, in good print and on fine paper, is 5s.

6. FRENCH GRAMMAR; or, Plain Instructions for the Learning of French. Price, bound in boards, 5s.

7. COTTAGE ECONOMY.—I wrote this Work professedly for the use of the labouring and middling classes of the English nation. 'I made myself' acquainted with the best and simplest modes of making beer and bread, and these I made it as plain as, I believe, words could make it. Also of the keeping of Cows, Pigs, Bees, and Poultry, matters which I understood as well as any body could, and in all their details. It includes my writing, also on the Straw Plait. A Duodecimo Volume. Price 2s. 6d.

8. MARTENS'S LAW OF NATIONS.—This is the Book which was the foundation of all the knowledge that I have ever possessed relative to public law. The Price is 17s., and the manner of its execution is I think, such as to make it fit for the Library of any Gentleman.

9. MR. JAMES PAUL COBBETT'S RIDE OF EIGHT HUNDRED MILES IN FRANCE. Second Edition. Price 2s. 6d.

10. A TREATISE ON COBBETT'S CORN; containing Instructions for Propagating and Cultivating the Plant, and for Harvesting and Preserving the Crop; and also an account of the several uses to which the Produce is applied. Price 3s.

11. LETTERS FROM FRANCE; containing Observations made in that Country during a Residence of Two Months in the South, and Three Months at Paris. By JOHN M. COBBETT. Price 4s. in boards.

12. SERMONS.—There are twelve of these, in one volume, on the following subjects: 1. Hypocrisy and Cruelty; 2. Drunkenness; 3. Bribery; 4. Oppression; 5. Unjust Judges; 6. The Sluggard; 7. The Murderer; 8. The Gamester; 9. Public Robbery; 10. The Unnatural Mother; 11. The Sin of Forbidding Marriage; 12. On the Duties of Parsons, and on the Institution and Object of Tithes. Price 3s. 6d. bound in boards.

A Thirteenth Sermon, entitled "GOOD FRIDAY; or, The Murder of Jesus Christ by the Jews." Price 6d.

13. PROTESTANT "REFORMATION" in England and Ireland, showing how that event has impoverished and degraded the main body of the people in those countries. Two volumes, bound in boards. The Price of the first volume is 4s. 6d. The Price of the second volume 3s. 6d.

14. An ITALIAN GRAMMAR, by Mr. JAMES PAUL COBBETT.—Being a Plain and Compendious Introduction to the Study of Italian. Price 6s.

Price 12s.

A GEOGRAPHICAL DICTIONARY OF ENGLAND AND WALES;
CONTAINING

The names, in Alphabetical Order, of all the Counties, with their several Subdivisions, into Hundreds, Lathes, Rapes, Wapentakes, Wards, or Divisions; and an Account of the Distribution of the Counties into Circuits, Dioceses, and Parliamentary Divisions.

ALSO,

The names (under that of each County respectively), in Alphabetical Order, of all the Cities, Boroughs, Market Towns, Villages, Hamlets, and Tithings, with the Distance of each from London, or from the nearest Market Town, and with the Population, and other interesting particulars relating to each; besides which there are

MAPS;

First, one of the whole country, showing the local situation of the Counties relatively to each other; and, then, each County is also preceded by a Map, showing, in the same manner, the local situation of the Cities, Boroughs, and Market Towns.

FOUR TABLES

Are added; first, a Statistical Table of all the Counties, and then three Tables, showing the new Divisions and Distributions enacted by the Reform-Law of 4th June, 1832.

THE CURSE
OF

PAPER MONEY AND BANKING, Or, a short History of Banking in the United States of America, with an account of its ruinous effects on Landowners, Farmers, Traders, and on all the industrious classes of the community.

By W. M. GOUGE, of Philadelphia, in 1833. To which is prefixed an Introduction by WM. COBBETT, M.P. for Oldham. Price 4s. 11, Bolt-court, Fleet-street, and all Book-sellers.

A NEW

FRENCH AND ENGLISH DICTIONARY.

In two parts. Part I. French and English.—Part II. English and French. By WILLIAM COBBETT, M.P. for Oldham.

Just published, price 2s.

FOUR LETTERS

TO THE

HON. JOHN STUART WORTLEY,

In answer to his "Brief Inquiry into the true award of an Equitable Adjustment between the nation and its creditors."—By WILLIAM COBBETT, M. P. for Oldham.

Price 6s. a new edition of the
ENGLISH GARDENER,

A TREATISE

On the Situation, Soil, Fertilising and Laying-Out of Kitchen Gardens; on the Making and Manuring of Hot-Beds, and Green-Houses; and on the Propagation and Cultivation of all sorts of Kitchen-Garden Plants; and of Fruit-Trees whether of the Garden or the Orchard.

AND ALSO,

On the Formation of Shrubberies and Flower-Gardens; and on the Propagation and Cultivation of the several sorts of Shrubs and Flowers;

CONCLUDING WITH

A KALENDAR,

Giving Instructions relative to the Sowings, Plantings, Prunings, and other labours, to be performed in the Gardens, in each Month of the Year.

By WILLIAM COBBETT.

JOURNAL

OR

A TOUR IN ITALY,

AND ALSO IN PART OF

FRANCE AND SWITZERLAND;

The route being

From Paris, through Lyons, to Marseilles, and, thence, to Nice, Genoa, Pisa, Florence, Rome, Naples, and Mount Vesuvius;

AND

By Rome, Terni, Perugia, Arezzo, Florence, Bologna, Ferrara, Padua, Venice, Verona, Milan, over the Alps by Mount St. Bernard, Geneva, and the Jura, back into France;

The space of time being,

From October 1828, to September 1829.

CONTAINING

A description of the country, of the principal cities and their most striking curiosities; of the climate, soil, agriculture, horticulture, and products; of the prices of provisions and labour; and of the dress and conditions of the people;

AND ALSO

An account of the laws and customs, civil and religious, and of the morals and demeanour of the inhabitants, in the several States.

By JAMES P. COBBETT.

PRACTICAL EXERCISES

A KEY TO COBBETT'S FRENCH GRAMMAR.

By J. P. Cobbett. Price Two Shillings.

"NICHOLSON'S COMMERCIAL GAZETTE."

THE Present Number, of Saturday, March 8, will contain a FULL REPORT of the Proceedings of the TEA TRADE, now in a state of "open rebellion" against the 24 Sovereigns of India, and their coadjutors the Whigs.

This paper of "Useful Knowledge" has effected a complete "Revolution" in the "Old System of the Tea Trade," by which the Consumers of Tea have "SAVED THREE MILLIONS OF MONEY ANNUALLY."

It has, during the last three months, been at open war with the "Russian Bears," and the English Bull "Tallow Gamblers." The whole of their system has been exposed, as one more infernal than the "Hells" in Westminster.

The Commercial Gazette ought to be read by every man who makes a Candle; and should be seen on the counter of every Shopkeeper who sells Tea, Sugar, Coffee, and other necessaries of life.

It is a comprehensive "Price Current," and a Register of "Useful Knowledge"; it is a "Seizure" to Corporation Robbery. In its political opinions it is neither Whig, Tory, nor Radical; it is the advocate of the millions, viz., the MIDDLE and WORKING CLASSES; it is the defender of the Bees against the Drones who rob them; it is a rifle, to protect the sheep against the wolves; it gives lessons occasionally to the "Whigs" gratis; it is a "Traveller" that ought to be welcomed and patronized by every Dealer in the kingdom, as one who is anxious to be allowed to call once a week at the trifling charge of 7d. per visit, or 30s. 4d. per annum.

In a thousand instances this "Traveller" has saved his patron considerably more than double his cost in a single cask of Tallow, or a box of Raisins.

The present number contains the exact price of all Teas sold this week, and at the close of the Sale the "Last" will be published, as it has been done, the last Ten Years.

To be had every Saturday, at 2 o'clock, of EVANS, at the Royal Exchange, and of every other Newsman in London and throughout the Kingdom.

Every provincial journal published in England, Ireland, and Scotland, will be pleased to insert this Advertisement, for which they will be paid 1s. 6d. for the King, and their own charge in addition.

N.B. One Thousand Copies extra of the "Commercial Gazette" of Saturday, March 8, will be printed to meet the increased demand.

Printed by William Cobbett, Johnson's-court; and published by him, at 11, Bolt-court, Fleet-street.

COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

Vol. 83.—No. 11.]

LONDON, SATURDAY, MARCH 15TH, 1834.

[Price 1s. 2d.]



GOOD NEWS!

Bolt-court, 12. March, 1834.

I VERILY believe that the "END" is at hand! For many, many years, I have constantly said that, *as long as the paper-money stood*, there could be no hope of seeing the liberty and the happiness of the people restored. Major CARTWRIGHT used to remonstrate with me about my bestowing so much of my time, and, as he used to call it, of my talent, in writing about the paper-money and the debt and those reptiles, the fundholders, as he used to call them; when my time would be so much better employed in endeavouring to urge on the cause of parliamentary reform. Upon one occasion he urged our friend Mr. WALKER to interfere with me, and to convince me, if possible, that, though I was perfectly right in my paper-money doctrines, yet, that success in those endeavours would be of no use whatever to the people, *unless there were, first, a parliamentary reform*. My answer to Mr. WALKER was, *that the converse of the proposition was true; that even a reform of the Parliament would be of no real use to the people, unless preceded by, or coming in company with, a blowing up of the paper-money system*. The Major did not live to see the reform, such as it was: if he had lived to see these two sessions of a reformed Parliament, he would have been quite satisfied of the correctness of my opinion. We have got the "REFORM"; but, the pension list, the sinecure list, the grant list, the four hundred and fifty generals,

the two hundred admirals, the thundering standing army in time of peace, the cormorant dead-weight, the Hanoverian dead-weight, the Six Acts, the new penal laws, STURGES BOURNE's bills, transportation for poaching, the military and naval half-pay to parsons; all these, and all the other burdens and abuses, remain in full vigour, though the Parliament has been what is called "REFORMED." One of the things which we wanted reform for was, to enable the people to choose representatives not living upon the taxes; and the people have chosen a House containing more tax-eaters, I believe, than any borough-monger Parliament that was ever called together. This is, indeed, great folly or baseness, on the part of the people. There would be sense enough in choosing for members those who are at the heads of the several departments; but they have had the baseness to choose great numbers who have not the smallest pretension to any knowledge of public affairs; and yet, who are living on the taxes. Such people have no right to petition to have taxes taken off: they are a set of fools, or selfish knaves, whose grumblings ought to be treated with contempt.

However, it is quite useless for us to rail. Thus it will be as long as the paper-money shall continue. The debt, or the Bank, or the paper-money, all being one and the same thing, which we will call the paper-money; this monster, and the monster of borough-mongering, were hatched and brought forth at one and the same time: they are twin-devils; if not absolutely fastened on to one another, depend upon each other for existence. One cannot live long without the other. Both were invented for the purpose of upholding THE CHURCH; or rather, for the purpose of preserving to the aristocracy the advowsons, the college estates, the bishops' sees, the abbey-lands, the lands of the chantries, schools, and hospitals, upon all which they had laid their Protestant

godly hands at the time of the "PROTESTANT REFORMATION." This was the triple alliance, invented by Bishop BURNET, and created by the Whigs of the revolution of 1688.

Boroughmongering has got a blow, and that is all; the church has just been begun upon; but neither will *come down*, until the paper-money (the most potent of the triple knot) shall get a good sousing stroke. Stroke after stroke it has had; but there wants a heavier one yet; and till it gets that blow, that final and prostrating blow, no real relief can come to this nation. Men wonder how it is that a reformed Parliament should contain only five men to vote against sending millions of English money to Hanover, at the rate of pretty nearly a hundred thousand pounds a year. Men wonder at this, because they do not reflect on the powers of paper-money, and on the various ways in which it affects and perverts the minds of men. Boroughmongering would have been very little harm, had it not been for paper-money; and, as we see, its destruction produces very little good, if any, the paper-money being still in existence. Indeed, it is *not destroyed*: boroughmongering is destroyed only in name: and destroyed it cannot be as long as the paper-money shall remain.

This being the case; it being undeniably the case, I naturally hear with joy of every thing that tends to the destruction of the paper-money; and this brings me to the "GOOD NEWS," which words I have placed at the head of this article; and which good news is as follows:

1. That that brave, skilful, resolute, and inflexible man, who laid more than two thousand British troops dead on the plains before New ORLEANS, and drove the survivors back helter-skelter into the sea; that brave man, who sprang from poor Irish emigrant parents; who engrafted the common soldier upon the plough-boy, during the war of the revolution; who engrafted the lawyer upon the common soldier, then the general upon the lawyer, and who has now en-

grafted the President upon the general; that this excellent man, this CHIEF MAGISTRATE, worthy of the name, having, by the last great blow given in the late war, driven back into the sea the cruel invaders of his country, chased off the COCHRANES and the COCKBURNS, with all their mercenary hordes, has now set resolutely to work to destroy that paper-money monster; that blood-sucker of the community, which has so long been hanging on upon the vitals of that country, and that has been engaged in treasonable correspondence and contrivances with *another paper-money monster in foreign parts*, to destroy the free institutions of the American States; thus effecting silently and by stealth, that which the English aristocracy were unable to effect by five hundred ships of war, and a hundred thousand men.

2. That innumerable bankruptcies have taken place, in consequence of the President's resolution with regard to the Bank of the United States.
3. That, amongst others, a brace of Jews, called Solomon and Moses something, have broken at New YORK for three millions of dollars; that is to say, three-fourths of a million sterling.
4. That a deputation of the merchants of New YORK have waited upon the President, to represent to him their state of embarrassment and distress; that he told them, that their distress had not been caused by the Government, and that the Government had no means of affording them assistance; that, as to the National Bank, the Government would leave it alone to do as it could, during the remainder of its charter; but that, *for his part, he would never sign a charter for that or any other bank.*
5. That the people are everywhere on the side of the President; and that the legislature of the great State of PENNSYLVANIA had come to a resolution, declaring the measures of the President, with regard to the

- Bank, to have been wise and just, and absolutely necessary.
6. That the people were everywhere indignant against the makers of paper-money.
 7. That the Bank of the State of KENTUCKY had called in all its notes from circulation.
 8. That specie was pouring into the country by every ship that arrived, and was very fast supplanting the paper; that the effects had reached the town of HALIFAX, in NOVA SCOTIA, and the city of St. JOHN, in New Brunswick; that all was hubbub and confusion in these provinces; in the former of which provinces the paper was depreciated seven per cent., and in the latter twelve per cent.
 9. That it is unnecessary to observe, that specie must go from this country to America in great quantities; and that that must add to the distress of the land and the labour of this country, and must tend to the further aggrandizement of the tax-devouring crew in England.
 10. That it is by no means clear to me that the President has not done this thing in this speedy and resolute manner by way of retaliation upon us for what the Americans deem our insidious measure of NEGRO-EMANCIPATION, which is described in the American newspapers as "a mean and spiteful blow at the United States, closely hidden under the cloak of HYPOCRITICAL HUMANITY." I think they are wrong. Our Ministers, at least, had, I am satisfied, no such mean and detestable motive as that of stirring up the slaves of the United States to rebellion against their masters; though I must say that, from a passage in the King's speech, and from some speeches made in Parliament since, such conclusion might not unreasonably be drawn. The King "hoped that 'other nations would follow the humane example'!" And speeches in Parliament have suggested the compelling of Spain and Portugal

to follow the example! Now, though it is very good to be extraordinarily humane; very good to set so fine an example; it is not very good to *punish* other people because they do not follow such an example. Very good for the bride to charm the bridegroom to the altar; but not very good to cause him to be dragged along after her with a rope round his neck. "Other nations"! What *other nations*? Why, we all know that the United States was meant; though neither King nor Ministers, nor speakers in Parliament, thought fit to name the United States. Be the meaning what it might, the Americans reason thus upon the matter: "It is impossible that any but madmen would have emancipated the negroes at all; and if any thing could be more than impossible, it is more than impossible that a Government in its senses could have imposed a new debt of twenty millions sterling upon the people of England, to give to the West Indians against their consent, merely to gratify the canting cry, sent forth from the Methodist chapels, and from those everlasting conceited babblers that inhabit the crack-skulled county of YORK. It is impossible that this apparently monstrous folly could have been committed, unless there had been some powerful motive lurking at the bottom." Having thus laid the foundation of their argument, their suspicions soon lead them to the conclusion, that the motive of our measure of humanity has been the malignant design of breaking up the Union and free institutions of the United States, by sowing discontent and exciting rebellion amongst the blacks.

11. That many of these papers, taking up this subject in great anger, express their satisfaction at the immense mischief which the destruction of their paper-money will do to us, and how amply it will repay

us for what they call our inveterate malice and our perfidy. "Very true," says one of them, "Britain had a right to abolish the slavery of her blacks; and we have a right to abolish that paper-money which held us in slavery to the vilest of her slaves." Yes; the right was clear on both sides. Both parties had a right to act, and both to say nothing at all about the motive with regard to other nations.

12. That I most sincerely wish that the President's motive in putting down the paper-money may have been partly in the way of retaliation for the negro-slave job; for, then, the punishment of hypocrisy will have been the most appropriate that ever was heard of; and the punishment will fall precisely on the right heads. From the demolition of the paper-money in America, nobody in this kingdom will suffer a tenth part so much as the canting and conceited babblers of the cracked-skull county of YORK. SHEFFIELD will be pinched to the very points of its nails; cracked-skull LEEDS and HUDDERSFIELD, and still more cracked-skull HALIFAX, where joint-stock associates divide seventeen per cent. per annum; these cracked-skulls will suffer more than all the rest of the kingdom put together; and it will be their just punishment for having saddled their country with a new debt of twenty millions.

Such is the "GOOD NEWS," which I, with pleasure that I cannot express, communicate to the readers of the *Register*. The base reptiles in the city of London, while they are receiving bills from America at *five per cent. discount*, and are shipping thither all the gold and silver that they can rake together, would fain make you believe, that "*moderate men* are getting about the President; and that the matter with the Bank will be accommodated." I sincerely wish that this may be believed by those who have sent English money across the Atlantic, to "vest" it, as the devil has

taught them to call it, in "*Bank-stock*," and in "*shares*" of all manner of kinds; "*Moderate men*," indeed! The President is not a man to be wheedled from his resolution by a set of soft-tongued vagabonds with pens stuck behind their ears. If my readers were made acquainted (and they all soon shall be) with the history of the life of this famous man; nay, with only a fiftieth part of the wonderful acts of that life, they would laugh to scorn the idea of his being diverted from any settled resolution of his mind. WASHINGTON was a mere baby, compared with JACKSON; his deeds shrink into nothing, when placed before those of his present successor. WELLINGTON! oh gracious God! One day of the real feats of JACKSON surpass all the congregated and fabulous performances of the life of WELLINGTON.

This humbugged nation is never told the truth. Every thing that is necessary for it to know for its own well-being, is kept from it, by that base hireling press, which has been its curse for so many years. And, at this very moment, the important intelligence from the United States, is either smothered or totally disfigured by that press; and the people of England are actually believing, that the President is a sort of harum-scarum fellow, under the guidance of mere passion, and that he will be obliged, either to give up his measures, or give up his office. To make head against the delusion of so infernal a political machine is next to impossible: it must go on spreading its delusions; and those who have the folly or baseness, or both, to be deluded by it, must, and ought to, suffer for that folly and that baseness.

Before I conclude, let me relate, that I have recently heard, that a man who left England, for America, some sixteen or seventeen years ago, and who was so determined a democrat, that the very sound of nobility, bishop, or king, almost threw him into hysterics, has, I am told, written to a friend in England, expressing his intention to return to his beloved native land, to his allegiance to his natural sovereign; though he citizenized himself seventeen years ago; and, as I have

heard, really quarrelled with some Englishman (I forget whom) because he would not do the same: let me relate that I have heard that this very man intends to return to England with all convenient speed; saying, that his own dear native country is advancing in civilization, and that the United States are retrograding; and, that "that d—d old scoundrel, JACKSON, has destroyed the constitution, and broken up the credit of the country, and has severed, with his Goth-like sword, all the ligaments of civil society, of social order, and of regular government." In justice to the much-censured President, I think myself bound to observe, that I believe, that the man, from whom this censure has proceeded, has, for many years, been zealously engaged in upholding the "social system," by discounting bills at $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., per month; the bills being guaranteed, not by acceptances or indorsements, but by deposits of goods, or pawns, more than sufficient to cover the amount of the bills; that such a man should call the brave, the wise, the disinterested, the inflexible, President, "a d—d old scoundrel," is natural enough; but I am very sure that all those, except they be Jews, or Jew-like Christians, who shall read this article, will have the justice to take the vile appellation from the President, and clap it, where it exactly fits, upon the front of his calumniator.

In begging my readers duly to consider the contents of this paper, which I deem of very great importance to this country, I conclude, with a most anxious prayer, that the paper-money of America may be wholly destroyed, and that that destruction may speedily lead to our complete deliverance from that indescribable curse.

WM. COBBETT.

THE PEOPLE OF OLDHAM.

Bolt-court, 15. March, 1834.

MY FRIENDS,

You have most likely paid some attention to the discussions on the Navy and Army Estimates, which have lately been before Parliament. These two bands of men, called "navy" and "army," are one cause of your living upon twopence or threepence a day. This, therefore, is a matter worthy of your best attention; for, unless you come to the support of your representatives, and stand by them while they endeavour to prevent this expenditure of your money, what right can you have to complain that you are taxed to the breaking of your backs, and that you are steeped in poverty to your lips? The political philosophers of BOLTON-LE-MOORS, with scarcely a rag to cover them, and with water-porridge for breakfast, and potatoes for dinner, have chosen for their representative a man who is in the receipt of the taxes. He was their popular candidate. These philosophers, who resemble, in their persons, the pictures given of the heathen philosophers of old; that is to say, that they showed certain parts of their bodies through their pocket-holes; these philosophers of BOLTON-LE-MOORS, gentle as doves and tame as capons, call for no redress of grievances; but lay before the Parliament, as they would before God, a description of their manifold sufferings. Not daring to ask for the taking off a burden from their backs; and, indeed, how should they dare do it, when they have chosen for their representative a man who puts the public money into his pocket. These philosophers, therefore, of BOLTON-LE-MOORS, have nothing at all to do with Army or Navy Estimates, except to work sixteen hours a day, and to live upon food hardly fit for dogs, in order to pay the amount of these estimates.

You, however, are not in the situation of these sublime philosophers : you have not chosen men who devour your substance ; and, therefore, you are entitled to know what become of those taxes, which make your lot so hard. It will be my endeavour, another time, when all the money for the session has been voted, to give you an account of the whole of the expenditure for the year. At present, I propose to lay before you a statement of what has been voted this session for the navy and the army. The business is managed thus : It is necessary that money should be placed in the hands of those who pay the navy and the army, before the time of payment actually comes ; because it would be too late to apply for the money when the sailor or the soldier comes to ask for it. Therefore, as it is impossible to tell exactly what will be wanted for the year, for the navy, for instance, an ESTIMATE, or calculation, is made out by the officers belonging to that department. This estimate or calculation is laid before the House of Commons ; the House, if it approve of it, votes money to the amount of the estimate ; that is to say, it authorises the Treasury to issue money to the amount of the estimate for the use of the navy ; and then, when the year is out, an account is given to the House of Commons of the manner in which the money has been expended ; and, if the House have voted too much money, the surplus is accounted for.

Now, you see the nature and uses of these estimates ; and I am now going to speak to you of the monstrous charges contained in the Navy and Army Estimates, and which the House has voted without the deduction of one single shilling. I will take the sums, and the purposes for which they have been voted, one by one, and make the matter as clear to you as I can. In the first place, let me state, that the estimate is divided into two distinct parts, one of which is called the EFFECTIVE service, and the other the NON-EFFECTIVE service. The EFFECTIVE service, for this ensuing year, is as follows :

NAVY.

Wages to Seamen and Marines, to the ordinary and yard craft.....	£958,761
Victuals for ditto.....ditto..	396,561
Admiralty Office.....	104,531
Navy Pay Office.....	21,720
Scientific Branch.....	20,885
His Majesty's Establishments at home.....	119,168
His Majesty's Establishments abroad.....	22,633
Wages to Artificers, &c. employed in his Majesty's Establishments at home..	348,012
Wages to Artificers, &c. employed in his Majesty's Establishments abroad ..	25,512
Naval Stores, &c. for the building and repair of ships, docks, wharfs, &c.	421,990
New Works, and Improvements in the yards, &c...	74,980
Medicines and Medical Stores	25,641
Miscellaneous Services	36,154
Total for the effective service	2,576,568

The first thing to observe to you is, that the navy is *not stronger now* than it was during the last peace ; and that the whole of the navy, as you will find by-and-by, is to cost, this year, *four millions, four hundred and seventy-eight thousand and nine pounds* ; and that it cost then, in the whole, effective and non-effective, *one million, eight hundred and fifty-four thousand, four hundred and eighty-two pounds* ; and you will further bear in mind these two facts, first, that wheat and meat are at the same prices now that they were at during the last peace ; and second, that the navy was then fit and ready for war, and actually armed for war, twice during that short peace. Why, then, are we to pay, for the effective service only, *seven hundred and twenty-two thousand and eighty pounds* more than we paid for the whole service, effective and non-effective, in 1792 ? But, it is the monstrous *non-effective* which must excite the indignation of every body, except the tranquil, sensible, resigned, and submissive, philosophers of Belton-

LE-MOORS. This non-effective amounts to *one million, six hundred and seven thousand, nine hundred and sixty-six pounds*; that is to say, to as much as the whole of the navy charge in 1792, effective and non-effective, *lacking only two hundred and forty-six thousand, five hundred and sixteen pounds*. The heads of this charge for non-effective are as follows :

Half-pay to Officers of the Navy and Royal Marines .	£847,360
Military Pensions and Allowances	530,348
Civil Pensions & Allowances	230,258
	1,607,966

Every man who pays taxes and receives none, except the philosophers of BOLTON-LE-MOORS, who want boards of trade, and "heddekashun," must feel indignant at the bare sight of this. But, let us now see a little into the several items of this monstrous charge. The first is as follows :

HALF-PAY TO OFFICERS OF THE NAVY AND ROYAL MARINES.	
For Half-pay to Admirals of the Fleet, Flag-officers, Captains, Commanders, Lieutenants, Masters and Chaplains	£641,252
For Half-pay to Medical Officers	71,207
For Half-pay to Purser	33,671
For Half-pay to Majors, Captains & Lieutenants of the Royal Marines	33,113
For Retired Pay to Rear-Admirals, Captains and Commanders	53,802
For Retired Pay to Officers of the Royal Marines	14,315
	84,360

Here is a banger. Pretty nearly one half of the whole charge for the navy in 1792. Here is pretty nearly a million of money given yearly to officers who are to serve no more. It is lumped up together, chaplains, captains, lieutenants; but, you ought to know this, that you are to bear this charge for

ever, you and your children after you. Look at the monstrous thing. We have to pay upwards of two hundred admirals, one thousand six hundred and eighty-four captains, three thousand two hundred and eighteen lieutenants; that is to say, we have to pay *upwards of five thousand of these officers*, while we have *afloat*, or actually serving at the ports, ten admirals, fifty-four captains, four hundred and fourteen lieutenants, making in the whole four hundred and eighty. This defies all commentary. None can be wanted for the philosophers of BOLTON-LE-MOORS, because they must like it; and none can be wanted for any body else upon the face of this earth.

The next item is what is called military pensions and allowances; and this is a thumper, too. The heads of it are as follows :

Pensions to Commissioned and Warrant Officers	£81,307
Pensions to Widows and Relatives of Officers slain, drowned &c.	11,727
Pensions to Widows of Naval Officers	166,234
Pensions to Widows of Marine Officers	11,000
Allowances on the Compassionate List	14,000
Bounty to Chaplains	1,050
Out-Pensions of Greenwich Hospital	245,000
	£ 530,348

A great deal of pains is taken here to confuse and to confound; here are warrant officers lumped with commissioned officers. The First Lord of the Admiralty gave us no time to inquire into any thing relative to these estimates. I had the book delivered to me on Friday, the 14, of February, and I was only allowed until Monday, to examine this book of forty-nine folio pages, full of items and of figures. Had there been time allowed, I should have inquired into the number of pensioners at GREENWICH Hospital: and I should have found, I believe, that three fourths of the money

are unnecessarily and improperly expended. But, at any rate, very nearly one half of this half million of money is given to officers and their widows; and this is a thing which I want you to bear in mind.

The next item is "CIVIL PENSIONS AND ALLOWANCES"; that is to say, money given to men who have been employed, and who are no longer employed, in the civil departments; and this sum amounts to *two hundred and thirty thousand, two hundred and fifty-eight pounds*, the paying of every farthing of which, will, of course, be cheerfully submitted to by the philosophers of BOLTON-LE-MOOR. Lastly come some lumping, muddled-up charges, which it would require a month well to examine into, making altogether the sum of *two hundred and ninety-three thousand, four hundred and seventy-five pounds*.

And now let me state certain striking facts to you.

1. That there have been made since the peace, *a hundred and ninety-one admirals, four hundred and forty-eight captains, seven hundred commanders, one thousand, nine hundred and eighty lieutenants*.
2. That we had *afloat*, in the highest year of the late war, the year 1810, only fifty-four admirals, six hundred and twenty-two captains, one thousand four hundred and forty-one lieutenants; in the whole, two thousand one hundred and seventeen; so that we have now to pay upwards of two hundred admirals, a thousand and sixty-two captains, eight hundred commanders, and three thousand two hundred and eighteen lieutenants. A number more than double those which we had in employ in the year 1810.
3. That, when we began the last American war against the United States, single-handed, we had in commission, five hundred and thirty-four ships of war, seventy of which were of the line, and we had to pay seventy-five thousand seamen.
4. That the Americans began the war

against us with forty-three ships of war and none of them of the line, and with only eight thousand seamen.

5. That, during that war, we captured *seventeen* of their ships of war; and that they captured *thirty-six* of our ships of war.
6. That, at this time, the American navy, which is now swelled up into ten ships of the line, ten frigates, twenty twenty-gun ships, twenty-four smaller vessels, besides gun-boats, costs, every expense of half-pay, and every thing else included, *six hundred and sixty thousand, eight hundred pounds* a year; that is to say, a hundred and eighty-six thousand pounds less than we pay to half-pay officers of our navy; and nine hundred and forty-seven thousand pounds less than we pay to these half-pay and retired officers, and widows, and other useless persons, belonging to our navy!

Thus, my friends and constituents, I have laid before you this statement; and I have only to add, that I have not found this reformed Parliament disposed to reduce the amount of these monstrous expenses to the amount of one single farthing. As I have a hundred times observed, my belief is, that all these expenses will continue unabated, as long as paper-money shall continue to pass. All that the utmost zeal and diligence can effect is, to lay the case before you. Even the Ministers themselves cannot make reductions without the support, and even the urging, of the House of Commons. I should do them injustice to withhold an expression of my belief, that they would make great and salutary reductions, if they could; but I know that they cannot. Those who take away all this money are too powerful for them; and, if you tell me, that these persons are not too powerful for the House of Commons, I tell you, that the reform has not gone far enough to produce the reductions which are absolutely necessary to the salvation of this species of government. Hence it is that we see the people taking the affair into

their own hands; and though this is a thing greatly to be lamented, where is the man to say, that it is a subject for blame?

ARMY ESTIMATES.

To say that this is a more monstrous affair than the former, would not be right; for it is impossible that any thing can be more monstrous. The "*Army Estimates*" are divided, like the navy, into two parts, the "*EFFECTIVE service*" and the "*NON-EFFECTIVE*"; the one amounting to *three millions, three hundred and fifty-eight thousand, four hundred and eighty-six pounds*; and the other amounting to *two millions, five hundred and eighty-nine thousand, three hundred and sixty-nine pounds*. The "*EFFECTIVE*" is stated as follows:

Land Forces, exclusive of	
India	£305,687
Staff and Garrisons, exclusive	
of India	122,143
Public Departments	90,313
Royal Military Asylum and	
Hibernian Military School	6,977
Volunteer Corps	82,179
	3,358,486

The first thing to observe here, is, that during the last peace, and in the year 1792, the whole of the army cost *one million, eight hundred and nineteen thousand four hundred and sixty pounds a year*; and that it now costs *six millions*, all but fifty-three thousand pounds. That this monstrous army is kept up on account of the national debt, and the other great causes of taxation, is certain; because no man dreams of our ever going to war again with any foreign power. The strength of the army is much about in proportion to the amount of taxes at each period.

But, there are two particular charges in this effective part of the estimate, to which it is my duty to draw your particular attention. The first is for what is called the "*Royal Military Asylum*." This is an establishment for feeding, clothing, and bringing up, children of soldiers of the regular army; and the charge is as follows:

Pay of Officers, wages, clothing, and maintenance of attendants, and clothing and maintenance of 460 boys in the Asylum at Chelsea, including fuel and contingencies	£9,327
Pay of Officers, wages, clothing, and maintenance of attendants, and clothing and maintenance of 166 orphan girls, including 20 infants, in the branch at Southampton, including fuel and contingencies ..	3,399
Rent and Insurance of the Infirmary (seven houses) at Chelsea	288
Total for the Military Asylum	13,015

First, I have to remark on the injustice of taxing you to make you pay for the feeding and bringing up the children of soldiers. Every one of these creatures, before they arrive at an age fit for any employment whatsoever, will have cost us *five hundred pounds each*; for, you will observe, that they live in a palace, for the building of which we have paid, and on account of which we have to pay continual heavy expenses. This Government seems to like every body but the industrious people. But, I pray you, mark this; we pay *eight shillings a week* to feed and clothe every one of these children, when the Poor-Law Commissioners tell us that the landlords' estates will be taken away by the allowing of *one and threepence a week* to *all ages* in the poor-houses. This is the audacity of all audacities: this is the oppression of all oppressions. Four shillings a week is what is allowed to maintain a single man, working in agriculture, who has to find himself clothing, candle, fuel, and lodging: this estimate allows seven and sevenpence a week to the lowest bayonet man; and to these brats it allows for food, clothing, and attendance, *eight shillings a week each*! And, the money thus bestowed is to come out of that labouring man who has the four shillings a week!

To be content under this, the working people must have souls composed of clay: not to feel this, the working people must be all electors of BOLTON-LE-MOORS.

Another charge in the *effective* list was 82,179*l.* for the "*Yeomanry Corps*"; and it is worth while, just to insert the heads of this, as follows:

Pay and Forage Allowance of	
Adjutants, and Sergeant-Majors, ...	£5,958
Clothing and Contingent Allowances	54,221
Expense of Corps when assembled for permanent duty or in aid of the Civil Power	22,000
	82,179

There was a division upon this; but a majority of 83 decided for the vote, there being for the vote 135; against it 52. It is useless to waste time in talking about this, only just to observe, that, instead of giving protection to property, my real opinion is, that these fellows are the cause of a great destruction of property; not that they wish to effect such destruction, or to cause it to be effected; but their very appearance in arms is a menace to the country labourers; and it is my real opinion that they are, by that sight, stimulated to deeds of revenge. However, there is no reasoning with those who place a reliance upon these men.

We now come to the "*NON-EFFECTIVE*"; and, after 16,547*l.* in sinecure governments, we find 114,000*l.* for *general-officers*, not being colonels of regiments. Here are, it appears *two hundred and sixty-two* general-officers, and, if we take in those who are in other parts of the estimate, there are above **FOUR HUNDRED** general-officers. In the debate, I put them at three hundred; but a member told me afterwards that there were *four hundred and fifty*. After another 82,000*l.* to officers who have *retired on full pay*; and I pray you, mark this, *retiring on full pay*. After this come 607,000*l.* for half-pay, and military allowances to reduced and retired

officers; so that here are 803,000*l.* given to English officers, who are, in fact, never to serve again; and to pay this sum, you will have to work, every year, in all human probability, for the remainder of your lives. But this is not all, by any means; for the next charge is 81,240*l.* to FOREIGN OFFICERS, who never can legally serve again, and to their widows and children. When the family of HANOVER was put upon the throne of this kingdom, our forefathers took care, as they thought, to protect themselves, and their children, and their children's children, against things like this; and, in that act of Parliament which placed this family upon the throne, they provided, that no one, not a natural-born subject of the King, or one born abroad of English parents, should ever have a seat in Parliament, or should have a pension from the Crown; or should enjoy any place of trust or emolument, civil or military. It is said that an act of Parliament was passed to provide for the giving of this half-pay to the Germans; but that act could not set aside the fundamental law which placed the family upon the throne; for if it could set it aside in this respect; it could set it aside in other respects; and this present Parliament could, in that case, put off from the throne that family which the Act of WILLIAM and MARY placed upon the throne. This I deny: I say that the Parliament has no such right: I say that it has no right to subvert the Government of this kingdom; and, upon the same grounds, I contend that it is not legal to send this money to Germany for this purpose.

Besides, the half-pay is a retaining fee for future services; and it is clearly against law to employ these men again; and, therefore, the pretence for paying them this money is a false pretence, and not justified by law. Another circumstance is, that this money is sent out of the kingdom. It is quite bad enough to keep idlers at the expense of the industrious; but in this case the money is actually sent away. For all these reasons, and others, of which there were enough, I resolved to divide the House upon this vote; and the reformed Par-

liament produced *four* others to vote with me, and *two hundred and one* to vote against me; and amongst the speakers against me was Mr. HUME. The five that voted against giving this sum were, JOHN FIELDEN, GEORGE FAITHFUL, COL. WILLIAMS, E. RUTHVEN, jun., and WILLIAM CORBETT; and Mr. HUME, who has silently suffered more than two millions of English money to be sent to these people since the peace, had the pleasure to see this 81,240*l.* added to the sum.

Before I go farther, I will insert a list of all these "NON-EFFECTIVE" charges, as follows:

Rewards for Military Services	£16,548
Army Pay of General Officers	114,000
Full Pay for Retired Officers	82,000
Half Pay and Military Allowances	607,000
Foreign Half Pay	81,240
Widows' Pensions	147,600
Compassionate Allowances, Bounty Warrants, &c.	164,500
In-Pensioners of Chelsea and Kilmainham, and Out-Pensioners of Chelsea	1,327,848
Superannuation Allowances	48,633
	2,589,369

Next comes the sum of 147,600*l.* for WIDOWS OF OFFICERS; and after that 164,500*l.* for families of deceased officers. Put these two together and they amount to 212,100*l.* Now open your eyes and ears. After the first American war, in which there was three times the fighting that there ever was under WELLINGTON and his comrades; after that war there was also a charge for officers' widows and children; and what did it amount to? 9,381*l.* 13*s.* 10*d.* For fear that you should not believe your eyes, let me give it to you in words, NINE THOUSAND, THREE HUNDRED AND EIGHTY-ONE POUNDS, thirteen shillings, and tenpence!

Now, at the end of twenty years of profound peace, £212,100! Then, at the end of eight years of peace

9,381!

Ruminate on this. Ask the philos-

phers of BOLTON, who have elected a gentleman receiving pay in the army: ask the philosophers of BOLTON-LE-MOORS, who are hunting after boards of trade and "heddekashun," whether they expect to be delivered from this, which reduces them to water porridge and gallons of potatoes, with so many ounces of suet.

Well, we have now done with the military gentlefolks. There are some civil gentlefolks, who come afterwards, and carry off 43,725*l.* 17*s.* 6*d.* a year; but to these the philosophers of BOLTON-LE-MOORS will not grudge their money, for amongst them there is a retired "matron," and a "retired READING mistress"! Go to, you philosophers of BOLTON-LE-MOORS! Here is a resource for you: here is a reading mistress to assist in your "heddekashun." Here is a "retired nurse" at 54*l.* 15*s.* a year, and another at 9*l.* 2*s.* 6*d.* a year. Here are pap and swaddling clothes for you. Be of good cheer, you philosophers; but, amongst these *civil* people that have retired, and who are to be paid for life, there is one name not given, who is to receive four hundred pounds a year for his life, for *having been the issuer of half-pay to the Hanoverian officers!* And let me observe here what I forgot to observe before, that we pay to the widows and children of this bunch of Hanoverians, more than *two thousand pounds MORE* than our fathers paid to the whole of the widows and children of the British army after the American war! Ah! my friends, but those fathers of ours were different men to what their sons are. They would not have breakfasted upon a spoonful of oatmeal, and a pint of water: they would not have dined upon a big bowl of potatoes, with a bit of suet as big as your thumb: they, seeing their earnings thus expended, would not have crawled upon their bellies, and asked for a "Board of Trade," to discover the means of relieving their distress!

But we will now quit "gentlefolks," military and civil, and come to the pensioners of CHELSEA HOSPITAL, the whole of whom are 82,348; not one fiftieth of whom ever ought to have had any pensions at all. They receive, upon an

average, *six shillings and eight-pence half-penny* a week, while it is thought too much to give the single labouring man employed in the field, five shillings a week; and while six shillings are allowed to keep a man and his wife employed in hard and constant labour. But, my friends, it is the *in-pensioners* of CHELSEA HOSPITAL that are the most worthy of your attention. Would you believe, that that same Government, which has a Poor-Law Commission at work to invent the means of lessening the amount of poor-rates; would you believe that that same Government charges the nation *twelve shillings a week*, and a little more, for bedding, food, clothing, and *pocket-money*, for every single in-pensioner of this Hospital; and, in addition to this, charges us with 14,700*l.* a year for a governor and persons to take care of these pensioners, and 3,000*l.* a year more for keeping the Hospital in repair, and for paying the taxes and rates of the building, making each of these *in-pensioners* cost us upwards of sixty pounds a year, while the poor and infirm old labourer, or old weaver, is allowed, upon an average, two-and-sixpence a week, at the most, or six pounds ten shillings in the year! Lastly I have to state to you, that the whole of the *non-effective* army in 1792 (at the end of nine years' peace) cost our fathers 369,400*l.*; and that now, at the end of twenty years of peace, without the most distant probability of war; this "*non-effective*" of the army costs us 2,589,369*l.*; and that it is now, at this time, *nearly half a million more than it was at the beginning of this long peace*!

Having thus laid this statement before you, you are now called upon to act your part. I have done all that I can do; and

I remain
your faithful representative
and most obedient servant,
Wm. COBBETT.

RURAL MATTERS.

THE following is the copy of a letter which I have just sent to a gentleman who asked me to give him some account of the Cobbett-corn. The season is approaching when those who intend to plant this corn, ought to provide themselves with seed; but I insert the letter here as containing matter useful to every person in England, and useful at all times.

I send you, agreeably to my promise, a plant of the *small* Cobbett-corn. We must not call it *Indian* corn, because that is the name common to the corn which comes from America, from Spain, and from other hot countries: and that corn will not ripen in England. Of my corn there are two sorts, the *large* and the *small*. Both these sorts were brought from the Continent by my eldest son: the *large* in 1826, the *small* in 1830. The small corn ripens earlier than the large, and is to the large corn what the early frame-pea is to the marrow-fat-pea. We think it will bear as great a crop as the large, especially if we calculate by flour and not by grain. I grew them both last year, as I have done for several years; but I had not an opportunity to take an exact account of the crop.

I send along with the corn-plant (which has six ears upon it) one ear of the large corn, and one of the small, both raised by me last year. If you cause the grains to be rubbed off, and have them planted in your garden, in a very shallow drill, and bury the grains carefully, not more than an inch deep, and cause this to be done any time between the 10. and 20. of May; and, if you have more than one row, and put the rows of the large four feet apart, and those of the small two feet apart; and if you put the grains of the small at six inches apart in the drill, and the grains of the large at a foot apart in the drill, your experience in the matter will be complete. The ground between the rows and the plants should be kept clean all the summer, and once pretty deeply stirred with a fork or a hoe. From

these two ears you will have two bushels of ears, at the least.

A hundred ears of corn are sufficient to plant an acre, throwing away the round corns which grow towards the point of the ear, or giving them to the pigs or poultry.

All other matters relating to this corn are most fully detailed in my "*Treatise on the Cobbett-Corn*." I shall this year have twenty acres of corn; nine of the large in one field; eleven of the small in four little fields. The large will go into a field, which will have no previous crop; but the small will come after a crop of *Scotch turnip-seed*, in one field; a crop of vetches and rye (cut up for horses) in another field; a crop of early frame-peas in another field; and in the fourth field it will come after a crop of mangel wurzel, raised last year, and now in some measure occupied by the same crop. This is bold work, especially as far as relates to the field of turnip-seed and the pea-field, neither of which can well be got off before the last week in June at the earliest. With regard to the vetches and rye, they are at the mercy of the scythe at any time. Most likely the turnip-seed will come off very well sometime in June; but to have a crop of white peas, and a crop of corn to succeed it on the same ground in the same year, will be something worthy the attention of every man who has land: and yet this is what I mean to accomplish. The peas are just now coming out of the ground. And I shall take care to give to the public a very exact account of the result of this bold experiment.

The farm which I occupy consists of about a hundred and sixty acres, about twenty or thirty of which consist of ditches, banks, and hedge-rows. Every field will this year have a crop of wheat, of barley, of clover, of turnips, and of mangel-wurzel. About ten acres, here a bit and there a bit (in order to prevent the mixture of sorts), will be occupied with garden-seeds. The rest will be in the crops of grain and hay that I have just mentioned, including the twenty acres of Cobbett-corn; and my opinion is, that the produce of these twenty acres

(I mean of the corn alone), though the plants will occupy the ground for only five months at the most, will exceed in value the whole of the other crops, the garden seeds only excepted, about which I take such infinite pains, that they must be, and they ought to be, valuable. I should not be afraid to lay a wager that, on the nine acres of the large corn there will be a bushel of shelled corn to the rod of sixteen feet and a half. Every bushel weighs about sixty-four pounds, if well harvested and carefully dried, according to the instructions given in my "*Treatise on the Corn*"; and, of fine flour, every bushel produces (as Mr. Sapsford of Wimpole-street can witness), seven or eight pounds more than any bushel of the finest white wheat that ever went to a mill; and it produces ten or fifteen pounds more of fine flour than any Indian corn that ever came from America, from Spain, or from any of the hot countries. The small corn is still heavier, and *proportionately* still more productive of flour.

The truth is, that England is the fittest climate of all others for this corn. It is surprising how it has increased in size and produce since its first introduction. The ears of the large corn are double the size that they were when my son first brought them over. For all animals whatever, horses, horned cattle, sheep, pigs, poultry of all sorts, it is the best food, whether for keeping in heart, for giving the ability to work, or to fatten. In the keeping of a family it is, beyond all measure, of more importance than wheat; it can be used in such a variety of ways, and is always such a favourite with persons of all ages, from the very baby to the tottering old man. It is the greatest blessing that God ever gave to man. Arthur Young, in his "*Travels in France*," observed, that, "wherever the Indian corn ripened, there the people were well off." It is very curious that Young should have observed, "that it was a lamentable thing that this sort of corn would not come to perfection in England." My son, who had read Young's *Travels*, and who knew all about the corn in America, where he had been with me, was of a dif-

ferent opinion from Young, and brought over the large corn in the first place, which he got from a very curious gentleman in French Flanders. Being at Paris afterwards, he saw the small corn cultivated in gardens as a curiosity. Then he brought that over; and hence we have cultivated that. Now, there is very great merit in his having done this; and when the corn shall have spread itself all over England and Wales, as it certainly will, he will have a fair claim to the gratitude of the country; but not to one farthing of its money; not to one single farthing, in any shape or form whatsoever. In the first place, he has done the thing to please himself; if he see corn-fields spread all over the country, he will have a second payment in the satisfaction that that sight will give him, and in the reflection that he has been the cause of making so great an addition to the real wealth and to the power of his country; and, what right would he have to expect anything more? If he were to come with a petition to Parliament to ask for money on this account, I should not have the smallest scruple in going before a magistrate, and taking my oath that he was a bastard on both sides. If a man be employed by the Government to do a certain thing, then he has a right to be paid, and, perhaps, to a further reward; but, if what he does be done voluntarily, and of his own head, to please himself, what claim has he upon the purses of the people?

ARTHUR YOUNG, while he observes that the corn will not ripen in England, strongly recommends that it should be planted in order to be cut up green as cattle food. Planted in the last week in April, the large corn, put into good ground and kept clean, will be from two feet and a half to three feet high in the first week in July. All cattle like it better than any other green thing. If you have a field of three or four acres (for a large farm), planted in rows at eighteen inches apart, the amount of the crop is prodigious. Before you have done with such field, which may last you six weeks or two months, the plants will have advanced on towards

bearing; and as they advance, they are better and better for the cattle, which will eat every morsel of them, while the hogs will gnaw the hardest of the stalks and suck the juice out of them. I intend to have about two acres for this purpose, to follow the vetches and rye. So that this corn is the great affair of the farm; it is the interest of the landlord as well as of the farmer, to promote the cultivation of it, and particularly, it is the interest of the labourer, whose nice garden ground is now crammed up with the accursed potatoes, instead of producing him bread and puddings and fattening for his hog, as it might do in producing this corn. The husks of it, as may be seen by a pillow deposited at my shop, are excellent for the making of beds. The dry stalks of the corn, though they be as hard as sticks, have still so much sugar in them, that cattle will eat them in preference to hay, if you can keep them even unto the month of March. But you must not go to look at a corn-farm, until just before wheat harvest. Then it is that you can see what it is likely to come to; and one of my principal objects in taking a farm was, to demonstrate the advantage of raising this sort of crop, having not the smallest ambition to partake in the losses which the common farming is now occasioning to the occupiers all over this country.

I have been asked, whether this corn will grow on cold clay land? In the first place, there is plenty of land in England of a very different description. I have hardly ever seen a farm in my life, a part of which, at any rate, was not cold clay. I should not choose cold clay; but I would be bound to raise corn upon it. I do not know what sort of land it is in the Isle of Dogs, in Essex; but I know that a very fine crop has been grown there this last year, and I send you an ear, being part of that crop. As to the cold clay, my mode of ridging must be pursued; and, let it be recollected that you have until the middle of May to prepare the land. You must make it fine for barley or for turnips; and why not make it fine for corn?

Now, as to the quantity of seed and the cost of it. A peck of shelled corn is enough for an acre of land. To have a peck of shelled corn you must have half a bushel of ears; half a bushel of ears yield a peck of shelled corn; but there is a little care to be taken in selecting the part of the ear to take the seed from, for which I must refer you to the "*Treatise*." The price of good corn will never be much less than the price of the best wheat. Suppose, then, that it be of full the same price: then, corn to plant an acre at this time, will cost *eighteen-pence*; supposing it to be bought of a farmer who has grown a crop of the corn. I know that the crop in the Isle of Dogs has been sold at this rate; and I know it, because I have bought some of it, it being so very fine; but, where is the reader to get some of it? As yet he may get some of the large corn at my shop at two-pence an ear; and, as it requires about a hundred ears to plant an acre, it will cost him sixteen and eightpence instead of eighteen-pence. When, however, we sell a hundred ears together for the manifest purpose of being planted in a field, we are so reasonable as to take twelve shillings for a hundred; and this is the difference between a farm and a shop. However, if I were to grow a hundred and sixty bushels to the acre upon my nine acres, nobody should ever have a bushel of that corn from me *for less than ten shillings*; I knowing that a quart of corn is equal to a gallon of oats in the feeding of horses, and equal to three quarts of barley in the fattening of poultry or pigs, or in the fattening of oxen. It is not a thing that will fetch its worth at present in any market in England, and for the manifest reason, that the purchasers in no market in England know the worth of the thing. There is a tradesman, who lives near the New London Bridge, who advertises the "*Golden Polenta*," being a very precious thing for the thickening of rich soups, and for divers other purposes of a culinary nature. The price at which he first advertised was *sixpence per pound*, but the demand being so great, he raised his price to one shilling a pound, purely in his own defence, not being able to get a sufficient supply of the "*Golden Polenta*." Now this "*Indian Golden Polenta*" the advertiser has the candour to acknowledge, was a preparation from the corn recommended and cultivated by me. He calls it "a beautiful preparation from Maize or Cobbett-corn"; and so it is; for it is that corn ground and most beautifully dressed; and, it is not dear even at eightpence for any of the purposes mentioned by the advertiser, whose name is BELL, and who lives at No. 2, *Arthur-street*, London Bridge. Now the plant that I send you has on it about six ounces of this "*Golden Polenta*." It is of the small kind. About twenty-five thousand of the plants will stand upon an acre. You will find the calculation, that if every plant would produce two-thirds as much as this plant, here is about six times as much flour as ever yet proceeded from an acre of wheat. Very curious, that people should gladly give sixpence a pound for this flour, when the finest wheat flour is not worth twopence.

To know how to raise a *considerable crop*, and even an acre, or half an acre, and to preserve it, the cultivator must have my *Treatise* on the cultivation of the corn; and he must read it *all through*; because later experience made it proper for me to make an addition to the work, which corrects some material part of the book; and circumstances prevented me from altering that part and making a new book. So that it would be necessary, if a considerable crop be to be raised to read the book all through, and to attend to every part of it. But there is one thing which must be guarded against, and which I do not think (not having the book at hand) I mentioned in any part of the book; namely, the wire-worm. This is a little devil, which, though it have not a broad-brimmed hat, is full as mischievous as any of the rest that appear in that hypocritical costume. It is of a deep yellow-colour; about an inch long; tough as brass-wire, pretty nearly; it attacks the root of the seed of the plant which it loves; in the lettuce-plant (especially

if transplanted) it works its way up into the heart of the main root, and the plant is sure to die; it is well known to destroy whole fields of wheat, and as the Cobbett-corn is sweeter than any other thing that is put into the ground; and as the plants are few in number, if this worm be in the ground, it is sure to maul, if not destroy, the plants. Therefore, this worm must be guarded against effectually. It cares nothing for lime, nor for any thing that I know of, except salt. About fifteen bushels to an acre, sowed over the top of the ground, and ploughed in when you are ploughing for the corn, or sowed over the ground in the winter, so that it be in the ground that is enough. It will effectually destroy the wire-worm. However, ground that has had good cultivation, and has been kept free from grass and weeds, will not have wire-worm. It is bred in foul ground and in clover lay, so that it is only in certain cases that this salting is necessary. I shall take the precaution, because I come after roughish work. If you do not hold your plough yourself (which is rather best), you ought to look at the ploughing while it is going on; and, if there be wire-worms, you will soon see them; and you may lay your account with having your corn-plants destroyed, if you do not destroy the worm. You may have corn upon the same land every year if you like, and the cultivation necessary for the corn will prevent the wire-worm from ever coming again.

With regard to the seed of the small corn, I have very little to sell; but Mr. THOMAS POYSTER, gardener, at NONNEN EXP, FULHAM, has some, at any rate. My son gave him the seed about three years ago; he has kept the sort very distinct, and has had this year upon ten or a dozen rod, a very fine crop, from seed which he planted between rows of white coss-lettuce. The lettuces came off first; their place was supplied by early cabbages, I think; the corn came off in October, the cabbages will be loaved and come off by the middle of April; most likely the lettuces are now standing where the corn stood; thus there are three valuable crops in the

year upon the same bit of ground; and let it never be forgotten, that this ten rod of ground, even if the first crop had been cabbages instead of lettuces, really produces more human sustenance than any acre of land on an average, upon the very best farms in England, even supposing the cabbages to be given to pigs or cows. All mankind seem to delight in breadth of land: it is the extent which captivates them; and when you talk to them of the immense produce upon small spaces, they answer you by the supposition, which they take for granted, that this applies only to plots called gardens, and not at all to lands that are called farms. Never was there a greater error than this. About ten rod, or not more than eight rod, I think, which I had this last year in the Knight-pea, produced seven bushels of seed, besides several bushels of peas gathered in the pod to eat. I do not know what these peas sell at now by the bushel or the sack; but I have never known them sell for so little as a pound a bushel. Here, then, looking at them as mere peas for pigs at four and sixpence a bushel; and supposing the cultivation to have cost twice as much or three times as much as peas cultivated in the common manner; here is the fee simple of the land in one single crop. In short, it is impossible to cultivate land too well, or to make it too rich; and by skinning the ground over, scratching it about, refraining from labour in order to save expense, is the sure means of ruin to the occupier of the land, and the sure means of great injury to the landlord, and the certain cause of poverty, misery, and bad behaviour amongst the labourers. And this is what we behold at this very time. The report of the Agricultural Committee tells us, and the evidence tells us, that the land has fallen out of cultivation on account of the poverty of the farmer. This is an incontestable and a most melancholy truth. The remedy, or rather the remedies, are in the hands of the Parliament: the very safety of a great part of the members of the two Houses, depends upon an application of those remedies; they have it

completely in their power to apply them; and if they do not apply them, be the consequences upon their own heads.

SCOTCH POOR-LAWS.

TO MR. COBBETT, M. P.

Annan, 10. March, 1834.

SIR,—Before proceeding with my task of pointing out what appears to me to be the defects in the poor-laws of Scotland, I have to state that the paragraph of my letter to you of the 10. ultimo, in which I ventured to hint my preference of our law of settlement, to that observed in England, has not been printed with perfect accuracy, owing, probably, to the indistinctness of my manuscript. For this reason, I deem it proper here to repeat it, in the terms in which it ought to have stood, which are as follow :

On the point of settlement, our rule is certainly both simpler and better than that observed in England. For, although it may be questionable whether three years' residence is a term sufficiently long for giving a settlement, there can be no doubt, I think, that a man ought of right to have his settlement in that parish in which he may last have lived and exercised his industry for such a length of time as to render it probable, on the average of instances, that more benefit has accrued from his labour there than any where else. This appears to me to be the sound principle—as that length of time only is matter for consideration and adjustment.

I may now add, on this part of the question, that three years' residence is, in my opinion, a term too short to square with my principle as just stated; that seven years residence, on the other hand, though that by our law was once the term, appears to be too long for the ends of justice; and that, if I were called upon to decide at this moment, I would prefer five years to either.

In prosecuting my task, I shall first advert to that portion of our poor-laws, by which, while the burden of main-
taining the poor is laid one half upon

the owners, and the other upon the occupiers of land and houses, the latter, with the exception of such small number of them as may be members of the Kirk Session, are excluded from all share both in the imposing of the assessments, and in deciding upon claims for relief. This is clearly and obviously a defect. All rate-payers ought, surely, to have voice in the imposing of the rates; and, so long as our principle is acted on, they ought likewise to have a voice in the distribution of them. Were the law altered to this effect, the poor would be greatly benefited; first, because the occupiers, as coming in more immediate contact with them, and knowing their wants, would be much more ready to relieve them than the owners or heritors, who, in many instances, must be totally ignorant of their condition; and, secondly, because the occupiers would have an interest in making fair allowances, to put an end to public begging, which prevails to an enormous extent in Scotland, and from which they suffer severely, while the heritors are little affected by it, and, therefore, often incline to encourage it rather than otherwise.

The next defect in our poor-laws, which presents itself to my notice, consists in this, that the heritors and Kirk Session, or in other words, the payers of the rate, have the power of deciding upon applications, for relief, subject to no control save that of the Court of Session. This rule, as may naturally be anticipated, is often productive of the most dreadful consequences. To the application of a poor man for relief, the answer of the heritors and Kirk Session may be either, "Your settlement is not in our parish," or, "we do not deem you a fit and proper object for parochial relief." If it be the former, the sheriff, on an application by the poor man, may, after a formal process of perhaps six months' duration, decide the question of settlement. His power, however, is strictly confined to this; for, although he may recommend interim relief, the law, as now interpreted, does not authorise him to compel it. If his decision be favourable to the applicant, the heritor and Kirk Sessions after his

functions has been performed, may still return the second answer before stated, or to accomplish their purpose more dexterously (and this is the plan generally resorted to in such cases; they may give sixpence, threepence, twopence, or a penny per week by way of allowance! There is now no redress but through the Court of Session, as to which court it has become a proverb, that for a less stake than 100*l.*, no prudent person would pass its threshold. And how is an aged, lame, or impotent man, standing in such circumstances, and devoid of means or friends to reach this high and expensive court? The thing is impossible. He is, therefore, to all intents and purposes without redress. If not supported by private charity, he must necessarily pine from want of food; and die of what ignorant country surgeons will, perhaps, call a "decay of nature." Though his death may be sudden, and somewhat extraordinary, nothing will be said about it, since we have neither coroner nor coroner's inquest in Scotland; and since the poor have no press at their command, through which to make known to the world their wrongs and their sufferings!

The good people of England will naturally think, that I have here somewhat overcharged the picture; but I can assure them, and I will prove, moreover, by reference to particular instances in a future letter, that I have not gone so much as one hair's breadth beyond the truth. The most galling thing in the whole matter is, that the law, as I have just stated it, is, "judge-made law" of a recent date, and totally at variance with our ancient statutes on the subject of the poor. For the chief of those statutes passed in the year 1570, and still held to be in observance, after establishing many salutary regulations, and in particular, 1. That such persons "as necessarilie mon be sustained be alms," shall be supported by the persons of substance within their respective parishes; and 2. That the "Provosts" and bailies of ilk burgh and town, "and the Justice constitute be the King's" "commission in every parochin to lundwart," shall have jurisdiction over

those "persons, being abell to further this charitable woorke"; who shall "obstinatlie refuse to contribute to the releife of the pore, or discourage others from sa charitabil ane deede"; concludes with this most solemn injunction, "that the shireffes, stewardest, and bailies of regalities, and their bailies over all the realme, and their deputies, see this present act put to due execution in all poyntes, within their jurisdictions respective, as they will answer to God and our Sovereign Lord thereupon." What a contrast, in point of humanity, between these measures of our ancestors of the sixteenth century, and the doctrines of our Malthusian philosophers of the nineteenth!

You will again hear from me on this all-important subject when I can command a little more leisure. In the meantime,

I remain, Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

JAS. LITTLE.

STATE OF TRADE.

SIR,—You remember the state of things towards the close of the year 1822; you remember how the attempt to carry "Peel's Bill" into effect, had, at that time, nearly produced the "END"; and you remember how the system escaped from the gulf which was then yawning for it, by a return to "blest paper credit." There is no parallel to the depression which now pervades every branch of trade, except in the period above-mentioned; and the question for the consideration of every man in business, is, will the Ministers now resort to measures similar to those which were adopted then, and thereby give us a few months of *prosperity* to be afterwards dissipated by a *panic*; or persevere in the present course, to the utter ruin of all persons engaged in trade and agriculture, except the few who are growing rich by the ruin of the many? I think that at present the latter is most likely to be pursued, because the Ministers see that they have already more in hand than they can well manage. But, I shall be much mistaken, if they do not find it necessary, long be-

fore the close of the present session of Parliament, to have recourse to measures of which they have now no idea.

The proceedings of PRESIDENT JACKSON with regard to the United States Bank, have for a considerable time past been producing serious effects here, long before the subject was noticed by our newspapers. Our Old Lady found it necessary to take measures for her own protection some months ago; and finding herself thwarted by her own progeny, the "Branches," she is in a great passion with them, and has resolved to "restrain" them. With this view she has ordered the "Branches" to lessen the "accommodations" to those country bankers who issue no notes of *their own*; and to refuse altogether to discount, or lend on securities, to those country bankers who *do* issue their own notes. She has besides determined to withhold the accommodation hitherto given to the country bankers, of supplying them with gold and silver without any charge for commission; and, worse still, has ordered her "Branches" to refuse any country banker's notes at their counters, unless the poor "rook" shall have previously deposited the value in money or in the Old Lady's own "rags." Here's a vigorous old dame for you! It is no uncommon thing, to be sure, to hear of acts performed in a fit of desperation that look very like those which spring from deliberate courage.

But, Sir, look at the havoc which these doings are producing amongst the community! The wretched farmer can keep no store of any thing by him. To satisfy the cravings of the tax-gatherer, the tithe-owner, the landlord, and the poor, every thing must go as fast as produced, whether there be a demand for it or not: thus the markets are overstocked, the commodity perishes, or is sold at a price below even that which was originally paid to the producer. Thus *hundreds of tons* of provisions are annually brought from places where the people who produce them are half-starved, to rot in this "wen." It is not now as it used to be. Within my recollection it was

the practice of factors at a distance to wait till they received *orders* for goods: now those who are called factors, are dealers, or jobbers; they purchase, by the help of the country bankers, the farmers' produce, which they immediately forward to London, or some other great place, taking the chance of a market, because they can draw bills against the commodity thus forwarded, and *because it is necessary to have bills to place in the hands of the banker who has advanced them the money* (i. e. his notes) *to make the purchase*. Is it any wonder, then, that there is, almost constantly, a redundancy of goods in this market; and still less is it to be wondered at that there should be the dreadful depression which now exists, when we consider the game which the Old Lady is playing amongst her bantlings? Not "*the safety of the people*," but "*the safety of the Bank*," is the "*supreme law*."

Ever since the *panic*, the policy of the Government and of the Bank has been to keep the circulation as low as possible. They seem to have looked only at the *exchanges*; the ruin and devastation spread all around them have been unheeded, whilst the BANK was safe. In all the inquiries of the Parliamentary committees, this seemed to be the principal object in view. A member of one of the committees wanted to know something about the consumption of *mutton* at different periods; and of whom did he inquire? Of some salesman of Newgate-market, to be sure. No such thing: Mr. GURNEY, the *bill-broker*, was the person of whom inquiry was made! Thus it is with all they do. They do not want to know the truth: on the contrary, they fear it; and whilst they keep it from themselves, they fancy they prevent it from finding access to others. Let them go on, then, in their delusion. They will speedily find themselves at the end of their tether; and they will then probably find that they have gone too far to recede.

I am, Sir, your obliged humble servant,
A TRADESMAN.
To Mr. Cobden, M. P.

STAMP AND LEGACY DUTY.

SIR,—As you are a public character, who have shown yourself a most determined enemy to every unequal and oppressive tax, especially the stamp and legacy duty, I beg to communicate two cases that have occurred since you delivered a very luminous detail of those two taxes, in your place in the House. They are two female orphans: the one is a relative, whom, having lost her parents, I have taken into my family. Finding by her conversation that she was entitled to some property by the death of her cousin, who died a minor, and whose assets were in the hands of a man who acted in the character of a guardian, and when applied to, would make no discovery of the amount that was in his hands; but returned such answers as betrayed a design of keeping the whole to himself. I filed a bill in Chancery against him to compel a disclosure. It turned out there were 829*l*. He then threw a caveat into court to prevent her obtaining letters of administration; but I pressed so closely upon his heels, that he found himself necessitated to make proposals of adjusting the affair. They were cruel; but acting on the maxim of "half a loaf being better than no bread," I accepted them in a great measure. The young female had costs of suit on both sides to pay. 30*l*. for the stamp for letters of administration; and 42*l*. legacy duty; this left her 870*l*. out of her property. If any individual can justify such a sum of 72*l*. to be paid in direct tax, by a needy female, then I must say he is lost to all humane feeling, as well as to all correct habits of thinking. The other case is a female who had left her, by her mother's decease, 5*l*. a year for her support. Soon after her mother's departure, a gentleman died, leaving to the mother a sum of money, and his executors informed the young woman, that if she would take out letters of administration, they would pay her the legacy left to her mother. On inquiry she found the stamp and the legacy duty just swallowed up the money left! Now compare the cases of these two females with Mr.

Rundell and the Duke of Sutherland. Do not they justify your calling these two rapacious taxes a partial Tory tax? Now could any set of men ever think it just and impartial that such poor subjects as these two persons are, should be called on to pay, one, nearly the fourth, and the other the whole of her legacy to Government. You are at liberty to make what use you please of these two facts; but you will excuse me subscribing my name, though I confess this circumstance will wear in the eye of a stranger the appearance of an hoax; but both of these are matters of fact; and as I am a constant reader of the Parliamentary debates, I shall see if you condescend to mention them; and if it be required, I will give you my name, and the names of the parties. A gentleman assured me he would communicate them to Lord Althorp, that he may see the actual necessity of altering such destructive imposts.

I am, Sir, your obedient servant,
A VICARIAL INCUMBENT.

To Wm. Cobbett, Esq., M. P.

REPRESENTATION OF PAISLEY.

(Concluded from page 633.)

After detailing minutely the effect of the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, the toleration act of France, by Louis XIV, and the expulsion of the manufacturing population of the French towns, where the skilful artisans had forerun their age in notions of political and religious liberty, and the emigration and transference of the trades in pottery, iron ware, and cloth to Britain, and the silk trade to Paisley, which was the basis of the muslin trade, he entered into a very minute analysis of what was called the free trade system with France, showing that the relief of the aristocracy who consumed French wines and wore French silks, was the primary object of that arrangement, which was not reciprocally adjusted, and worked more injuriously, for the British silk manufacturer, from the export of silk worked to a certain stage, and returned under

a duty nominally, but not really one of protection, from the easy expedient of overrating the salt-water invoice, so as to pay only fifteen instead of thirty per cent. on an invoice falsely stated at double the sale price. (Loud cheering). The disadvantages of the British manufacturer in such ill-adjusted intercourse of one-sided reciprocity was aggravated by that cardinal error in our policy, the unjust and impolitic restraint on the trade in the very staff of life, bread-corn, which compelled our artisans to compete with other countries who eat bread at half the British price; if this cruel policy shall not be abandoned, we had no security against the migration of our staple manufactures to lands of cheaper food. (Loud cheering). In the year 1815 when the corn law was proposed by a commercial representative for commercial Glasgow, he, though a lawyer, had, at a public meeting, proposed resolutions against that code for starving a nation, and crippling its industry. His opinions had been confirmed by every thing that has since occurred, and he had often publicly repeated them, and lately had left the repetition of them to others who had formerly differed from him on the subject, and now adopted them with the zeal of new converts; besides, that his time had been occupied with other and multifarious public duties. If he should obtain the authority of the electors of Paisley, a body so deeply interested in the question, he should only unite a public duty with a great pleasure, in giving practical effect to his early and unchanged opinions. (Great cheering). A call of church and state, from the body of the church, had suggested the notice now of a topic too important in the eyes of all present, not to be distinctly discussed in the hearing of the citizens of Paisley. The question was a simple one in principle, but so large was the detail necessary to its full and fair discussion, that he must beg indulgence for brevity in so wide a subject, and for confining himself for the present to the mere indication of general views. The Christian religion had made its way, not merely without any premium on its belief from

the state, but in spite of cruel persecution from the established priesthood of polytheism; and he would not pay Christianity so poor a compliment, as to apprehend, that having so made its way, it could not keep its ground without a state bounty. (Loud cheering). The most plausible argument against this view was the necessity of a state provision, that the gospel might be preached to the poor. There was no country, and no place of that country, in which it was more difficult to object to a church establishment, than in that very town where it must be his wish to conciliate, without sacrifice of principle, the support, or at least to give the least occasion to the hostility of any class of Christians. But in country parishes the seats were all appropriated by the landholders, and their land tenants; and the village population, usually including the poor, were most commonly accommodated in churches erected and supported by voluntary payment. It must be assumed that a national establishment of religion should be that of the majority; not necessarily that which was most pure or true, and thus we should have three conflicting establishments running at one another; the Presbyterian in Scotland; the Episcopalian in England; and the Catholic in Ireland. It was contrary to justice to make a man pay for the religion of others, and which he himself did not conscientiously believe. The lateness of the hour made it unsuitable to pursue so momentous a discussion into all its important details. He then stated his plan for lowering the qualification of road trustees, and the election by parishes of joint representative trustees of the royal money. Then the necessity of abolishing entails, both for a better cultivation of the soil, and to remove the power and the temptation from the great landholders to quarter their destitute younger children on the public money. He then entered very fully into the subject of law reform; and the necessity of emancipating Scotland from the trammels of a crown law officer, combining the powers of originating all criminal prosecutions as a grand jury, with the antiquated, unde-

fixed, and dangerous powers of the old Scottish privy-council, and those of the Lords of the Articles, who, before the union, had the exclusive power of initiating all acts of legislation, in consequence of which, no Scottish member of Parliament could, in fact, bring in, or oppose any measure successfully contrary to the will of the Lord Advocate; and as the present holder of the office was a liberal man, he would be happy to agree to a proper reform of that office. The existence of the Lord Advocate's powers was a bar to attention to Scottish business, either by Ministers or even by the House of Commons or the press, if not sanctioned by him. The citizens of Paisley were fully alive to the urgent necessity of a cheaper mode of conveying their heritable property (cheers), and for securing to them local judges of the highest authority; of universal jurisdiction, and sitting every day, in all the circuit towns at least, for an experiment. The advantages were too obvious to require any illustration. (Cheers). The electors of provincial towns must be aware, that however liberal, disinterested, and independent the Lord Advocate, and disposed to promote reforms in the law, so convenient for the country at large, yet the influence of 5,000 able and respectable men, connected with the great law monopoly of Edinburgh, whose gains would suffer from such a needful reform, were the Lord Advocate's electors; so that parliamentary reform had raised a serious obstacle to any effective law reform. (Great cheering). If the electors of Paisley desired the aid of a person skilled in the theory of the law, and the practical working of its administration, and not identified with the Edinburgh law monopoly, but having a contrary interest identified with that of themselves and the public of Scotland at large, they had now an opportunity which might not recur, of enabling him to speak with their potential voice in Parliament for a real, instead of a sham law reform; and to parry the ingenious cavils of the three able lawyers elected by the Edinburgh law monopoly, Mr. Abercromby,

Mr. J. A. Murray, and the Lord Advocate. If the King selected and sent an Edinburgh advocate, armed with so much authority, to represent the Edinburgh law people—why should not the sensible electors of Paisley send up an advocate of the people? (Great cheering). He would take this opportunity of paying a just tribute to the great zeal, courage, and public spirit of Mr. Wallace, the Member for Greenock, who had the merit of adopting the exposures made by others, of the vicious system of conveyancing and administering justice, and bringing that under the notice of public meetings in this place. But Mr. Wallace was unable, from want of the necessary knowledge of a most difficult, extensive, and technical subject, to do more than implicitly adopt the schemes of others, who might or might not be qualified to advise him: and not having seen Mr. Wallace's bills, he did not mean to imply any opinion of their merits, but merely to say what he had said to himself, that a sensible country gentleman may know well enough that his watch had gone out of order, but he must take the aid of a skilful artist to put the machinery into proper working order. (Cheers and laughter). He should be glad, with their permission and authority, to give all the aid of professional acquaintance with the subject, to his public-spirited and well-intended exertions for law reform. (Loud cheers). One of the most important law reforms was that of justices of the peace. In feudal times the great landowner was a judge often of the last resort in criminal and civil causes. The appointment of local judges, skilled in law, with judicial minds, and a sense of public, judicial, and legal responsibility, was the greatest improvement of modern times. At the French revolution, the policy of the time was to bring back the people under the feudal judicial authority of the landholders; hence the small debt jurisdiction of justices, and the immense number of acts for roads, canals, taxes, &c. &c. in which, for want of other local judges in England, the justices are made the sole judges, although

often parties as road trustees, in deciding their own causes. The branch of statute law is necessarily much more intricate and difficult than the common law, and yet the whole of this most extensive and difficult branch of law is put under the jurisdiction of men quite ignorant of the law which they administer; and as masters of public works brought into impure judicial contact with causes connected with their own interests and even passions and prejudices. The whole of the local administration of the law should be put under judges qualified by legal knowledge. For in addition to, and perhaps even just on account of, the legal ignorance of the justices, their proceedings are protected from review, revisal, or reproof, by the most anxious provisions for their absolute finality. The most obnoxious of all powers of the legally ignorant judges, is the absolute power of giving or withholding licenses to sell drink, which ought to be sold as freely, because it is as commonly used, as bread. This monstrous power so inconsistent with the free use of house property, and free trade, and public liberty, is justified upon pretences of possible contingent mischief to public peace and public morals, which would equally give to the justices the reviewing and previous censorship of the newspapers, to prevent immoral, libellous, and inflammatory publications. It is a scheme worthy of the great brewers' monopoly of public-houses to take their beer, aided by the parson-justices to prevent publicans from taking in any but proper political papers loyal to church and state. If the justices mean to prevent drunkenness, it will not be by the same quantity being drunk in fewer houses, which is the only effect of the monopoly. The justices must stand at the tap, and administer the quantity consistent with the capacity of the drinker. Licenses should be purchased from the excise for drink as for tobacco, an article of still less necessity than beer. Breaches of the peace, and harbouring improper company, or keeping improper hours, should, on fair trial and conviction, of course be severely punished. In conclusion he thanked the numerous

and respectable meeting for their great patience (under the evident inconvenience of great crowding in the passages), and profound attention except when interrupted by such gratifying demonstrations of his sharing in their opinions. (Loud applause). They had now to perform the most important and responsible duty of choosing a representative to revise the bad legislation and endeavour to lighten the heavy taxation, enacted by a House of Commons which confessedly represented not the people but the aristocracy. (Loud cheers). If they conceived that he was qualified to undertake that difficult task, he was ready to devote the necessary time to the duty; and as jealousy was neither unnatural nor improper, he would pledge himself, nay, it would be, he trusted, a high gratification to him, to appear before the electors at the end of every session, and as his conduct might merit it, abide their reproof or receive their approbation. (Loud and long-continued applause). He begged to add, that he requested as a favour, that any person in the meeting who might think it fit, should put to him any question with a view to the elucidation or supply of what was obscure or defective in his first exposition of his political principles, which he hoped to have further opportunities of laying before them. (Applause). After Mr. Douglas had concluded his address, and the frequent rounds of applause which succeeded his doing so, had subsided, Mr. John Osborn asked—Will you support a motion in Parliament for separating the church from the state? Mr. Douglas: Although I have clearly stated my opinion in laying down general principles, yet since it is thought by any one necessary to put the question so specially, I readily answer in the affirmative. Mr. Osborn then shortly addressed the electors on the benefits likely to result from that measure to the people, and urged them to support men only who would break up that connexion.—Mr. Parkhill, beneath the gallery, at a great distance, was with difficulty at length heard to ask, What is your opinion of trades' unions?—Mr. Douglas: I should wish

to know what article of such unions it is on which my opinion is required, as I have in allusion to the proper limitation of the combination laws, fully stated my opinion, that every set of men should be free to unite and combine to be idle, till they obtained what they conceived their fair wages or other terms, provided always that by so doing, they neither broke a contract or the public peace, or interfered with the same perfect freedom of choice and action in others.—Mr. Parkhill: The question is, supposing the lawfulness of trades' unions, do you consider that they tend to improve, or make worse, the condition of the members by strikes of work? Mr. Douglas—if all the lawyers in Paisley should resolve to strike work for six months, I have not any doubt that their places would be supplied by lawyers from other places. (Loud and long-continued laughter, which seemed to give less satisfaction to the querist than to the audience). Another person near him commenced a violent philippic, too vehement to be intelligible, mixed up of common-places against lawyers and the praises of Mr. Owen's system, which was terminated by the shortly expressed disapprobation of the meeting. After a vote of thanks to Baillie Hendry for his conduct in the chair, the meeting broke up.

The old Low Church was completely crowded. The audience listened for about three hours most attentively and favourably to the address, of which a mere imperfect outline is given, omitting, not only a great part of the illustrations, but many of the heads of the discussion.

COOPERS' UNION.

From the two following papers it appears that Sir JAMES GRAHAM was in error, in alluding to these men in his speech on the Corn Laws. But here is something more. This letter charges the Admiralty with taking part with the masters. Surely Sir JAMES GRAHAM

could not have sanctioned this unwise and unjust proceeding.

TO SIR JAMES GRAHAM, BART.

March 8, 1834.

SIR,—In looking over the debates in the *Times* of Friday last, I was much surprised at seeing the journeymen coopers' strike mixed up in your speech in opposition to Mr. Hume's motion on the corn laws, and the more so on finding that the masters had furnished you with a statement, from which you made several extracts, which statement contains some of the greatest falsehoods and the most gross calumnies on the journeymen, that were ever invented, and which, if suffered to go forth to the world uncontradicted, would be likely to prejudice the public mind against us, and go far to prevent us from obtaining what appears to us to be the rights of industry.

As one of that body, I felt it my duty to use my humble endeavours to set you and the public right on this, to us, all-important question.

To commence—you are reported, by the *Times*, to have said that, at different periods, during the last twenty years, the masters have advanced the coopers' wages.

That this is utterly untrue, every man in the trade will bear me witness; for the fact is, that every advance we have obtained has been gained by the determination of the men, after the most unfair and violent opposition from the masters.

It is further stated, that they had advanced the wages of the men as high as was consistent with the profits of the trade.

To prove the fallacy of this, I need only say that twelve master coopers have already agreed to pay, and do pay, our advanced prices, but although they never, as they falsely assert, did give us any advance of wages, yet, on one occasion, in 1816, at the close of the war, when a great many coopers were discharged from Government service, and there were upwards of two hundred coopers in London, out of employ, and

we could not well help ourselves, they were then kind enough to grant us a reduction of wages, for which, and other similar acts of kindness, we cannot but thank them.

Another mistake of theirs, unintentional no doubt. In 1825, say they, the men not being satisfied with the list of 1819, numerous meetings were held between the masters and men, at which the demands and conduct of the men were of such a nature, that they the masters, declined all communication with them. Now, the fact is, that the leading masters admitted that by the list of 1819, the men were not paid for their labour; but, when the men, encouraged by that admission, asked for more wages, they kept them haggling for six weeks, when the men were so disgusted at their shuffling and ungentlemanly conduct, that they (and not the masters) declined all further communication on the subject; and I think it was high time.

I shall now pass to a more important part of their statement; and I had nearly forgotten to notice an assertion, which contains about as much truth as the rest, namely, that the prices of bread and beer were the basis on which our wages were fixed.

I will just show how near the truth they are in this instance.

In 1816, bread was 1s. 1½d. per quarter; beer, 4½d. per pot: a butt was 3s. 7d. making.

In 1817, bread was 11½d. per quarter: beer 5½d. per pot: a butt was 3s. 10d. making.

In 1825, bread was 10½d. per quarter; beer 5½d. per pot: a butt was 3s. 11d. making.

I am satisfied this will prove to any thinking man, that we have never taken bread and beer into account at all, but have increased the price in proportion to the increased quantity of labour, in making the cask which I shall now proceed to explain.

In 1825, we worked, while employed, fifteen hours per day, or ninety hours per week, and we could then make six barrels in two days, or thirty hours, being one-third of a week, and which

amounted to 13s. 6d., making. Now, from the great increase of labour, we are not able to work more than twelve hours per day, or seventy-two hours per week; and by reason of the extra thickness and roughness of timber, particularity of gauge, and the extreme width and thickness of the iron hoops, we can now only make five barrels in thirty hours, which is nearly half a week, and which amounts to but 12s. 11d. This clearly proves, that if in 1825, in one-third of a week, we could earn 13s. 6d. at the same work in 1834; although fourpence is added to the price, we can only earn 12s. 11d. in a very little less than half a week. This is something short of 2l. 4s. 2d. per week, which the masters would have you believe we can now earn.

To prove to you that casks are made a vast deal stouter than they were, I will give an example.

In 1825, when butts were made by the old beer measure, the external dimensions of a butt were 52 inches in length, 26 inches across the head, and 33 inches in the extreme pitch; but now they are made by the imperial measure, which makes the butt nearly two gallons less, we should expect the external dimensions to be smaller—how do we find it? Why the length now is 52½ inches, across the head 26½ inches, in the extreme pitch 33½ inches; by this we find that, though the internal dimensions are less, the external dimensions are greater. I think you can have no clearer proof than this, and as a practical cooper, I would further say that it is impossible for a man to stand more than twelve hours, such great exertion as we are compelled to undergo, unless he wishes to sink into a premature grave, unpitied by those who, alone, have benefited by his exertions.

Again, Sir, as to this exorbitant advance! our masters say, the cost of a week's bread and beer for a man and his family in 1825 was 8s. 10½d.; and in 1834, 7s. 8d., which is 1s. 2½d. per week less than in 1825; how does our advance agree with this? Why we gain 1s. 2½d. per week by the decrease in the price of bread and beer, but, as

we have before shown, we lose five or six times as much by the additional labour; and, to prevent our obtaining this exorbitant demand, they have called in the assistance of all the merchants, brewers, and the various dock companies—aye, Sir James, and the Government too, and casks are now being made at the Victualling Office, Deptford, for them, and from which place merchants, and others in the town trade, are to be, and some, I believe, are now supplied. I know not whether Ministers have sanctioned this proceeding of the masters, but if they have, I think it very unjust in any Government to take part with the masters in this attempt to reduce 500 men, their wives, and families, to a state of pauperism, which must have an injurious effect upon the revenue.

But if Ministers are not apprized of it, I will, for their information, copy, verbatim, the first part of one of those circulars.

*"George and Vulture Tavern,
March 6, 1834.*

"I am requested to inform you, that arrangements are now made to supply the trade with casks from the Victualling Office, &c. &c. &c.

"G. CHAPPEL, Secretary."

I am half inclined to think these gentlemen in jest, when they talk so largely of supplying the trade with casks from the Victualling Office; why, sure, they could never expect to supply the trade, which it takes 400 or 500 men to do, with about fifteen or sixteen young men and apprentices, and about thirty poor old fellows almost past labour. But to my subject, from which I have strayed, to contemplate for a moment this mighty project, I shall relate a fact or two, which will show the enormous wages coopers really do earn on the average. In 1830 several of our brother tradesmen were out of employ, and wishing to spare them the painful necessity of applying for parochial relief, which, by-the-by, no member of our union has ever been allowed to do, to my knowledge, since we have been united, we voluntarily laid a tax on every shilling

we earned for six months, to support these men; and on taking the average of the earnings, it did not amount to 25s. per week per man, although many of them had sons or apprentices to assist them. And in 1833, on a like occasion, the average of cooper's wages throughout the trade did not amount to 25s. per week, and we were paid by the list of 1825, too; and, added to this, we are at least one-fourth of our time unemployed.

It may not be amiss, here to state, that we have expended upwards of 200*l.* per year in relieving the distresses of our fellow-workmen, this being one of the objects of our much-hated union. Now, our masters have asserted, that their resolutions must convince any reasonable mind, that they have no wish to have the men's labour, without a remunerating price of wages. I think I have proved to any reasonable mind that the reverse of this is the fact. And now, as to their resolutions which are so convincing, I will give you a specimen, it runs thus:—"Resolved, That the list of prices presented by the journeymen, be rejected." This is convincing enough; there can be no mistake here. It was placed in my hand as an answer, when I asked for the means of existence, the just reward for my labour: and a very pretty answer it is truly.

Now, the masters complain we do not meet them. What good can result from meeting them when they are determined to reject our list entirely! But their conduct to us in 1825 is a sufficient reason why we do not meet them.

But, indeed, they have no cause for such complaint, for the men have been all along and are now willing to meet them. The men in each master's employ will meet their respective masters when they please. What more do these gentlemen want of us?

I will state a fact, as an additional proof that we have reason and justice on our side; namely, that the masters who pay our advanced prices, are not mere theorists, but practical coopers, most of whom have been journeyman themselves, and know the value of labour,

and are willing to supply merchants or brewers to any amount at the usual prices. I have now only to say that the question ought not to have been taken out of the hands it commenced with—the masters and men. It would have been better for both parties, and would have been easier settled. I have endeavoured to contradict that which was false, and to show these gentlemen to you in their true colours. And, in the full confidence of having done my duty to my trade, the public, and myself, by setting this question in its true light,

I remain, Sir,

with all due respect,

A JOURNEYMAN COOPER.*

Nottingham-place, Mile End Old Town.

CASE OF THE JOURNEYMEN COOPERS.

To Joseph Hume, Esq. M.P.

PREVIOUS to the repeal of the laws against combinations of workmen, to regulate their wages and hours of working, there were many disputes, much ill-will, and some outrageous proceedings.

These laws were repealed in 1824, and a better understanding between the masters and men has ever since prevailed. In 1825, a list was made and agreed to by masters and men, of wages to be paid for each particular kind of work. An agreement was also made as follows, viz.: That if at any time a new arrangement of prices became necessary, which could not be readily settled, neither masters nor men should strike without giving fourteen days' notice. The notice to expire on the 1. of February, and on no other day. This agreement has never been broken. Some time ago, a change was made in some sorts of work; and butts and barrels were made of stouter wood and heavier iron hoops, and the consequence was, that the journeymen who were paid a certain sum for making a butt or barrel, not being able any longer to make a butt or a barrel in the same number of hours they were accustomed to do, their weekly earnings were considerably reduced. This can be explained, so as to be understood by every body. The increase of labour in

making butts and barrels is one-sixth. Thus, a man who used to make six barrels in a certain time, can only make five in the same time; and, as the price of making a barrel has not been raised, a man, who is employed on the heavy work, must work six days for five days' wages.

Thus the earnings of such a man are reduced one-sixth. It seemed to the men but reasonable, that when the labour was increased, their wages should have increased with it, so that their weekly earnings should remain as they were. It seemed to the men utterly unreasonable that when a better article was made by them for the advantage of others, that it should be made a disadvantage to themselves only. The men therefore requested an arrangement to be made by which their wages should remain as they had been ever since the year 1825.

The men, therefore, gave the fourteen days' notice before alluded to, and on the 1. of February struck for such an advance as would prevent their condition being deteriorated. The reader is requested to bear in mind that the men have not struck for an advance of their weekly wages, but to procure an arrangement by means of which their weekly wages may not be reduced: and that their request relates only to those particular articles which require more labour, and consume more time, than, until the late change, was usual.

The men now complain that a third party, namely, "the Lords Commissioners for executing the office of Lord High Admiral," have interfered between them and their employers.

1. By permitting the coopers in his Majesty's victualling office to make butts and barrels in the victualling office for private master coopers.

2. That they have permitted the master coopers to publish a circular letter to the trade, informing them that they may have butts and casks made at his Majesty's victualling office.

3. That they may purchase any butts and casks now in his Majesty's Victualling Office.

Finally that they think it utterly unbe-

coming in any one of the departments of Government, to interfere between masters and men, thereby doing injustice, creating animosities, injuring trade, and holding out a pernicious example to every manufacturer in the United Kingdom.

HISTORY OF GEORGE THE FOURTH.

No. XIV.

THIS number, which is just published, continues, and brings nearly to a conclusion, the History of the last American War; and, of course, it records the knockings and beatings about; the real thrashings, which our navy got in that war, about which the people of England have never known any more than the people of China have; but it is right that they should now know a pretty deal about it, having to pay 1,607,966 pounds for services rendered in the last war, and not for services now; and having to pay for *half-pay* to naval officers alone, 847,630 pounds a year, while the whole of the American navy, augmented as it has been, *costs only about 600,000 pounds a year.* This being the case, it is right that the people of England should know something about the exploits on account of which they pay all this money; and in this history of mine they will see all about it. The truth has been smothered from the year 1812 to the present day; but it is not to be smothered any longer.

LOCUST TREES.

I HAVE about seven thousand of these left; and I sell them at five pounds a thousand. They can be had at BOLT-COURT at any time, in six days after they are ordered. They are very fine, having been removed, and having the finest roots possible. Any one who plants them ought to have my book called the *WOODLANDS*, or he will not do it well.

LOCUST SEED.

Very fine and fresh to be had at BOLT-COURT for eight shillings a pound. A pound, if properly sowed, will produce

from eight to ten thousand plants. To sow the seed properly, you must read the "*Woodlands*." If you follow the directions therein, almost every seed will come up: if you do not, you will get very few plants, and, perhaps, none at all.

FIELD SEEDS.

I notified, some time ago, that I should not make any distinction in price, whether a single pound, or a number of pounds were sold; but, by some mistake, the old prices were inserted in a recent *Register*. The prices will, for the present, be as follows:

Deep red MANGEL WURZEL Seed, 9d. a pound. — SWEDISH TURNIP Seed, which I warrant to be the finest and truest that ever was grown in England, 9d. a pound. ITALIAN CLOVER SEED, one shilling and threepence a pound.

GARDEN SEEDS.

Bags of seed for large gardens (the seeds tied up in paper bags, and those sewed up in a canvass bag), with a printed list of the seeds in the inside, along with a manuscript card of my writing, with the following words on it, "Garden seeds, raised at Normandy farm, in 1833, by Wm. Cobbett," 25s. each.

Bags for small gardens, having all the same sorts of seeds, but in half the quantity of the preceding, with printed list and card the same, 12s. 6d. each.

The following is the list of my seeds, which contains the KNIGHT-PEA, not contained in my list of last year. The EARLY-FRAME pea is the very quickest in coming that I ever saw in my life; and I think I can defy all the world for cabbage seed, though I have not got it, even yet, into that state of perfection that I shall have it next year.

KITCHEN-GARDEN SEEDS.

No.

1. Asparagus.
2. Bean—Broad, or Windsor.
3. Long Pod.
4. Early Masagan,
5. Kidney (or French). Scarlet Runners.
6. White Runners.
7. Bean—Black Dwarf.

8. Dun Dwarf.
9. Robin-Egg.
10. Speckled.
11. Beet—Red.
12. Brocoli—White.
13. Purple.
14. Cape.
15. Cabbage—Early Battersea.
16. Early York.
17. Savoy.
18. Cale—Curled—Scotch.
19. Carrot.
20. Cauliflower.
21. Celery.
22. Chervil.
23. Cress.
24. Cucumber, early frame.
25. Corn (Cobbett's).
26. Endive.
27. Leek.
28. Lettuce—White Cross.
29. Brown Dutch.
30. Mustard—White.
31. Nasturtium—Dwarf.
32. Onion.
33. Parsnip.
34. Parsley—Curled.
35. Knight-Pea.
36. Pea—Early-frame.
37. Tall Marrowfats.
38. Dwarf Marrowfats.
39. Radish—Early Scarlet.
40. White Turnip.
41. Spinage.
42. Squash (from America, great variety).
43. Turnip—Early-Garden.

FLOWER SEEDS.

44. Canterbury Bells.
45. Catch Fly.
46. China-asters.
47. Convolvulus—Dwarf.
48. Indian Pink.
49. Larkspur—Dwarf Rocket.
50. Lupins—Dwarf Yellow.
51. Poppy—Carnation.
52. French.
53. Stock, Scarlet, ten-week.
54. Mignonette.
55. Sweetwilliam.
56. Sweet Pea.
57. Venus's Looking-glass.
58. Virginia Stock.
59. Wall-flower.

From the LONDON GAZETTE,

FRIDAY, MARCH 7, 1834.

INSOLVENTS.

BLACK, G., Gutter-lane, Cheapside, merchant.
 CAWTHRON, J., Bolingbroke-row, Walworth, oilman.
 HARDCASTLE, W., Beaufort-place, Chelsea, ironmonger.
 PARRY, F., Brighton, tailor.
 STOCKER, G., High-street, Whitechapel, grocer.

BANKRUPTCIES SUPERSEDED.

MATHIE, W. G., Liverpool, merchant.
 MULLINER, J., Northampton, coach-maker.

BANKRUPTS.

ALLEN, S., sen., Birmingham, hotel-keeper.
 GREENWOOD, W., Farringdon-st., linen-draper.
 HARDIE, D., Manchester, merchant.
 MOORE, R., Bath, linen-draper.
 ROBERTS, G. W., Finch-lane, merchant.
 STAPLE, R. P., London, merchant.
 TAPLEY, J., jun., Torr, Devonshire, wool-len-draper.
 TAYLOR, T., Cowley, Oxfordshire, baker.

TUESDAY, MAR. 11, 1834.

INSOLVENT.

BOWLES, R., Spalding, Lincoln, carpenter and builder.

BANKRUPTCY ENLARGED.

JEGER, P. C., Liverpool, commission-merchant.

BANKRUPTS.

ASHENDEN, E., and T. C. Baker, Sittingbourne, Kent, brick-makers.
 BURROWS, J., Holme-lane, Nottinghamshire, victualler.
 COLLIER, T., Holywell, Flintshire, hatter.
 CONNORTON, J. M., Shad Thames, Southwark, mast and block-maker.
 M'CONOCHIE, J. and W., Liverpool, stonemasons.
 COUPLAND, C., Leek, Staffordshire, dealer.
 DREWE, H. G., Swansea, coal-merchant.
 ELY, T., Mark-lane, corn-dealer.
 FULLER, H., St. Matthew's-place, Hackney-road, surgeon.
 LITSON, R., Laystall-street, victualler.
 MANN, H., Beccles, Suffolk, linen-draper.
 NUTTALL, J., Birmingham, grocer.
 PRESCOTT, J. F., High-street, Marylebone, painter.
 SWALES, W., Great Portland-street, silk-mercier.
 TAPLEY, J., jun., Torr, Devonshire, wool-len-draper.

TODD, R., Liverpool, merchant.
 TWELLS, J. T., Tamworth, Staffordshire,
 draper.
 WILSON, T., Manchester, joiner and builder.

LONDON MARKETS.

MARK-LANE, CORN-EXCHANGE, Mar. 10.—The supplies of Wheat fresh up to this morning's market have been very moderate; there were however a good many parcels left over from last week, so that we had a tolerably good show of samples. The condition of the Wheat has not improved as much as might have been expected from the fineness of the weather. The selected fine dry qualities were taken by the millers at the currency of this day week; but all secondary descriptions, and those rough and out of condition were very difficult of disposal at Friday's rates, which were rather worse than this day se'nnight. The demand for Bonded Wheat appears for the present to have subsided. The tone, however, of the trade appeared generally to have improved, in consequence of the confidence imparted to it by the decision of the House of Commons on Friday night.

Fine Malt and Barley is scarce, and commands a ready sale at 29s. to 30s.; Chevalier for seed met also more inquiry and realized rather better prices, 38s. having been paid for fine. The middling descriptions, however, as well as distilling and grinding sorts, ruled dull, though not cheaper.

Good Malt supports its rates; other qualities continue nominal.

The supply of Oats this morning was limited. Good fresh bright samples were in fair request at last Monday's rates, but the stale descriptions continued very difficult of disposal.

Beans sustained little alteration, and obtained last Monday's quotations.

White Peas extremely dull, but Maple and Grey steady in value.

The Flour trade ruled extremely dull.

Wheat.....	50s. to 58s.
Rye.....	—s. to —s.
Barley.....	23s. to 25s.
— fine.....	28s. to 31s.
Peas, White.....	—s. to —s.
— Boilers.....	33s. to 38s.
— Grey.....	30s. to 32s.
Beans, Small.....	33s. to 37s.
— Tick.....	22s. to 33s.
Oats, Potato.....	22s. to 23s.
— Feed.....	17s. to 20s.
Flour, per sack.....	43s. to 48s.

PROVISIONS.

Pork, India, new....	95s. to 100s.
— Mess, new....	55s. to 57s. per barl.
Butter, Belfast....	76s. to 80s. per cwt.
— Carlow.....	70s. to 84s.
— Cork.....	70s. to 72s.
— Limerick....	66s. to 68s.
— Waterford....	60s. to 74s.
— Dublin....	50s. to 60s.

SMITHFIELD, March 10.

In this day's market, which exhibited, throughout, but a moderate, or rather limited, supply, trade was, in the whole, somewhat brisk.—With Beef, at an advance of 2d. to 4d. per stone; with Mutton, Lamb, Veal, and Pork, at Friday's quotations.

Full three-fourths of the beasts appeared to consist of about equal numbers of short-horns, Devons, Scots, and Welsh runts: the remaining fourth of about equal numbers of Herefords, and Irish Beasts, about seventy Sussex Beasts, as many Town's-end Cows, a few Staffords, &c.

About two-fifths of the Sheep were South-Downs; about two-fifths new Leicesters, in about equal numbers of the South-Down and white-faced crosses: and the remaining fifth about equal numbers of old Leicesters, Kents, and Kentish half-breds, with a few pens of old Lincolns, horned and polled Norfolks, horned Dorsets and Somersets, horned and polled Scotch and Welsh Sheep, &c.

The Lambs, in number about 250, were chiefly Dorsets.

About 1,500 of the beasts, a full moiety of which were Scots, the remainder about equal numbers of short-horns, Devons, and runts, with a few Norfolk home-breds, &c., were from Norfolk, Suffolk, Essex, and Cambridge-shire; about 200, chiefly short-horns, Devons, and Welsh runts, with a few Scots, and Irish beasts, from Lincolnshire, Leicestershire, and others of our northern grazing districts; about 150, in about equal numbers of Herefords, Devons, and Welsh runts, with a few Irish beasts, from our western and midland districts; about 100, chiefly Sussex beasts, with a few Devons, runts, and Irish beasts, from Kent, Surrey, and Sussex; and most of the remainder, including the Town's-end Cows, from the stall-feeders, &c., near London.

MARK-LANE.—Friday, March 14.

The arrivals this week are small; but the market is dull at the prices of Monday.

THE FUNDS.

3 per Cent. } Fri. Sat. Mon. Tues. Wed. Thur.	
Cons. Ann. }	91½ 91½ 91½ 91½ 91½ 91½

COBBETT-LIBRARY.

New Edition.

COBBETT'S Spelling-Book (Price 2s.)

Containing, besides all the usual matter of such a book, a clear and concise

INTRODUCTION TO ENGLISH GRAMMAR.

This I have written by way of

A Stepping-Stone to my own Grammar;

such a thing having been frequently suggested to me by Teachers as necessary.

1. ENGLISH GRAMMAR.—Of this work sixty thousand copies have now been published. This is a duodecimo volume, and the price is 3s. bound in boards.

2. TULL'S HORSE-HOEING HUSBANDRY; or, a Treatise on the Principles of Tillage and Vegetation. With an Introduction, by WM. COBBETT. 8vo. Price 15s.

3. THE EMIGRANT'S GUIDE. Just now Published, under this Title, a little Volume, containing Ten Letters, addressed to English Tax-payers. A new edition, with a Postscript, containing an account of the Prices of Houses and Land, recently obtained from America by Mr. Cobbett. Price 2s. 6d. in bds.

4. THE WOODLANDS; or, a Treatise on the preparing of the ground for planting; on the planting, on the cultivating, on the pruning, and on the cutting down, of Forest Trees and Underwoods. Price 14s. bound in boards.

5. YEAR'S RESIDENCE IN AMERICA.—The Price of this book, in good print and on fine paper, is 5s.

6. FRENCH GRAMMAR; or, Plain Instructions for the Learning of French. Price, bound in boards, 5s.

7. COTTAGE ECONOMY.—I wrote this Work professedly for the use of the labouring and middling classes of the English nation. I made myself acquainted with the best and simplest modes of making beer and bread, and these I made it as plain as, I believe, words could make it. Also of the keeping of Cows, Pigs, Bees, and Poultry, matters which I understood as well as any body could, and in all their details. It includes my writing, also on the Straw Plait. A Duodecimo Volume. Price 2s. 6d.

8. MARTENS'S LAW OF NATIONS.—This is the Book which was the foundation of all the knowledge that I have ever possessed relative to public law. The Price is 17s., and the manner of its execution is I think, such as to make it fit for the Library of any Gentleman.

9. MR. JAMES PAUL COBBETT'S RIDE OF EIGHT HUNDRED MILES IN FRANCE. Second Edition. Price 2s. 6d.

10. A TREATISE ON COBBETT'S CORN; containing Instructions for Propagating and Cultivating the Plant, and for Harvesting and Preserving the Crop; and also an account of the several uses to which the Produce is applied. Price 5s.

11. LETTERS FROM FRANCE; containing Observations made in that Country during a Residence of Two Months in the South, and Three Months at Paris. By JOHN M. COBBETT. Price 4s. in boards.

12. SERMONS.—There are twelve of these, in one volume, on the following subjects: 1. Hypocrisy and Cruelty; 2. Drunkenness; 3. Bribery; 4. Oppression; 5. Unjust Judges; 6. The Sluggard; 7. The Murderer; 8. The Gamester; 9. Public Robbery; 10. The Unnatural Mother; 11. The Sin of Forbidding Marriage; 12. On the Duties of Parsons, and on the Institution and Object of Tithes. Price 3s. 6d. bound in boards.

A Thirteenth Sermon, entitled "GOOD FRIDAY; or, The Murder of Jesus Christ by the Jews." Price 6d.

13. PROTESTANT "REFORMATION" in England and Ireland, showing how that event has impoverished and degraded the main body of the people in those countries. Two volumes, bound in boards. The Price of the first volume is 4s. 6d. The Price of the second volume 3s. 6d.

14. An ITALIAN GRAMMAR, by Mr. JAMES PAUL COBBETT.—Being a Plain and Compendious Introduction to the Study of Italian. Price 6s.

Price 12s.

A GEOGRAPHICAL DICTIONARY OF ENGLAND AND WALES;

CONTAINING

The names, in Alphabetical Order, of all the Counties, with their several Subdivisions, into Hundreds, Lathes, Rapes, Wapentakes, Wards, or Divisions; and an Account of the Distribution of the Counties into Circuits, Dioceses, and Parliamentary Divisions.

ALSO,

The names (under that of each County respectively), in Alphabetical Order, of all the Cities, Boroughs, Market Towns, Villages, Hamlets, and Tithings, with the Distance of each from London, or from the nearest Market Town, and with the Population, and other interesting particulars relating to each; besides which there are

MAPS;

First, one of the whole country, showing the local situation of the Counties relatively to each other; and, then, each County is also preceded by a Map, showing, in the same manner, the local situation of the Cities, Boroughs, and Market Towns.

FOUR TABLES

Are added; first, a Statistical Table of all the Counties, and then three Tables, showing the new Divisions and Distributions enacted by the Reform-Law of 4th June, 1832.

A NEW

FRENCH AND ENGLISH DICTIONARY.

In two parts. Part I. French and English.—Part II. English and French. By WILLIAM COBBETT, M.P. for Oldham.

Just published, price 4d.,

NATIONAL REGENERATION.

1. Letter from Mr. Fitton to Mr. Fielden.
2. Letter from Mr. Fielden to Mr. Fitton.
3. Letter from Mr. Holt to Mr. Fielden.

Which Letters contain a development of all the principles and all the views connected with this important change in the manufacturing affairs of the country.

**THE CURSE
OF**

PAPER MONEY AND BANKING,

Or, a short History of Banking in the United States of America, with an account of its ruinous effects on Landowners, Farmers, Traders, and on all the industrious classes of the community.

By W. M. GOUGE, of Philadelphia, in 1833.
To which is prefixed an Introduction by
WM. COBBETT, M.P. for Oldham. Price 4s.
11, Bolt-court, Fleet-street, and all Book-
sellers.

Just published, price 2s.,

FOUR LETTERS.

TO THE

HON. JOHN STUART WORTLEY,

In answer to his "Brief Inquiry into the
"true award of an Equitable Adjustment be-
"tween the nation and its creditors."—By
WILLIAM COBBETT, M. P. for Oldham.

Price 6s. a new edition of the
ENGLISH GARDENER,
OR,

A TREATISE

On the Situation, Soil, Enclosing and Laying-
Out of Kitchen Gardens; on the Making
and Managing of Hot-beds and Green-
Houses; and on the Propagation and Cul-
tivation of all sorts of Kitchen-Garden
Plants, and of Fruit-Trees whether of the
Garden or the Orchard.

AND ALSO,

On the Formation of Shrubberies and Flower-
Gardens; and on the Propagation and Cul-
tivation of the several sorts of Shrubs and
Flowers;

CONCLUDING WITH

A KALENDAR,

Giving instructions relative to the Sowings,
Plantings, Prunings, and other labours, to
be performed in the Gardens, in each Month
of the Year.

By WILLIAM COBBETT.

PRACTICAL EXERCISES,

WITH

**A KEY TO COBBETT'S FRENCH
GRAMMAR.**

By J. P. Cobbett. Price Two Shillings.

**GREAT BRITAIN FOR THE LAST
FORTY YEARS.**

By Thomas Hopkins, Esq. Member of the
Literary and Philosophical Society of Man-
chester.

"This is a most useful publication. It
"combines the statistic with the political
"history of Great Britain for the period of
"forty years."—*The Town.*

"Its moderate price, its plain and popular
"style, and the peculiar opinions which it
"advocates, are likely to ensure it as extensive
"a circulation as works of this class can
"attain amongst the operatives."—*Spectator.*
Simpkin and Marshall, Stationers'-court.
—Price 6s. in boards.

EMOLLIENT VEGETABLE SOAP.—In
this Soap are introduced Vegetable Oils
and Herbs of the most approved emollient
qualities, as likewise extracts from flowers of
the purest fragrance. The skin, by its con-
stant application, will become perceptibly soft
and clear, and the unpleasant sensation de-
rived from sudden changes of climate and
seasons, as well as the harshness which it
generally acquires from sea-bathing, will
speedily be removed: besides the above ad-
vantages, its peculiar agreeable application
has obtained it the favour of the nobility and
gentry, whose unequivocal approval emboldens
the proprietors to engage for its permanent
reception at every lady's toilette, if once used.
Made and sold at 1s. a square by Rigge,
Brockbank, and Rigge, 35, New Bond-street.

CHEAP CLOTHING!!

SWAIN AND CO., Tailors, &c.,
93, FLEET-STREET,
(Near New Bridge-street.)

BEg the attention of the public to their
extensive stock of goods for the present
season, which they supply at the following
prices:—

FOR CASH ONLY.

	£.	s.	d.
A Suit of Superfine Clothes.....	4	18	0
Ditto, Black or Blue.....	5	10	0
Ditto, Imperial Saxony.....	6	0	0
Petersham Great Coats.....	3	3	0
Barogau or Velveteen Shooting Jackets.....	1	10	0
Cobbett's Cord Trowsers.....	1	2	0
A complete Suit of Livery.....	4	10	0
SPANISH, OPERA, and WALKING CLOAKS, LADIES' HABITS and PELISSES, and CHIL- DREN'S DRESSES, and every other article in the trade made in the most elegant manner.			

I recommend Messrs. Swain and Co
as very good and punctual tradesmen,
whom I have long employed with great
satisfaction. **WM. COBBETT.**

Printed by William Cobbett, Johnson's-court; and
published by him, at 11, Bolt-court, Fleet-street.

COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

VOL. 83.—No. 12.]

LONDON, SATURDAY, MARCH 22ND, 1834.

[Price 1s. 2d.]



MALT-TAX.

My readers are aware that I have, for many years, contended that this tax was the most mischievous thing existing in the country; and, being in Parliament, they would naturally expect that I should do my utmost to get it repealed and abolished. I did my utmost, during the last session of Parliament; and I am now about to lay before my readers in general, and my constituents in particular, an account of what has been done, as to this matter, during the present session of Parliament, and particularly the part which I have taken in the discussions relative to it.

On the 27. Feb. Sir William Ingilby made a motion for the House to go into a committee of the whole House, to consider whether there ought to be a repeal, partial and entire, of this mischief-doing tax. I spoke upon that occasion, against the further continuance of the tax; but I did not vote, because the motion was not direct, and because it was not positive as to a repeal of the whole of the tax. There was, upon that occasion, a division, when there were 170 for the motion, and 271 against it.

Things standing thus, and I, seeing the ground all forestalled until the 27. of May, gave notice that I would make a motion on that day, for a repeal of the whole of that tax; but, upon further consideration, I withdrew that notice, and fixed the notice for a similar motion on the 17. of March, to be made upon the motion for the House to go into a committee of supply. My motion was,

Resolved, that it is expedient, that from

"and after the 5. of October next, all the duties on malt shall cease and determine." This motion I made on the 17. of March; and this motion was decided in the manner hereafter to be described. It would be irksome to myself, as well as to my readers, for me to be in the habit of reporting my own speeches in the *Register*; but, this is a subject of such vast importance, that I shall give as correct a report as I can, of the speech made upon this occasion, and also an analysis of what other gentlemen said in the same debate. I shall put the speeches one after the other, just as they occurred, giving them all with as much accuracy as my memory will enable me to do it, with the assistance of the reports in the newspapers.

Mr. COBBETT: Mr. Speaker, I rise to submit a motion to the House, for the total repeal of the malt-tax, which motion is in the following words: "Resolved, that it is expedient that from and after the 5. of October next, all the duties on malt shall cease and determine."

Certainly, sir, such a motion ought not to be submitted to the House, without reasons given for the measure of which it proposes the adoption; and yet, to give those reasons will require the consumption of a much larger portion of the time of the House, than I shall like to call upon it to bestow; but, when duty bids me to proceed, and reluctance to occupy the time of the House would draw me back, I feel myself under the necessity of obeying the former.

Before I proceed to the reasons which I deem more than sufficient for the total repeal of this tax, it is my duty to endeavour to remove two very gross and mischievous errors, which, from what we have heard recently in this House, appear to me to be generally prevalent throughout the country; or, at least, amongst almost the whole of those who are prominent in discussing political affairs.

The first of these errors is, that the landlords, the farmers, and all the persons immediately concerned in the cultivation of the land, would be exclusively benefited by the repeal of these duties; and that the inhabitants of towns are very little interested in the matter; that they have an interest in the repeal of the house and window-tax, but that they have scarcely any interest at all in the repeal of this tax; that the tax being taken off, the honourable Member for Bridport recently told us, would only be so much money put into the pockets of the landlords, who would be the sole persons that would gain by the change.

An error so monstrous as this, has scarcely ever found its way into the human mind. What, sir! do not the people in towns, and, particularly, the hard-working people in towns, drink beer? And, is not their beer made of malt, as well as the beer of the country-people? The fact is, that the repeal of the malt-tax would be greatly more beneficial to the tradesmen and workmen in towns, than the repeal of the house and window-tax, both put together. Seldom do working people pay any part of the house-tax or window-tax; but the malt-tax lies heavily on them all, causing their beer, which is absolutely necessary to them, to cost more than twice as much as it would cost if there were no tax upon malt. Further, nineteen twentieths of the tradesmen, though they may pay from three pounds to twelve pounds a year, on account of house and window-tax, pay, on an average, a great deal more on account of the malt-tax.

This gross error is, then, backed up by another, if possible still more gross; namely, that the persons owning, occupying, labouring upon, and deriving their subsistence out of, the land, are a mere nothing in number, compared with those who are employed in manufactures, trade, and commerce, and, especially, in manufactures. The right honourable Member for Manchester has called upon us to thank God, that England was the great manufacturing shop of the world; the noble Lord, who is one of the representatives of the West-riding of Yorkshire, calls those who are hostile to

the corn laws, the body of the people; the honourable Member for Middlesex has told us, that this is now a manufacturing nation, and that England was poor before it was a manufacturing nation. I wish, sir, that the honourable member for Middlesex had drawn a little upon his store-house of knowledge, and had named the time when England was poor, and when she was not a manufacturing nation. I state, sir, without fear of contradiction from that honourable Member or any other, that England was always the richest, and always the most manufacturing nation in the world.

The ground-work of this great error with regard to the number engaged in the different pursuits, are and have been for many years, the population returns, laid before this House, which, by reckoning all persons as manufacturers, traders, &c., except the mere occupiers and workers upon the land; that is to say, except the mere husbandmen, the ploughmen, the reapers, the mowers, the thrashers, and woodmen; by considering all these as not belonging to agriculture, have led to the conclusion that the husbandmen and all belonging to the land, are a mere handful, compared with the rest of the community. I can give an instance with regard to the village of BÖTLEY, a village in Hampshire, with which I am well acquainted. The return states, that there are fifty-five families belonging to agriculture, forty-four to manufactures, trade, &c., and thirty-five of all other sorts. Now I take upon me to assert, that there is not a soul in that parish, who is not either husbandman, miller, or tanner; the miller to grind the corn; the tanner to dress the hides; or, parson or doctor: the parson collects the great and small tithes of the parish, and he lives upon them; the doctor bleeds and sets the bones of the husbandmen; and as to other sorts of persons, there are none, who are not employed in purchasing the produce of the land, or in selling clothing or other necessities, to those who raise that produce.

To the parishes of THURSLEY and WHITLEY, in Surrey, are ascribed eighty-three families, engaged in trade, manu-

factures, commerce, &c. If the hon. Member for West Surrey were in his place, who lives in one of those parishes, which are united by law, I would ask him, what sort of manufacture these eighty-three families carry on; from what foreign country they receive the raw material upon which they work; to what foreign country they export the produce of their looms or their other ingenious contrivances? Sir, these returns make up a mass of fallacies such as never were before heard of in the world: in these two parishes, there is not a single soul (except, perchance, there may be a fundholder or two) who is not either husbandman, wheelwright, blacksmith, carpenter, butcher, or who does not follow some pursuit or other, immediately connected with the land; not a soul who could live upon the spot for a week, if there were no produce arising out of the produce of the land of those two parishes.

But, sir, there is one instance which is quite conclusive as to this point; and the matter can be settled at once, by only three words from an hon. Member whom I see sitting on the opposite benches. There is a parish in Surrey called Wanborough, and the return tells us that it contains twenty families chiefly employed in agriculture, and one family chiefly employed in commerce, manufactures, &c. Now, sir, there sits the hon. Member for Guildford, in Surrey; he is the sole proprietor of all the houses and all the land in this parish of Wanborough; and I call upon him to have the goodness to tell us whether this family of manufacturers have any connexion with foreign parts, or whether their manufacture consists in making or new laying of ploughshares for his farms, and of shoes for the horses which work upon those farms! Short-sighted, indeed, must that man be, who cannot see far enough to know, that these manufacturers are husbandmen in fact, just as much as those who plough and reap and mow and thrash out the corn. Yet these ridiculous fallacies have led to the mischievous conclusions which we have heard in this House; they have led the right hon. Member for Manchester to

tell us, that there are nine hundred thousand families only, belonging to the land, while there are fourteen hundred thousand families belonging to manufactures and trade.

The hon. Member for Marybonne has frequently asserted the great populousness of the borough which he has the honour to represent; and, when speaking of what he has been pleased to call the oppressions of the corn laws, he has invariably represented his numerous constituents as having an interest distinct and independent, relative to the part of the community, immediately and obviously concerned in the land. The returns tell us, that there are, in the borough of MARYBONNE, a hundred and forty-three persons, chiefly employed in agriculture; that is to say, in the gardens and the hay-fields, which lie on the outskirts of the borough or parish; but is this all? I verily believe, that I speak very far within compass, when I say that there are a thousand families; and I think I might say, thousands of families, all the males of which are employed, and solely employed, in making and selling ploughs, harrows, drags, drills, chaff-cutters, butter-churns, cheese-presses, spades, prongs, rakes, sieves, locks, and other implements, tools and necessities for husbandry. Were there no husbandry, these people would not be in the borough of Marybonne; and were the land to produce nothing to send up rents into the fine streets and the squares, what would become of the tradesmen of Marybonne? And look, sir, over the whole of this metropolis: look at the seedsmen, the salesmen of meat, the lightermen that bring up the corn, the multitudes whose centre is at Mark-lane; the hop-merchants and their people; look at all these, and imagine, if you can, the extent of the madness, or, rather, the blindness and absurdity of those who would attempt to designate any part of the people as not having an interest in agriculture.

But, if these gentlemen will insist upon the separation, I will face them, even with the admission of their own absurdity to be sense; and I will take

the statement contained in the summary of even these fallacious returns. What says this summary? why this: that the male occupiers and labourers in agriculture, twenty years of age and upwards, are *one million and seventy-five thousand*; and that male persons of the same age engaged in manufactures, &c., are *three hundred and twenty thousand*.

Thus, then, if I were to adopt that erroneous view of the matter, according to which the malt-tax is considered as a burden to nobody but persons belonging to agriculture, I should say that there were three for one, at any rate, and that therefore they were worthy of our particular consideration. I, however, scout this idea as unworthy of the mind of a man of sense: I say that all are equally interested; and as such I must speak of them as likely to be benefited by the adoption of the measure which I have had the honour to propose to the House. In stating the reasons which I have to offer for the adoption of that measure, I must first observe, that I do not object to the tax on account of any partiality of pressure which it has; because I am fully aware, that every tax, lay it where you will, finds its way, first or last, to every person in the community. I must further observe, that I do not object to the tax on account of its money-weight; because, if the tax be wanted to carry on the affairs of the Government; and if it be collected at something near the ordinary expense of collection, and being unproductive of any mischiefs beyond those arising out of its mere burden, money-burden, it would be improper to propose its repeal. But, sir, if a tax be, as I contend this tax is, peculiar as to its expenses of collection; and if it be productive of great moral evils, then it ought not to remain, even if a property-tax or a poll-tax were necessary to be imposed in its stead; and I think myself capable of proving to the House, that this tax is of this description, and that therefore it ought to be repealed. I beg it to be observed, that I urge not the repeal as peculiarly beneficial to the landlord or the farmer. As consumers of malt, they would share in the benefit with the rest of the community; as great

sufferers from the immoralities produced by this tax, they would certainly derive an extraordinary degree of benefit; but in this benefit the rest of the community must necessarily share, though their share might not be so obvious. It is impossible for the morals of millions of working people to be mended without the effect being felt in every part and by every person of the community.

The FIRST objection to this tax is, the extraordinary expense of collecting and managing it. I hold in my hand a statement, which I received last year from a gentleman at Nottingham, many years in the excise; and he proves, to my satisfaction, that five-sixths of the expenses of the whole of the excise establishment may be fairly ascribed to the malt-tax. Now, I have no means immediately at hand for ascertaining how much the whole of the expenses of the excise establishment is annually. At a guess I should say it amounted to a million of money or more; so that, to begin with, here is a million to be paid out of five millions and a half, before the money comes into the Exchequer. I believe this to be the fact; but the noble Lord can correct me here, if I be in error. At any rate, we know that the expense is very great; much greater than the collection of any other tax or taxes, to three times the gross amount; and, therefore, this is a good objection to the tax. In the case of the stamps, for instance, all that the people pay goes into the Exchequer, except a mere trifle, comparatively speaking. The six millions cost only 168,000*l.* in the collection and management, while here are five millions and a half cost, as I believe, pretty nearly or quite a million in the collection and management. The SECOND and still greater objection is, the monopoly which the tax necessarily gives rise to. Upon the same authority, which I have just mentioned, I state to the House these astounding facts; that, taking barley at twenty-eight shillings a quarter, and suppose four millions of quarters, which is about the quantity, the amount of such barley would be five millions six hundred thousand pounds; that eight quarters of

barley make nine quarters of malt, and that this increase pays all the expenses of malting. So that the four millions of quarters of barley made into malt, would, were it not for the tax, cost the people five millions six hundred thousand pounds in the year; that the duty, added to this, would make the cost nine millions seven hundred thousand pounds a year; but that, in consequence of the monopoly, created by the tax, the malt, before the result of it reaches the lips of the people, either by private brewing or public brewing, does cost the people fourteen millions four hundred thousand pounds a year, instead of costing them five millions six hundred thousand pounds a year. When, a few evenings ago, I stated the price of malt at 8s. a bushel, an hon. Member for the Tower Hamlets produced a Mark-lane account, showing, that large quantities of it had been sold that week at about six and sixpence a bushel; but I spoke of the price of malt as I could get it for my use. The tax enables men with large capital to get the malt at a price at which men for private brewing cannot get it. And here I beg leave to refer to a part of the evidence taken before the beer-shop committee of last year. Mr. GOODLAKE, a magistrate of Berkshire, stated to the committee, that there was a beer-shop set up by a very respectable man in his own parish; that this man bought his beer of a brewer, until the beer which he brewed himself should have attained a proper age; and that then he sold his own beer:—
 “But the brewer thought it so good
 “a thing that he set up another beer-
 “shop in the parish; and he can brew
 “it so much cheaper than the publican
 “who has to go to a dealer in malt and
 “buy it at 9s. 6d. a bushel, when the
 “brewer can make it at about 6s. 3d.,
 “that the publican cannot compete with
 “him; and the second beer-house being
 “set up, the man that set up the other
 “was obliged to give it up after the
 “first twelvemonth, and to leave the
 “brewer's beer-house in the parish.”

Mr. EDWARD GREEN, who is a maltster, but also a farmer, of WARGRAVE, in Berkshire, gave the committee this in-

formation: “If there is so much advantage attending brewing, how is it that the ale-houses sell brewers' beer?—There are very few of them that have capital enough to buy their malt at the first hand; I could now furnish malt at 6s. 3d. a bushel; and our poor people, if they go to buy malt retail of a maltster, are charged 8s. 6d.”

Mr. STOCK, a brewer of Essex, gave the following information: “What is the cost of your malt to you?—Fifty-two shillings a quarter, covering every expense.—What have you given for your barley?—The highest price of our barley has been 30s. to 35s., and the lowest is 24s.”

But, after all, no one stated any of the grounds for believing that this monopoly arose directly out of the tax. One of its effects, however, I will state to the House. The malt-duty is paid in every six weeks. A man possessed of apparent great means can obtain bondsmen, to a certain amount, for the payment of the duty; and in this case, the collector permits the maltster to be three collections in arrear, while the maltster with small means is compelled to pay up. The man who has the benefit of the first, is enabled to enter largely into business, and the greater his duty the more he injures society in the end. In numerous instances, these large maltsters have been known to crush the little ones entirely; and thus it is that the malt-houses, formerly so numerous, are now become comparatively very few in number. I remember, that at Stow-in-the-Wold I learned, that formerly there were fourteen malt-houses, and that now there is only one. In the counties of Norfolk and Suffolk, there used to be a malt-house in almost every village. The monopoly created by this tax, has demolished, perhaps, nineteen out of every twenty. Large brewers are also maltsters. The monopolists, in fact, carry on their trade with public money: they have always two collections in their hands to carry on their trade with: so that the people are placed at their mercy, and so placed, too, by the use of the people's own money, which they have paid for the services of the state, and

which is allowed to be kept in the hands of these monopolists. It is not, then, the tax itself, but the evils that arise out of the tax at every step that it takes; and here, on account of this monopoly alone, the people pay, as I have, I think, very clearly shown, four millions, seven hundred thousand pounds a year; which is an evil, an injustice, an oppression, arising entirely out of the tax. If I be asked, what is to become of all the capital now employed by these monopolists in this way, I answer, in the first place, that it is the people's capital in great part, as I have just shown; and, in the next place, if the monopolists have any capital, which is really their own, there is the land, there is lawful commerce; there are plenty of honest means for the profitable employment of this capital.

The third objection to this tax is, that it prevents people, and particularly the poorer part of the people, from brewing beer in their own houses, and thereby drives them to beer-shops, and other places of resort, for the purpose of getting beer, a drink which they ought to have, which they always have had, and which, let gentlemen think or say or do what they may, they always will have. I know it has been contended, that the poorer sort of people have been so long out of the habit of brewing at their own houses, that they would not take to it again, even if this tax were taken off, and if they could get the malt for a mere trifle, as they then would. It is a great mistake to suppose that this is one of the cases in which habit becomes second nature. In morals and in manners, there is great submission to the power of habit. Early rising, late rising, sobriety, drunkenness, love of ease, love of activity; in these and numerous other instances, habit has a great deal to do in determining the conduct of men; but, when you come to eating and drinking, when you come to the means of providing a bellyful, the case is wholly different. When you are withheld from any natural enjoyment by force, you return to it the moment the force is removed. From having constantly a plenty to eat, you may, by compulsion, be confined to a quarter of a meal, for

years together; but when the full meal returns, you instantly take it, without consideration had of the small quantity of food upon which you have recently lived. For a long time the labourers have been compelled to do without the bits of bacon in their pot; but, does any man imagine, that, if they had the bits of bacon again, they would not boil them and eat them? But it is said, that they want the utensils for brewing; said, indeed, only by those who cannot know any thing at all about the matter. It was asked, by the committee of last year, whether the utensils could not be had for a few shillings? There are no utensils wanting, but those which they have. A gallon of malt can be brewed in a porridge-pot which will hold five gallons of water; and twelve quarts of good beer I have seen made out of a gallon of malt in that very way. It is a great mistake to suppose that there requires large quantities of malt to be brewed together, in order to get the greatest proportion of strength. Malt is, in this respect, like tea: whether you put little or much of the latter into the pot, you get all the strength out of it in one case as well as in the other, and it is strong or weak in proportion to the quantity of water as compared with the quantity of tea. As to the expense, in the case of the labourer, it is absolutely nothing at all. The old maxim was, "If you would have good beer, you must go to bed with your brewer." The wife is the brewer; the very cheerful undertaker of this part of the duty of the family: she likes the beer herself better than water; and she has the other most powerful motive, that of keeping her husband at home. In support of these, my opinions, the House will permit me to read the evidence given by several persons, before the Beer-Bill Committee of last year. At the head of these stands Mr. SIMEON, a magistrate for Oxfordshire and Berkshire, who, in order to be able to lay accurate opinions upon the subject before the committee, sent a circular to the overseers and ministers of fifteen parishes; and the answer of all, except one, was, that the cure for the evils of beer-shops, and the greatest

possible advantage to the country, would be, to enable the poor people to make their malt, and to brew at home. The evidence of these gentlemen, every word of which is worthy of the best attention of the House, was in the following words:

Mr. SIMEON, a magistrate for Oxfordshire and Berkshire. The last question is, "Would great advantages result from enabling the poor people to make their malt and brew at home, both as regards their comfort and morality?"—That is the most important question of all. The answers are, *fourteen parties say it would be highly desirable*; one fears it might lead the labourers to steal barley.

"Are those answers indiscriminately the answers of the overseers and ministers of the different parishes, or is there any difference of opinion between the ministers and the overseers?"—I should say that generally they all agree in their accounts. I believe that the answers are indiscriminately the same from the ministers and from the overseers.

"Are the answers from the overseers and the ministers jointly or separately?"—Separately: the application was made separately to each of them, and neither knew that the other had an application to the best of my knowledge."

Mr. GOODLAKE, a magistrate for Berkshire.—"Did the cottagers brew beer in consequence of that public-house being put down?—No; cottagers have not an opportunity of brewing beer, on account of the high price of malt."

Colonel BLAGRAVE, magistrate for Berkshire.—"Do you contemplate the absolute necessity of taking away the power of selling beer in this manner?"—I think it would be a dangerous measure, without the repeal of the malt-tax, and the tax again put upon the beer; I think if the tax were put upon the beer and the malt-tax repealed, it would induce the lower class of people to brew their own beer."

"Will you state why, without that alteration, you think it would be

dangerous to repeal the present beer bill?—Because I think it has tended to increase the price of barley, and to give a little fillip to agriculture.

"Do you think that it has any effect in checking the consumption of spirits, and giving the lower orders an inclination to drink beer rather than spirits?"—*I think the lower orders have had an inclination to drink beer rather than spirits*; but it has been reported to me, that smuggled spirits have been introduced into those beer-houses, but to my knowledge I do not know it.

"Do you think that the greater facility of drinking beer has rather conduced to encourage the love of beer than the love of spirits?"—I think it has, and the lower order of people have an idea that beer is much more wholesome for them."

BREDE (Sussex) Parish Vestry.—"Had the malt-duty been taken off, the agricultural labourer would have had his beer at home, and we think he would seldom be seen at the beer-shop; small beer is the natural beverage of the labourers in agriculture; at once the most nutritious, the most wholesome, and the best support to the labourer, being part of the subsistence for the production of his physical powers, to enable him to perform a fair day's work."

HOOR (Sussex) Parish Vestry.—"We are decidedly of opinion if the malt duty had been repealed, it would have been far preferable to the beer."

PLAYDEN (Sussex), Parish Vestry.—"We also beg to observe that the abolition of the malt-duty would have had a far more beneficial effect upon the habits and morals of the labouring class."

There was, indeed, one witness, who gave a different opinion, and that was Mr. THURNALL of Cambridgeshire, but he is a great maltster. His evidence was as follows: "Do you, or do you not believe, if the malt-duty was taken off so as to enable every man to brew at home, that the evils complained of would be greatly reduced, and a better morality amongst the

" poor be obtained?—I do not think it
 " is possible for the labourer to brew
 " his own beer; *I am not sure they*
 " *would not in my county; in the first*
 " *place he could brew so small a quan-*
 " *tity, and there are very few cottages*
 " *where the whole house is above the*
 " *size of this room; he is not furnished*
 " *with a copper; it is totally impossible*
 " *for a labourer to brew his beer in the*
 " *districts I have been in.*

" How was it done *formerly*, do you
 " know?—Persons brewed their own
 " beer, but I should think not a *tithe* of
 " *the population* brewed; *but their*
 " *habits have altogether altered.*

" Is it not a serious thing for a poor
 " man if he brews a quantity of beer,
 " and that beer *turns sour*?—Yes.

" He avoids *that risk*, does he not,
 " by purchasing his beer? — *Undoubt-*
 " *edly.*

" You are aware that a brewing ap-
 " paratus would cost to a poor man
 " only 5s. ?—I am aware it would cost a
 " small sum: *but half of them would*
 " *not be sober while the beer lasted;*
 " *they would drink it in a day.*"

[Mr. CHILDERS, a member for Cam-
 bridgeshire, observed, that I had read
 only a part of the evidence of this man;
 that this man was his tenant, and a
 very respectable man. It is very true,
 that I read only a part, and I cited the
 evidence merely to contradict the notion
 of the habits of the people having
 changed. If I did not read the whole,
 it was merely to save time; and if the
 orders of the House would have per-
 mitted me to reply, I should have ob-
 served, that Mr. CHILDERS left out, in
 his reading, the first of the two *nots*
 which will be found in the second mem-
 ber of the first sentence of the answers
 of this witness. I believe that Mr.
 CHILDERS gave the correct meaning of
 the witness, but that meaning is just
 the contrary of that which is found in
 the print; for, in the print the witness is
 made to say, that he is *not* sure that the
 labourer would not brew his own beer;
 and Mr. CHILDERS made him say, that
 he *was* sure that he would not brew it?
 the context shows that Mr. CHILDERS'S

reading was correct, but not according
 with the evidence reported by the com-
 mittee. If I could have replied, I should
 have answered the opinion of this man,
 that not a third of the people formerly
 brewed their own beer, by citing the
 positive evidence given by Mr. JOHN
 ELLMAN, before the committee of 1821,
 " that when he became a farmer, forty-
 " five years before that, every man in
 " his parish had his own beer, and en-
 " joyed it by his own fire-side"; and
 that this evidence was then corroborated
 by a magistrate of Somersetshire, and
 by a gentleman who was then sheriff of
 Wiltshire. I did not like to waste
 time, as I never do, setting a very high
 value on time myself, or I should have
 observed, on the latter part of the evi-
 dence of this witness, the tenant of Mr.
 CHILDERS, who tells us, in one breath,
 that the labourers' beer " would *turn*
sour," and in the next breath, " that he
 would *drink it in a day*"! However,
 no observation from me was necessary
 here; a general smile in the House
 showed that they smelled out the
 maltster, and rendered any reply to Mr.
 CHILDERS wholly unnecessary.]

In short, sir, I am satisfied that there
 is no argument to be offered in support
 of the belief, that labourers would not
 again brew their own beer, if this tax
 were repealed, and wholly abolished;
 and of all the benefits arising from this
 change, I defy pen or tongue to give an
 adequate description. But, there would
 be another great change take place;
 that is to say, that farmers would have
 beer to give to their men who work out
 of their house, or rather to men who
 are not inmates of the house. On this
 subject we have the following evidence,
 taken before the agricultural committee
 of last year, of Mr. SANDERS of Lan-
 cashire, and of Mr. BROWN, a large
 farmer and a surveyor, of Wiltshire, and
 this evidence, in the following words, is
 very worthy of the best attention of the
 House.

Mr. SANDERS.—" Does not the malt-
 " tax press more immediately on a man
 " *who gives beer to his labourers*, directly
 " *as well as indirectly*?—I have no
 " *doubt if the malt-tax were removed, it*

"*would be a great improvement in his condition.*"

MR. RUDDELL BROWN.—"Would the labourers in your neighbourhood, if the law were to abolish the beer-shops and restore only the public-house, be likely to complain?—They would like it quite as well. The *greatest possible relief* that could be given to the agricultural labourers, would be by putting on the beer-duty again, and *taking off the malt-duty*, which would enable them to make or buy small quantities of malt, and brew their own beer.

"Do you not think if that were the case, the farmers would be *more ready to give their labourers beer* in agricultural districts?—I am quite sure of it; it is *nothing but the high duty which has kept them from it*; the taking off the beer-duty has been no relief to the agricultural labourer.

"What do think the people of Devonizes would say to the putting on the beer-duty again?—Probably if the malt-duty were not taken off at the same time, they would complain; but if the malt-duty were *taken off, I am sure they would rejoice.*"

"Is there, *without them*, convenience for a labouring man to obtain beer for his dinner?—I have myself given my labourers beer, though it has *cost me an immense sum* for my malt bill every year; but still *I know a man cannot work well without beer*, and I wish as much as possible to keep my labourers away from the beer-shops."

The advantage to the farmer, as well as to the labourer, from giving beer instead of money, is of so much importance, as hardly to admit of exaggeration in the statement. Every one acquainted with these matters knows well, that, in times of pressing haste, particularly in harvest, a farmer can do more with one pound's worth of beer than with four pounds in money. Money is too far from the lips to produce immediate effect. Then, as to regular hard work in hot weather. Set a company of men to work at mowing: they ask you for beer, and, as is generally the case, you

allow them sixpence an acre, or something an acre, in lieu of beer. The hot sun comes and clogs the spittle in their mouths, and draws the sweat from their bodies. Away they go, perhaps a mile, to lay out their sixpence in beer. Being there, they do not stop with the sixpence. Very likely the field does not see them again for that day: then follows the loss of time, so precious then to the farmer, and they have to thirst for the remainder of the hard work of mowing, or to slake that thirst with water, which communicates weakness instead of strength. Whereas, if they had beer from the farm-house, they would go to the bottles deposited in the hedge, take their drink and return to their work. The beer would be wholesome and strengthening; and it is the deeply-interested master who would then determine the quantity. MR. RUDDELL BROWN told the committee, that he does this now; but MR. RUDDELL BROWN is a great farmer and a rich man: it costs him, he tells the committee, "an immense sum" for malt every year. That immense sum it is not in the power of a common farmer to expend; and, therefore, generally, and almost universally, speaking, hard-working men, and the best of labourers, too, are driven to the beer-shops from this cause; or to some place or other where they have to swallow the adulterated stuff made by the brewers.

Besides all these evils, there is the great evil of evils, the driving of the young people from the farm-houses. Great as the other objections to this tax are, this objection is greater than all the rest put together. This it is, which has been the great cause of the lamentable change which has taken place in the manners and the morals of the working people of England. Every gentleman must know how slender the authority of poor and indulgent parents must necessarily be over young people from the age of twelve years upwards. In proportion as the parents are poor and miserable, in that same proportion, in nature's spite, their authority will be small. To have good grown-up men and women, you must begin the work when they are

young. The hand of the poor parent is not strong enough; and if the hand of the parent were strong enough, the heart would not be stout enough, for this work. Besides, there is no room in the cottage for any body but the father and mother and little children. In the farm-house is their proper place from the age of twelve to that of twenty, or some years more. There there are a master and a mistress, not liable to indulgence on account of kindred; but bound by the law to provide for the parties in sickness and health for the whole year through; bound still more strongly by the most weighty interest, to attend, not only to the good habits and the industry, but to the morals and manners of the young people living under the same roof with themselves. Let gentlemen figure to themselves a parish with a hundred young people, distributed amongst the farm-houses, subjected to the control of masters and mistresses, who, of necessity, will compel them to keep good hours, to rise early, to be diligent during the day, to be cleanly in their persons, to go to church on the Sunday, and who have the magistrate always at hand to punish disobedience of their lawful commands. Then suppose these young people all to be turned out and to be upon their own hands; strolling about on the Sunday, without any regard to the decencies of dress; assembling in groups, either in beer-shops, or out of beer-shops; assemble they will, and whoever saw such an assemblage, without seeing mischief of some sort or other being the ultimate consequence. In short, this is the main cause of that fatal change which has taken place in the manners, the morals, the expertness, and the bodily strength, of the labourers of England; and every man, who is a judge of the matter, knows well, that this has been produced, in very great part, by the heavy expense required to furnish beer for the servants in husbandry; and that this heavy expense arises from the tax upon malt—and solely from that tax, no man will attempt to deny. This evil is so great that, unless it can be removed, all hope of restoring the country to a state of good

morals and happiness, and even of safety, may be abandoned at once in despair. The right hon. Member for MANCHESTER drew an astounding picture of the awful consequences of rejecting the proposition for an alteration of the corn laws. He seems to have thought little of the present really awful situation of those who are concerned in the cultivation of the land. But I trust that this House will have that situation constantly in its mind, till it has done its best to restore content to the labouring millions, and restored something like peace and security to the property and the dwelling of the farmer; and, sir, I am perfectly satisfied that nothing would so powerfully assist in the accomplishing of this, so desirable an object, as the adoption of the motion which I now have the honour to submit to the House.

Gladly would I see the work performed by the noble Lord and his colleagues. Then, indeed, would the Government have strength; for then it would become dear to the hearts of the whole people. The honourable Gentlemen seem as firmly fixed now as is the seat upon which they are; but this measure would fix them firmly as the hills.

I here read my motion, which was seconded by my colleague, Mr. FIELDEN. It was my intention to give the mere points in the other speeches made upon this occasion; but to avoid a charge of unfairness in doing this, I will give the report as I find it in the Times, which, to the best of my recollection, is substantially correct. Whether the country be destined to be plunged into confusion or not, is more than I can say; but if it be destined to be saved from that horrible state, I know that amongst the means of salvation there must be a total abolition of this tax. For my own part, as long as I have a seat in Parliament, I will never cease my endeavours to cause this repeal. I wish the matter to be well and clearly understood by the whole of the people, and I shall, therefore, republish the above speech, and the whole of the other speeches, as given below, in a separate pamphlet, which I shall sell for fourpence, and which I shall have

ready for publication on Tuesday the 25th of this month.

Lord ALTHORP said, that as the question had been so recently discussed, it was hardly to be supposed that the House had changed its opinion upon it. He therefore did not feel himself called upon to enter minutely into its merits. The hon. Mover had stated, that had it not been for the malt-tax the labouring agriculturists would have been able to brew their beer and drink it in their own houses. There could be no question of the advantage of the revival of such a practice, but it might be a question, whether it was dependent on the tax under discussion. The real question was, in what way in the present state of the finances of the country, it was possible to reduce the malt-tax. It had been very truly stated, that while the present amount of the establishments of the country was maintained, it would be difficult to effect any material reductions in taxation. He entirely agreed with the hon. Mover in the preference he gave to a repeal of the whole rather than half of the duty; but with regard to his assertion that it would benefit the people living in towns as much as those in the country, he would remark, that the only advantage the agriculturists would gain from a reduction of the duty, would be in their capacity of consumers, but undoubtedly every other class would profit in a like degree. He had stated, however, in a former debate, and he now repeated it, that the effect of carrying a resolution like that before the House, and founding a bill upon it, would be to produce a total stagnation in every financial measure which had been introduced to Parliament. Under these circumstances, therefore, he would refrain from following the hon. Member in detail. If the taking off the tax on malt were considered merely abstractedly, the arguments in favour of it would apply to the repeal of every other tax. With regard to what had fallen from the hon. Mover on the advantage labourers would derive from brewing their beer in their own houses, he (Lord Althorp) confessed he did not believe it

likely that labourers would ever brew their own beer again. Whatever alterations were to be made in the malt-tax, he was still convinced that they would be able to buy beer cheaper than they could brew it. It was quite certain that people with large capital could make the article at a cheaper rate than those with small; and in the present state of society, he confessed he had no hope of seeing the practice in question revived. In opposing the motion he was only sorry that he felt it to be his duty so frequently to do so.

Mr. H. CURTEIS said, that had it been in accordance with the forms of the House, he would have moved, as an amendment proposed by the hon. Member for Oldham, that from and after the 5. of October, 1835, one half of the duty on malt should cease and determine; and he thought Government would have consented to it. The hon. Member for Bridport (Mr. Warburton) had on a former occasion accused the agriculturists of wishing to put their hands into the pockets of the manufacturers; but this was not surely the case, since the landed proprietors had been as forward as any in recommending the repeal of the tax on beer. It was true a deficiency would be experienced in the Exchequer on the reduction of the malt-tax; but then how many eligible modes were there not only of repairing that deficiency, but of still further increasing the revenue! He had no hesitation in avowing his opinion that a tax on lotteries would be a most legitimate impost. By such a tax, 10,000,000*l.* a year might be raised. There was another article which he would subject to a higher scale of duty, that was gin; and he calculated that from 4,000,000*l.* to 5,000,000*l.* might be obtained from an increased land-tax. The hon. Member concluded by expressing a hope that the question would be pressed to a division.

Sir W. INGILBY observed, that though the question had been before disposed of, it was right it should be again tried. It was all very well to turn into ridicule the address with which he had introduced his motion on this subject; but that course could not be adopted now,

for they had in the present instance the opportunity of hearing it discussed by one who was, perhaps, the most competent man to do so in the King's dominions. (A laugh). Why his (Sir W. Ingilby's) address should have been treated as burlesque he could not imagine: for when he made his motion last year, he had been taunted by the noble Lord (Althorp) for not having named a substitute for the malt-tax he proposed to repeal. He had been called upon to state what equivalent he would throw into the Exchequer to make up the deficiency of some 4,000,000*l.* or 5,000,000*l.* of revenue; but when he last addressed the House he had taken care to specify some sources of revenue which, in his opinion, might form this equivalent. Even now he did not feel disposed to abandon his "budget," although attempts had been made to turn it into ridicule. People talked of buffoonery—he should like to know what greater buffoonery there could be than to vote one night in one way, with respect to the malt-tax, and next day to vote in a manner directly the reverse. He would vote with the hon. Member for Oldham, or with any other man who proposed a relief of taxation. He denied that his speech was buffoonery. He did not undertake the office of Chancellor of the Exchequer but by particular desire (laughter), and should never resume the office more. (Renewed laughter). However buffoonery or no buffoonery, the hon. Member opposite (Mr. Curteis) was now found priggish in part from his budget with respect to a tax on gin, &c. (A laugh). As to the malt-tax, it was scarcely necessary for him to repeat his previously expressed opinion, that it was a most iniquitous and demoralizing mode of taxation, and that it ought to be altogether repealed. He should vote with the hon. Member for Oldham; who, he hoped, would divide the House, in order that the country might see who were the friends of agriculture, and; he would add, of trade and manufactures, upon the present occasion.

Mr. CHILDEs next addressed the House, but in a tone which rendered

him inaudible in the gallery throughout the greater part of his speech. We understood him to resist the motion, and to express his belief that a repeal of the malt-tax would not afford that degree of relief which many imagined. He was satisfied that the humbler classes would not be enabled to brew their own beer by a repeal of the duty. At present, the beer-house keepers found that they could not brew in competition with the brewers; what pretence was there for saying that the poor man could do so under any circumstances? In conclusion he observed, that the question having been already disposed of by a large majority, he did not see upon what grounds it could now be sustained.

Mr. C. FERGUSsON was a friend and a member of the landed interest, but would nevertheless vote against the motion. He could not vote for taking off the whole of the malt-tax without seeing how the deficiency was to be supplied. He dared to say the hon. Member for Oldham would find means of supplying the deficiency by reducing the interest of the national debt [an hon. Member, we believe Mr. T. Attwood, here said, "And why not?"]; but he was not prepared to accede to such a proposition: the only other means of supplying the deficiency consisted in a property-tax. (Hear from the opposition). Perhaps those that cheered that sentiment thought we should have a property-tax (hear, hear, from the opposition), but he was against such an inquisitorial and odious imposition, and therefore could not be expected to vote with the hon. Member, whose motion could not be carried into effect without shaking public credit or imposing an odious tax. (Hear).

Mr. SINCLAIR observed that he should rejoice to see a property-tax re-established, inasmuch as only by means of it could the fundholder be compelled to contribute a due proportion towards the support of the state.

Mr. M. PHILIPS said, that when, on reference to the division of last year, he found that of 66 county members who voted for the repeal of the malt-tax, but

24 had supported a property-tax (the only effectual substitute), he could not vote with the hon. Member for Oldham. He was not insensible to the heavy pressure of this tax, and would gladly see it repealed, if its repeal could be effected consistently with raising the necessary amount of revenue. But it being determined to keep faith with the public creditor, he could not see how the malt-duty was to be dispensed with, after the refusal of the House to sanction a property-tax. He wished to support and aid agriculture as much as possible, being satisfied that if it were put in jeopardy, trade could not long continue prosperous. As before stated, his vote rested solely on the divisions of last year, and till he saw a different disposition in the House, he did not consider himself warranted in voting otherwise.

Mr. MAXWELL said, that if the hon. Member for Oldham thought proper to divide the House, it would be his duty to vote with him, and although he might go out in an extremely small minority ("No, no," from the opposition), as he used to do with the hon. Member for Middlesex, he foresaw that that minority would ere long rule the House. ("Hear," and a laugh).

Mr. ROMILLY would vote with the hon. Member for Oldham on this occasion.

Mr. T. ATTWOOD thought it his duty to vote with the hon. Member for Oldham, and he trusted he should do so not in a contemptible but in a considerable minority. No man could look at any breach of national faith, or at an unjust reduction of the interest of the public debt, with greater disapprobation than himself. He wished that the hon. Member for Kirkcubright would display a little sympathy for trade and commerce, as well as for the fundholder. The only "public faith" to which he (Mr. Attwood) objected, was the unhallowed support of the fundholder in the possession of enormous and unnatural wealth, while the farmer, manufacturer, and merchant, were beat down to the earth. Take England throughout, at this moment, and you will find three farmers out of four in a state of insolvency.

When he saw the wholesale destruction of other classes of the community, he could not perceive any impropriety in taking up the case of the fundholders. The noble Lord had imposed a heavier burden on agriculture than Pharaoh did upon the Egyptians (a laugh), he meant upon the children of Israel, when they were required to make bricks without straw. The noble Lord asked the agriculturists to pay rent without money—to meet their mortgages without the means. He called upon the noble Lord, as a man with a heart in his bosom, and a head, which he had (a laugh), to bring down the public burdens to a level with the public means of sustaining them. He (Mr. Attwood) wanted to make all classes flourish, happy, and united under the shadow of the King's throne. Was there any class, with the exception of the fundholders, mortgagees, and placemen, that was now contented? The noble Lord's measures had placed industry, capital, trade, and agriculture, at the feet of the monied interest. The monied interest itself must finally sink if the present system were continued. He called upon the noble Lord to do justice to all parties; that was the true way to preserve the public faith. The tax in question was about 5,000,000*l.* per annum, but he was satisfied that in order to produce that amount 10,000,000*l.* per annum was charged upon the English people. He paid 8*s.* 6*d.* per bushel for malt: the barley cost 3*s.* 6*d.*, and the tax was 2*s.* 7½*d.*, making in all 6*s.* 1½*d.*; instead of which, as before stated, he had to pay 8*s.* 6*d.* It would be seen from this how much above the amount of the actual duty the cost of malt was augmented by the present system. The removal of the tax would probably raise the price of barley from 3*s.* 6*d.* to 5*s.* per bushel, and the people would put 3*s.* 6*d.* in their pockets, and the farmers perhaps 1*s.* 6*d.* This was a question in which the people at large, and not merely the agriculturists were interested, and as the representative of a great body of manufacturers, he joined heart and hand with the agriculturists in urging the great boon of the total abolition of the malt-

tax. The hon. Member proceeded to touch upon the subject of wages and subsistence, and argued, that if the wages of labour were to be reduced, the taxes which enhanced the prices of the necessaries of life ought to be proportionably diminished, if we wished to see our population in comfortable circumstances. The French and Austrian soldiers had only 3*d.* a day; would the noble Lord attempt to reduce the allowance of the English soldiers to the Continental level? In defiance of all the trades' unions in the kingdom, the wages of labour would sink under a metallic standard to the level of 1792. Such being the case, must not the price of necessaries be reduced; and, in order to effect this, must not the taxes upon necessaries be lowered or removed? "But," said the noble Lord, "If we take off 5,000,000*l.* of taxation, how are we to get on?" He (Mr. Attwood) knew that in the event of such a reduction the noble Lord could not go on with the present system; but had the noble Lord considered how the landholder was to go on with his mortgages, and the necessary provisions for his family? How, with his benevolent and manly mind, could the noble Lord see this great nation "swept with the besom of destruction"? It had been said that it would be a robbery of the noble Lord opposite to deprive him of the malt-tax; but he (Mr. Attwood) hoped the noble Lord would soon not only be robbed of the malt-tax, but also of many other imposts which pressed so heavily upon the industry of the country. Until the noble Lord thus relieved the people, he trusted he would be as restless upon his pillow as millions were rendered by the pressure of taxation—indeed he could not understand how the noble Lord could rest tranquilly in the same bed with his victims. (Cries of Oh, oh, and question.) He (Mr. Attwood) should most unquestionably give his vote in favour of the motion of the hon. Member for Oldham.

Mr. STANLEY said he did not rise for the purpose of entering at all upon the question of the repeal of the malt-duty, but to entreat the House to show

some respect for its own time, and to join with him in endeavouring to put an end to the present most useless discussion, (hear, hear); a discussion into which all sorts of extraneous topics had been introduced. He should not attempt to follow the hon. Member for Birmingham through all the topics upon which he had commented, nor to comment upon the language he had indulged in with reference to the noble Lord sleeping in the same bed with his victims (hear); but he wished to recall to the attention of the House the fact that the present question has been fully discussed within the last fortnight in a very large House, when the repeal of the malt-tax was negatived on the clearest proof being adduced that without that tax or a substitute it was impossible for the Government to carry on the affairs of the nation. Would the House then now reverse its decision upon a subject which every individual admitted could not be done without a substitute being found and adopted? The hon. Member for Birmingham had himself admitted this, and yet he called upon the Government to make the bricks (adopting the hon. Gentleman's simile), but refused to supply the straw, a commodity absolutely necessary for the manufacture of the article. The manner in which the question had now been brought forward and treated was not the fair mode of dealing with it. The House had already decided upon the subject within the last fortnight, and he (Mr. Stanley) called upon the House to proceed to the order of the day, and to dispose of the ordnance estimates, and not vote for a motion which could lead to no practical benefit. It had been admitted, as he had already stated, that the malt-duties could not be dispensed with, unless some other means of contributing to the revenue should be substituted, but no such substitute had as yet even been substituted. The discussion, therefore, could lead to no beneficial end.

An hon. MEMBER on the opposition benches said that it would lead to a property-tax.

Mr. STANLEY resumed.—Let the hon.

Member get a property-tax first, and he could then well enter into the discussion of the repeal of the malt-duties (hear hear); but without a substitute, to talk of taking away 5,000,000*l.* from the revenue of the country was an absurdity. He must remind hon. Members, that, from the manner in which the question stood before the House, by voting for the business of the day being proceeded with, they could not be accused of voting against the repeal of the malt-duty, and he entreated hon. members, if they wished to maintain their reputation in the country as men of business, not to countenance the continuance of a discussion which, as he had already said, could by no possibility lead to any result, but to accede to the proceeding at once to the business of the day.

Mr. ROBINSON had no wish to protract a re-discussion of the question of the repeal of the malt-duties, though he was surprised the argument that it had already been discussed, should be urged by a Government which last year, after a vote of the House had been given in favour of an interference with those imposts, came down a few evenings afterwards, and by a motion called upon the House to rescind that decision. (Hear, hear). For himself he was prepared to denounce the malt-duties as the most onerous and exceptionable tax pressing upon the country, but he at the same time deprecated the demand made upon the Government to repeal them without a substitute being provided. (Hear, hear). He contended that a substitute could be found and adopted with safety to the revenue and with benefit to the whole community. He did not allude to any interference with the currency, though all the difficulties of the country arose from its depreciation in the year 1797. (Question, question). He was clearly of opinion that only one remedy existed by which the country could be relieved from its pressing difficulties. It was a remedy which he feared the House was not at present disposed to adopt, but it was a remedy which would effect no injury upon one class of capitalists to the benefit of another—a remedy that would affect the fundholder in common with other capitalists; that remedy was a tax upon the wealth and property of the country,

by which alone Parliament could repeal all those taxes which were admitted to be impolitic and unjust. (Hear, hear).

Mr. CUMMING BRUCE had no wish to prolong the debate, but was anxious merely to state to the House a few facts, which would show that the agricultural interests of that part of the kingdom with which he was connected, were now under great depression from the operation of the present system of taxation generally. In the first place, however, he must call the attention of the House to the comparison of the average prices of wheat now and at former periods, and he had taken the average price at present obtained in counties in the southern district, as well as in the northern counties of Scotland. From the years 1829 to 1833, the lowest average was 5*l.* 3*d.* per quarter, and from 1797 to 1801 the average was 47*s.* 1*d.* At present the average prices fixed in February last, in the county of Stirling, where there existed all the advantages of a ready market, and of a great manufacturing population, the average prices of agricultural produce were as follows:—Wheat, 46*s.* 5*d.*; barley, 25*s.* 4*d.*; and oats, 16*s.* 8*d.* At the same period in a northern county (the county of Moray) the average prices were, wheat, 43*s.* 5*d.*; barley, 25*s.*; and oats, 15*s.* 10*d.*; and in the county of Banff, wheat, 37*s.*, barley, 23*s.*, and oats, 15*s.* per quarter. Now he must remind the House that it had been stated before the agricultural committee of last year by one witness, Mr. Low, that unless the farmer in Scotland could realize in the market 50*s.* per quarter for his wheat, 32*s.* for his barley, and 24*s.* for his oats, he would be unable to meet his engagements without sacrificing all the profits which ought to appertain to him for his skill, industry, and his capital employed. The committee, which had been acquiesced in last year by the noble Lord opposite, had, by their report, shown the state of the existing distress amongst the agricultural interests, and had pointed out some measures of relief; yet a modification of the poor-laws, and other remedies suggested, would not afford any relief to the agriculturist north of the Tweed, neither would any alteration of the tithe law affect the distress consequent upon the low prices obtained for agricultural produce. In Scotland all collision between the occupying tenants and the clergy had been avoided; but though no outcry had been raised, the former had to contribute to the church, though in a different shape, all that was paid by tenants occupying lands in England. The Scotch agriculturists had used great efforts, and with success, to improve the lands, but their condition was now daily becoming more distressing, and they were more and more unable to maintain a respectable and useful position in society; and the lands were passing into the hands of attorneys, money-lenders, and legal crafts—a change than which

none more injurious could be conceived. (Cries of Question). He was not prepared, however, to sacrifice the maintenance of the national faith, and the provision for the exigences of the state, and therefore could not vote for the motion of the hon. Member for Oldham; but he would take the liberty of suggesting to the noble Lord opposite (Lord Althorp) a means by which a partial relief could be afforded without to any considerable degree affecting the revenue. The suggestion was contained in a memorial signed by the malt distillers of the Inverness collection, and those memorialists recommended as a very essential amendment the repeal of the malt duty, and the substitution of a spirit duty, which they were willing to increase to 3s. 11½d. or to even 4s. per gallon. Now, as the modification of the poor-laws, or the proposed alteration in the tithe system, could not affect the agricultural distress in Scotland or Ireland, his proposition was, that the noble Lord opposite should separate the question of the malt-duties with reference to those two countries from the question as affecting England. (Loud cries of Oh, oh, and Question). It appeared that during the last year the duty on malt paid in Scotland was 523,539l. 1s. 6d., and in Ireland the amount paid was 246,347l. 4s. 9d., making a total amount of duty paid in those countries, upon 707,975 quarters, of 769,886l. Now the malt distillers suggest the substitution of an increased duty on spirits of 6d. He (Mr. C. Bruce) would accede to an increase of 8d. per gallon. The total number of gallons distilled in Scotland in the course of last year was 7,979,000, and in Ireland upwards of 9,000,000 making together a total of 17,259,958 gallons. Upon this the increase of duty would realize to the revenue upwards of 600,000l., and therefore all that the noble Lord would, by the adoption of the proposition, be called upon to give up to the distressed agriculturists of Ireland and Scotland would be about 169,000l. By this arrangement the resources of the noble Lord would not be much trenching upon, while a great boon would be extended to both countries. He should not vote for the motion of the hon. Member for Oldham, but he had felt it his duty to call the attention of the House and the Government to these facts with a view to redress the grievances and burdens by which the agriculturists of Scotland were oppressed and borne down. (Hear, hear, and cries of Question).

Mr. PIGOT was understood to say, that in maintaining English prices we should maintain English comforts, English enjoyments, and English civilization. (Question).

Strangers were then ordered to withdraw, and the House divided, when there appeared

For the original question	142
For Mr. Cobbett's amendment ..	59
Majority for the Speaker's leave ..	—
ing the Chair	83

LIST OF THE MINORITY

Of 61 (tellers included) who voted in favour of Mr. Cobbett's motion, "That it is expedient that from and after the 5. of October next, all duties on malt shall cease and determine."

Against the motion	142
For the motion	59
Majority	83

201 in the House.

ENGLAND.

Adams, E. H.	Keppel, Major
Agliouby, H. A.	Leech, J.
Astley, Sir J.	Lennard, Sir T.
Attwood, T.	Lister, E. G.
Barnard, J. G.	Mills, W.
Bell, M.	Parrott, J.
Bowes, J.	Pigot, N.
Buckingham, J. S.	Piquette, J. P.
Burton, H.	Rickford, W.
Chandos, Marquis of	Robinson, G. R.
Chaplin, Colonel	Shawe, R. N.
Clayton, Colonel W.R.	Simeon, Sir R.
Crawley, S.	Trelawney, W. L. S.
Curteis, Captain	Trevor, Hon. R.
Faithful, G.	Tyrell, Sir J.
Fancourt, Major	Tyrell, C.
Fielden, J.	Vincent, Sir F.
Foley, E.	Walter, J.
Folkes, Sir W.	Wason, R.
Gaskell, D.	Watkins, L.
Hume, J.	Wigney, I. N.
Inglby, Sir W.	Wilks, J.
James, W.	Winnington, H.

SCOTLAND.

Ferguson, Captain	Sinclair, G.
Maxwell, J.	Wallace, R.
Oswald, R. A.	

IRELAND.

Jacob, E.	Ruthven, E. S.
O'Connell, M.	Ruthven, E.
O'Connell, M. J.	Sheil, R. L.
O'Connell, J.	

<i>Tellers.</i>	Tynte, C. J. K.
Cobbett, W.	Troubridge, Sir T.
Curteis, H. B.	Berkeley, Hon. G.
<i>Paired for the motion.</i>	<i>Shut out.</i>
Goring, H. D.	Kennedy, J.

So that out of two hundred and thirteen members, there were sixty-five for the total abolition of the malt-tax, the question being put in a manner direct, and without any possibility of its being misunderstood.

GOOD NEWS INDEED !

Bolt-court, 20. March, 1834.

LETTERS and papers from America convince me that the paper-monster has got its death-blow. I have several articles to insert from the NEW YORK papers up to the 13. of February ; but I shall begin with one which will at once amuse and instruct my readers. It is an extract from a letter dated at the city of WASHINGTON, and I take it from the NEW YORK *Journal of Commerce* of the 13. of February, and it is in the following words :

" Washington, 10. Feb., 1834.

" It is reported that General Jackson has received a letter from William Cobbett, encouraging him to persist in his hostility to monied monopolies, and informing him that the eyes of Europe are upon him, and that the hopes of the people of Europe will be disappointed if he yields to the Bank in the present conflict."

Good ! good blow at the monster. A blow that will tell. Bread cast upon the waters. That is the way to attack monsters when they are powerful. It is no use to rail at them ; no use to be in a passion with them ; you only fret yourself to death, or knock yourself to pieces. The way to attack them is, the way that I went to work with this paper-monster, by " PAPER AGAINST GOLD," which has now been actually at work in the United States, where it is re-published. That prodigious mass of power and of abuses, the established church, was not to be attacked by railing, by invective, no, nor even by a full and true statement of its abuses. It required " PROTESTANT REFORMATION " ; it required the tracing of it back to its very commencement. When soldiers have a mere intrenchment or hastily thrown-up battery to attack, they may rush on, sword in hand, to the assault, at once ; but when they have a regular fortified place, with curtains and bastions, a rampart, a hundred yards wide, supported by half-moons, horn-works, ravelins, and outworks of every description ; then the assailant must begin at the foot of the glacis, and make his approaches

with the assistance of gabions, fascines, and all those other means that give him shelter, until he can work a mine under the rampart, and blow a hole in it.

Thus I availed myself of my studies in fortification : I applied to politics the knowledge which I had derived from reading VAUBAN ; and I have dealt these great things heavier blows than any other man ever dealt them. I have set the people upon them ; and now let them escape if they can.

The President having got my letters, has also got (and, indeed, I know he has) the AGRICULTURAL REPORT OF LAST SESSION, which I sent him ; in order to show him to what a state the ever accursed paper-money had brought England herself ; in order to show him, that this hellish monster had been able to demoralize the most moral people in the world ; in order to show him, that the House of Commons itself had thus declared ; FIRST, that the lands of England had fallen, and were falling, out of cultivation, and were yielding diminished crops for the want of a sufficiency of labour bestowed upon them ; and, SECOND, that the greatest evil in the country was, that there was a surplus of labourers, and a general want of employment.

This REPORT is at the city of WASHINGTON. There it is to be seen by the rulers of that country ; there it is to speak for itself, and to tell the members of the Congress what a state the monster of paper-money has brought a country like England to ; there it is, worth all the pamphlets and all the letters and all the speeches in the world, to urge the President and Congress to rescue their country from the jaws of the hellish monster. I must now content myself, for this week, with inserting these interesting articles from the American papers. I have neither time nor room for comment at any length. Our infamous newspapers, nine-tenths of which are deeply interested in upholding the paper swindle, take special care to publish nothing, tending to show us that the American swindle is actually now being knocked to pieces, and that shipments of specie from England to

the United States are daily going on, and must of necessity increase. The first article that I shall insert, is a report, made at New York, to the merchants and paper-money fellows there, by certain delegates, sent by these rag-rooks to Washington, to get a memorial presented to the Congress, in favour of the National Bank. The reader will see what the Vice-President and the Congress said to the rag-rooks; he will see, that it is the resolution of the Government to root out the accursed paper-money altogether. These proceedings took place at New York on the 11. of February. I beg the reader's best attention to the whole of it from the beginning to the end.

NEW YORK RAG-ROOKS.

At a meeting of the signers of the Memorial of Merchants and others, held at the Merchants' Exchange, February 11th, 1834;

On motion, Jonathan Goodhue, Esq. was chosen chairman, and John P. Stagg appointed Secretary;

James G. King, Esq. from the Committee of Delegates, made the following

REPORT.

The delegation appointed by the Signers of the Memorial of the Merchants, Traders, Dealers and others of the city of New York, to present the same to Congress, beg leave respectfully to report to their constituents, that upon their arrival in Washington, they waited on the Representatives in Congress from this city, and on the Senators from the state of New York, with a view of requesting their aid and co-operation in properly introducing to their respective Houses the memorial they had in charge. Believing it to be of primary importance, considering the unbelief expressed as to the existing commercial distress, that the individual presenting such memorial should declare, in his place in Congress, his full and implicit reliance upon the truth of its averment, and his perfect acquiescence in its conclusion, they proposed to Mr. C. W. Lawrence, who, from his large participation in the prosperity of New York, whose commercial

interests he was especially relied upon for upholding, to be their organ in the House of Representatives in this design: however, your delegation regret to say, they were disappointed, as, after time for consideration, Mr. Lawrence declined presenting the memorial in the manner proposed. The senior members of the city representation in Congress, were not requested to act, as their sentiments, frankly made known at the time, were totally at variance with those of the memorial, which was also a matter of serious regret to your delegation, inasmuch as these gentlemen were likewise intimately connected with the commercial classes of the city of New York.

Your deputation, thus situated, afforded a singular spectacle to the national legislature. In presenting a memorial declaring, with a moderation beyond all cavil, the existing state of commercial distress, and embodying the deliberate views of experienced and intelligent merchants upon a subject of vital importance to them and to the nation, they are obliged to forego the service of the only mercantile men sent from the city to Congress; and were glad to find in the junior member of Congress from the city (Mr. Selden), himself not connected with the mercantile class except by enlarged and liberal views, a ready and efficient aid in the accomplishment of their wishes. While your delegation acknowledges at the hands of the other representatives from the city, all proper courtesies and civilities, they must award to Mr. Selden the highest praise for his manly and able co-operation, which was not the less effective in Congress, as your delegation aver, from being made in despite of those considerations which were deemed paramount by his colleagues; and it is proper to add, that those colleagues thought it right to vote against such a reference of the memorial as had been deliberately preferred by your delegation.

By Mr. Wright, from this State, the memorial was presented in the Senate, in satisfactory terms, and, considering that he had so recently promulgated such opposite opinions, your delegation desire to award him their thanks.

Your delegation also waited upon the President of the United States, by appointment, and was received with that courtesy for which he is distinguished; and in a long interview, after explaining the actual state of commercial affairs in this city, and declaring in explicit but respectful terms, as the result of the experience and best judgment of our commercial men, that a national bank was absolutely necessary for the proper regulation of a paper currency as now established, and upon which the whole business of the country was based; they received from him the most decided assurance of these entirely opposite views, entertained by himself, and the most unqualified declarations, that in no event would he ever consent to restore the deposits or to re-charter the Bank of the United States; that he was determined to try the experiment of carrying on the fiscal concerns of the nation, through the state banks until the expiration of the United States Bank charter, and if the experiment failed, some scheme might be devised of collecting and depositing the revenue *without the intervention of any monied institution.*

The President held out no expectation of the establishment at present of any national bank, but added that he felt great sympathy for the New York mercantile distress, for the merchants had honourably and punctually performed all their engagements to the Government, with unparalleled fidelity.

Your delegation then waited upon the Vice-President, but from official engagements he was at that time unable to hold any converse with them, upon the subject of their mission, but at another moment to a portion of your delegation, the Vice-President expressed similar views and determinations to those manifested by the President.

Your delegation had an interview with Mr. Taney, and derived from him a full confirmation of their conclusions resulting from what had passed during their visit to Washington. In conclusion your delegation regret to say that it is their sincere conviction, that nothing is intended to be done by the Govern-

ment for the present, that no plan is under its consideration for the future, in respect to a national bank; that the administration is determined not to re-charter the U.S. Bank under any possible modifications, nor to propose any new bank, and instead thereof, to rely upon state institutions, *until hard money can be made to supersede the actual paper-currency of the country.*

James G. King,
James Boorman,
Charles H. Russell,
John A. Stevens,
R. C. Cornell,
D. W. C. Olyphant,
James W. Otis,
Elbert, J. Anderson,
P. Perit,
Joseph Kernockan,
S. S. Howland,
G. S. Robbins,
J. Crumby,
T. W. Gale.

On motion of Samuel Ward, Esq., resolved, That the report be accepted and the committee be discharged.

On motion, it was unanimously resolved, That the thanks of this meeting be presented to the delegates to Washington, for the able and faithful discharge of the duties confided to them.

On motion of Charles H. Russell, Esq., it was unanimously resolved, That the thanks of this meeting be presented to the Hon. Dudley Selden, for the prompt manner in which he presented our memorial, and for the ability with which he enforced its object, and that this expression of our feelings be conveyed to him by the Chairman and Secretary of this meeting.

On motion of John A. Stevens, Esq., the following resolutions were unanimously adopted:

1. Resolved, as the opinion of this meeting, that there is energy, ability, integrity, and property sufficient in this community, to carry it through the present unparalleled sufferings and impending evils ultimately to safety and prosperity.

2. Resolved, That the commercial community in this crisis must rely for

their preservation on their own energies, on mutual forbearance and assistance, and that this emergency calls for a calmness, liberality, and firmness, equal to its severity; and that on these means, and through them on the restoration, as far as practicable of public confidence, this community must now depend.

3. Resolved, That with a view to these objects, and to the importance of combining mercantile influence and opinions for commercial and not for party ends, and by the exercise of this influence, to ameliorate present distresses and to avert future evils, that a Union Committee of twenty-five persons be now appointed, whose duty it shall be to confer with committees of the State and National Banks, with a view to produce that entire concert and harmony of action, essential to enable them to afford the greatest possible relief to the community.

4. Resolved, That this committee be further instructed to adopt immediate measures, by a union of the Chamber of Commerce and the Board of Trade, or by such other measures as they may deem expedient, to constitute a general organ of commercial sentiments and opinions, in order by concert and unanimity of action, to secure to this great mercantile community a just and proper influence.

5. Resolved, That the committee endeavour to procure from the state legislature, an expression more in accordance with the present opinions of its constituents, than those recently adopted by it, on the subject of the removal of the deposits and of a national bank.

6. Resolved, That this committee have power to appoint delegates to proceed to Washington, Albany, and other cities, if thought advisable, to further the objects of their appointment, and generally to adopt such measures as may be deemed expedient in this crisis for the public good.

In pursuance of the above resolution, the following persons were appointed, and constitute the Union Committee.

Albert Gallatin,
Jonathan Goodhue,

John Haggerty,
James Boorman,
James Brown,
Rufus L. Lord,
Isaac Carrow,
John G. Coaster,
Thomas Brooks,
Hubert Van Wagenen,
Joseph Kernochan,
John A. Stevens,
D. W. C. Olyphant,
James G. King,
G. G. Howland,
Nathaniel Weed,
John W. Leavitt,
David Lee,
Fanning C. Tucker,
Elbert J. Anderson,
Francis Olmsted,
Charles H. Russell,
E. G. Faile,
Philip Hone,
John P. Stagg.

On motion, resolved, That the report of the Committee of Delegates, with the proceedings of this meeting, be published in all the daily papers, and the meeting adjourned.

JONATHAN GOODHUE, Chairman.
JOHN P. STAGG, Secretary.

CONGRESS.

8. February, 1834.

This being presentation day, a great number of memorials, chiefly from Pennsylvania and New York, were presented, in relation to the public distress.

Mr. Cambreleng presented the memorial of merchants of New York, engaged in the foreign trade, in favour of a warehousing system, and prefaced it with some animated and correct views in regard to the policy of the measure advocated by the memorialists. He did not fail to represent that much of the present distress grew out of the abolition of long credits on duties without a commensurate extension of the warehousing system, and he called on those who were so clamorous for relief, to join him in affording it, through the means proposed by the memorialists. Mr. Cambreleng also presented the memorial of the working men of New

York in favour of the abolition of paper currency, and of a return to a "constitutional" or hard-money currency. Here Mr. C. launched out in support of the metallic currency system, to the great edification, no doubt, of the Philadelphia merchants in the gallery. His plan was, that we should take things as General Jackson has made them, and "enlarge the metallic basis." Mr. C. also presented the Tammany resolutions, with some remarks.

Mr. Selden presented the mechanics' memorial with some appropriate remarks. Among other things, he said that, in ninety days, we should have the mechanics from every part of the country knocking at our doors and praying relief. This memorial, at the request of Mr. Selden, was read from the clerks' table. Mr. Hannegan, a Jackson member from Indiana, interrupted its reading and requested its suspension: but he was overruled.

Mr. Denny, of Pittsburgh, made a long speech in presenting the proceedings of the citizens of that place on the subject of the public distress. Three fourths or more of the citizens of Pittsburgh concurred in the opinions and wishes expressed in the memorial. It seems that they threaten to tar and feather Mr. Wilkins, for representing their distress as artificial or feigned. He has retracted the offensive expressions, but persists in the opinion that they have mistaken both the cause and the remedy of their embarrassments.

Mr. Binney presented the Philadelphia memorial, in the presence of the Philadelphia committee, who were in the new gallery. His remarks were brief and highly interesting. He anticipates from the continuance of the existing relations between the Bank of the U.S. and the administration, the general and speedy suspension of specie payments by the state banks. He would not be surprised should the calamity come upon us to-day or to-morrow.

PROGRESS OF THE SWINDLE.

The following series of articles, taken from the New York "Courier," will

show the progress of the swindle, down to the 11 February; and will show also the desperate state of the swindle.

November 23.—Nothing can save our safety fund banks and currency generally, but the Government's promptly retracing its course.

December 25.—We do not hesitate to say that the pressure not only exceeds all former examples, but such is the panic that prevails in consequence of the removal of the deposits, the weakness of the state banks, and the general derangement of the currency, that there is too much reason to apprehend the most serious consequences to our local institutions, if a speedy remedy be not devised to restore the confidence of the community in thier ability to maintain specie payments.

The effect of a panic is to produce hoarding, and hoarding is always in specie. In Philadelphia the hoarding has already commenced to an alarming extent; and, we have it from a source which cannot be questioned, that the immediate cause of alarm among the Philadelphia banks, was the fact, that the country people are daily repaining to the city with their five, ten, twenty, or fifty-dollar bills, and demanding for them the specie for safe keeping. These are facts; and they should not be without their influence upon our local institutions. They know not how soon a similar course may be adopted in this state; but they do know, that once resorted to, every man who holds a bill will rush forward to realize his portion of the little specie the banks have, and then a single day will blow up half the banks in the state, and a week more all that remains of them. It matters not how solvent they be, a suspension of specie payments will inevitably take place if the Government deposits be not quickly replaced in the Bank of the United States.

Dec. 30.—A failure for a very large amount took place in Wall-street on Saturday, and two or three others of minor consequence, in other business parts of the city. The failure in Wall-street, we are informed, arose from the return with a protest of a large amount

of drafts on England, passed on the strength of a remittance of Ohio 6 per Cent. Stocks, which could not be sold there. This story about the Ohio 6 per Cents. was altogether a made-up affair. The house in question never owned a share of such stock, much less was it returned upon them from England.—[Edrs. J. C.] * * The distress is besides now not confined to the mercantile community; it unfortunately extends to the mechanic. One house on Saturday dismissed no less than fifty of their hands. * * * In Philadelphia our accounts represent the state of things as still worse, if possible.

Jan. 14.—Yesterday afternoon, at half-past two o'clock, a stage-wagon arrived in town from Albany, loaded with specie in kegs and barrels, for one of the pet banks. Every exertion was made to bring this specie on with celerity, but it still reached wall-street half an hour later than the period fixed on.

Jan. 22. The pressure upon the money market is not only greater than it has been for ten years past, but it has been and is daily increasing. And what is worse, the public mind appears to be settled down into a state of apathy and gloom, which too plainly proclaims that there is no prospect of relief in future. A deep conviction prevails that if the representatives of the people should approve of the removal of the deposits, it would become the imperious duty of the Bank of the United States to commence immediately curtailing its discounts, with a view to the ultimate winding up of its affairs. Its charter expires in March, 1836, and should they, as they most certainly will, immediately commence a curtailment of two millions per month, there will still remain an outstanding balance at the expiration of the charter.

Jan. 25. Can it be believed that the present state of our financial system, our western customers will be able to meet their engagements. * * In the present alarming crisis can any one be so sanguine as to think that western merchants of the first standing even, will be able to make their payments in this and other Atlantic cities, as they were

went to do? Assuredly not. Then is the pressure but just begun. * * It is the height of absurdity for any one to suppose, whatever may be his situation, that he is beyond the reach of the calamity which threatens us.

Jan. 27. The scarcity of money on Saturday had arrived at a most frightful pitch, and called forth curses deep and loud against those who brought this evil upon us.

We learn that nearly 300 hands were discharged by four manufacturers on Saturday in consequence of the existing state of things; and we need scarcely predict that every day will but add to the number of those deprived of the means of support.

Jan. 29. Every day the distress becomes greater. * * New failures are taking place, and the number of mechanics thrown out of employ, continually augments.

Jan. 30. Is it true that in the event of the failure of a pet bank the Government deposits must be paid before those of private individuals? If this be true, and we have no doubt of it, let private depositors look to their accounts.

Feb. 6. (Washington Correspondence.) While such dark clouds hover over the land, let the small capitalist prepare for the direful result. While the horizon is overshadowed, the faint flash of the lightning seen, and the rumbling of the thunder heard in the distance, let the cautious man house his little stock, secure from "the pelting of the pitiless storm" that approaches. Let him who has a five-dollar bill to lay aside, exchange it for specie, while that may yet be had. "Ye know not what to-morrow may bring forth."

Feb. 11. Should the [pet] banks refuse to listen to the voice of reason, it will become the solemn duty of our merchants and others who have any interest in the welfare of our city, to assemble in public meeting and designate a day, on which, if the deposits are not given up, every friend to our prosperity should go forward and demand from these banks the payment of their notes in specie.

DESPERATION OF THE SWINDLERS.

In the meanwhile, the swindling rag-rooks are become perfectly bloody-minded. On the 11. of February, they mustered all their forces at New York, uttered curses against the President, and called upon every sly rogue in the country to join in support of an *Union Committee*, to counteract the operations of the Government. Being surrounded with so numerous a band, the main mouth-piece of the swindlers concluded in the following words: "Hereafter, let that man or that newspaper, which attempts to disturb the public confidence in the banks or in the mercantile, be marked as an enemy and treated as such."

Under date of the 12. of February there is an extract from the PHILADELPHIA "*Herald*" of a day or two before in the following words: "We have it on good authority that the merchants of New York have it under advisement whether or not they shall suspend the payment of their *duty bonds*." Oh, oh! oh, oh! They have it under "*advisement*"! They have imported the goods from England; they have got them on shore and have sold them; they have got people to be bound for the payment of the duties; and they have it under "*advisement*" whether they shall pay the duties when the bonds become due! Do not, reader; do not, I pray you, charge them with the intention of wronging their bondsmen; for the villains are bondsmen for *one another*; and they mean, to be sure, all to break together and cheat the Government! This will not do much, however; for the Government has power to hunt them till they have not a shirt left to their backs; and if it had not had that power, not one penny would it ever have got from this tribe of swindlers, who, let it be observed, are little more than the agents of the money-monster in England; and this is well known to the President and the Congress.

SPECIE FROM ENGLAND.

Aye! this is the rub; and, relative to this, I take the following article from the New York "*Mercantile Journal*" of the 12. of February

"SPECIE FROM ENGLAND.--The packet ship *Napoleon* brought a considerable sum in dollars, the first of any importance which has been received since the rate of exchange passed below the real par. London, rather than Liverpool, is the place to find dollars, and from that place constant and large sums may be expected."

Aye, "London is the place"! London is the place to get dollars; and I do pray you, good folks, send for them very *quickly*, or else you will not get them. It is very curious that the ship "*Napoleon*" should be the first to carry out a cargo of dollars; the ship should have been named "*ANDREW JACKSON*"; or "*PORCUPINE*"; or "*WILLIAM CORBETT*"; or "*TOM PAINE*": the last, perhaps, the most appropriate of all; for it was old TOMMY that taught me how to give the monster heavy and deadly blows. The *run* goes on very delightfully in all parts of the country. Even the rag-rook paper, from which I have been quoting, gives us the following:

"From five hundred to a thousand dollars in specie are now daily paid out by each of the city banks, to persons who come with *small sums* in bills which they are *afraid* to hold. This is the effect of the cry, 'Let him who has a five-dollar bill to lay aside, exchange it for specie, and *house* his little store.' And let it be remembered, that every thousand dollars of specie so abstracted, *deprives the merchants of discounts to three times the amount*."

Yes, to be sure! What man will be fool enough not to get the silver while he can. To be sure, it deprives the merchants of discounts; and, to be sure, it will break the fraudulent villains up: who does not know that? The President knows it well; and he is determined that men shall not any longer have the profits of capital, without in reality possessing any capital. He is deter-

mined that these villains shall no longer take away men's farms, merely in exchange for bits of paper which are worth nothing.

In the midst of all this there are not wanting speculations in abundance; and amongst others, the following project for establishing some new sort of bank, a new scheme, in order still to uphold the paper-swindle. I beg the reader's attention to this article in particular. The writer imagines that he can cheat the President and the Congress into a continuation of the swindle in some shape or another; but he will find himself deceived.

A circular has been addressed to the banks of this State, particularly those under the safety fund, by a gentleman high in the confidence of the commercial public, from which we make the following extracts. The matter has been for some days under consideration, and it is understood that a number of the strongest banks in this and other places are willing to adopt the measure proposed. The Union Committee may perhaps find this proposal an important preliminary to their operations.

By reference to documents from the treasury department of the United States, it appears that the exports to the year 1833, were above two millions of dollars greater than the exports of the previous year; and further, that the imports were less than the imports of the previous year, by a value of 2,196,500 dollars. The official returns for the year 1833 are not yet completed; but it will be admitted that the value of our exports for 1833 far exceed the value of any previous year, and that our imports for the same period are far less in value.

Again, it is well known that the rates of foreign exchange have been on the decline for more than a year. From these facts it appears that our mercantile and trading community, have exhibited a commendable caution and that no over-trading, as a nation, can be laid to our charge.

Again, the products of our rich State were greater in amount during 1833,

than for many preceding years. So far was the product of labour beyond the wants of the producer, that one-half of the products of the soil are now remaining in the hands of the producer, unencumbered and ready for remittance at the opening spring.

Again, throughout our inland counties we find the banking institutions with anxious care providing for the impending storm, and they have been enabled to fortify themselves without inconvenience to their customers, by reason of the over-abundant returns vouchsafed by Providence to our industrious people. By the report of the bank commissioners, it appears that the amount of specie in the vaults of the safety fund banks, is greater than the previous year by the sum of 404,564 dollars 98 cents. The amount of accumulated banking capital has been increased since their previous report, by a sum of 2,554,464 dollars.

The amount of the fund paid in to meet and defray any loss is now 290,000 dollars. The amount of surplus profits held by the safety fund banks, is 3,005,560 dollars 77 cents; we may therefore reiterate the declarations of the bank commissioners, that if there is any solidity in the credit of the country, any value in what we have been in the habit of denominating property, the banks in this State cannot be otherwise than safe. With these facts before us, and believing them to be substantially true, we arrive at the conclusion that any agreement or arrangement entered into by the safety fund banks, for their mutual protection, under any appearance or threatening of a specie run, cannot be attended by eventual loss to either of the institutions.

If an agreement can be entered into, whereby the banks shall be made to feel an entire confidence in and reliance upon each other, it will tend to prevent any material curtailment of their existing loans or circulation. It will tend to induce confidence between man and man, and once more set afloat the deposits now held in unprofitable durance. Capital will resume its wonted purpose, the products of the several States will be

interchanged, and the system of exchange will be re-established.

One objection only presents itself, and that is, the covert or open hostility of any powerful monied institution. Three guards, however, are to be found against this supposition: first, in the common-sense of men whose actions are to be scanned and judged by the public; second, in the inherent power of the safety fund banks, as exhibited in the bank commissioners' return, more especially, when drawn into action for self-preservation and public good; and third, in the self-interest which any one institution would or ought to feel naturally, inclining it not to interfere with the welfare of corporations, living as they must all live, by popular favour.

With these views, it is proposed that the banks of the State of New York shall be convened by delegates at New York and Albany, with authority from their respective boards, to enter into an agreement with each other, to the following effect:

1st. That under the existing state of alarm and apprehension, the banks will pledge themselves, respectively, in proportion to their capital, to afford aid and succour to any safety fund bank, which may be placed in jeopardy, by reason of a sudden run or demand for specie at its counter.

2nd. That the banks shall not, without the consent of two-thirds of the banks, respectively, enlarge their issue of notes beyond the amount reported by the bank commissioners, on the 1. of February inst.

Your excellent suggestions in regard to prohibiting the issues of small notes, and the substituting in their stead a metallic currency, for the convenience of travellers, and especially for the protection of the poor against loss by counterfeits and the notes of broken banks, will be responded to by the whole nation. The recommendation of the general government may influence the states to co-operate and effect this desirable object. But beyond the use of specie for small change, metallic currency is entirely inapplicable to the pur-

poses of our vast amount of currency circulating over thousands of miles of territory.

The impossibility of breaking up our established system of paper and substituting metallic currency, is so manifest, that no practical man can entertain such a scheme for a moment. The local banks may afford the needful facilities to commerce so far as loans are concerned in their immediate vicinities, but are they not absolutely incompetent to regulate the exchange, by their limited charters, and by being, as they are, circumscribed within their respective states? The supposition that the local banks can safely regulate a domestic exchange, amounting to three or four millions annually, is delusive; and such an opportunity, if persisted in, will afford another illustration of the opinion that nations as well as individuals are prone to pay dear for experience.

The inevitable consequence of the absence of a national institution to regulate the immense currency and exchange of the country, is, that it will be controlled, regulated, and governed by a few private bankers. Yea, sir, brokers, your Rothschilds and Barings. They will purchase up a few local banks, spread themselves in the principal towns, and acting in concert, will coil round the wealthy and large operators by doing their exchange at low rates of premium; but the life-blood of small dealers and the necessitous will be constantly drawn to their coffers, and it would not be marvellous if in some reverse of times, these gentry should enact such a frightful breaking up of monied institutions as was perpetrated in New York in 1826.

The vast extent of our country and the magnitude of its increasing wealth, present a most inviting field for a few insatiate brokers under the protection of law, but not controlled by law within any limits as to rates of premium or extent of business. Although our Government is beyond the reach of indebtedness to such lordlings as make the monarchs of Europe tremble, yet, leave them unchecked by a national institution, and they will easily acquire such

an entire control over the monied system as to enable them to oppress the people at their pleasure, and thus to endanger our inestimable liberties.

Finally, sir, if the foregoing views are, as I firmly believe, incontrovertible, it follows that a national bank is indispensable to the true interests of the country. And it is most respectfully submitted whether it is not expedient for Congress forthwith to charter a bank to occupy the place of the existing objectionable institution, provided it is competent for Congress to do so before the expiration of the present charter ; and if it is not, that they do satisfy public sentiment by indicating their disposition to charter a bank hereafter. If the plain construction of the constitution confers upon the Government the power to use local banks to facilitate its fiscal operations, and provided Congress is not authorised to establish a bank in either State, it is submitted whether it is not expedient forthwith to locate a national bank in the district of Columbia, and that it be restricted in its charter so as to prevent a recurrence of the evils that have been experienced. Suppose it be restricted as to the rates of its domestic exchange, and to five per cent. interest upon its loans ; and also to discounting paper not having over four months to run. And suppose also it be prohibited from issuing any bank notes of a less denomination than twenty dollars, and that it be prohibited from establishing any branches in the States without assigning a permanent amount of capital to each branch, and obtaining the consent of the State Legislature in each case.

A RETIRED MERCHANT,
Who never owned a Share in any Bank
New York, 8. Feb. 1834.

Such is the American news. It is impossible for me not to express my satisfaction upon the receiving of it. My correspondent, who well understands these matters, and who was with me in Long Island, when we read and laughed at the report which produced PEARL'S BRAZ, assures me that the President will succeed in the total destruction of the

accursed paper-money, which is now rendered the more necessary, in consequence of our measures *with regard to negro-slavery*. A convulsion, such as the paper-money must have produced, first or last, if not arrested in its progress, would have rendered the danger extreme in those States to which the slavery of the blacks is absolutely necessary. Our measures (malignantly merciful) must necessarily make a stir in those slave States. There is no danger from that stir, unless in case of convulsion produced by some other cause. It was, therefore, necessary to guard against that other cause ; and that cause is guarded against by the demolition of the paper-money ; and, now, let the "*humane*" gentry congratulate themselves on their achievement. We had a right, no doubt, to be urged on by the cracked-skull county of York ; we had a right to make a new debt of twenty millions, in order to make our negroes free ; we had a right to do this, without consulting the United States ; and the United States had a right to abolish paper-money without consulting us ; and without consulting the cracked-skull county of YORK. Thus this matter rests ; and we shall see, in the sequel, which party will sustain the least injury. In conclusion, let me observe, that a short time, comparatively, will show us, that he is the wisest man who relies least upon paper-money, stocks, funds, shares, or any thing dependent upon the duration of this present system ; for, by the time that hard money has been completely restored to the United States, this system must give way, and then we shall see whether Lord ALTHORP can keep on the malt-tax ; and whether the two bishops and the pack of newspaper reporters will enable him (by the bill that he is about to bring in) to raise fifty millions a year in gold.

SENSE.

The following account of proceedings of the industrious classes at New York will show that they have sense ; that they can perceive how they are robbed

by the rag-rooks. This article shows, too, that the President has the democracy with him; so that no man can doubt of the approaching total destruction of the paper-monster in that free and happy country.

(From the *New York Working Man's Advocate*).

On Wednesday evening of last week, a public meeting of the opponents of paper-money was held at the Shakspeare Hotel, Fulton-street, "to express their opinion in relation to the measures of the administration with regard to the United States Bank, and concerning the further measures necessary to restore the constitutional currency.

Mr. WILLIAM H. HALE was called to the chair, and Mr. John Windt was appointed secretary. The call of the meeting was then read, and some remarks in relation to it from the *Working Man's Advocate*, when several resolutions having been handed to the chairman, a committee of five was appointed to select from the resolutions offered such as they might think proper to present to the meeting. The committee having retired for this purpose, a gentleman present read Cobbett's "Introduction" to his republication in England of the new work of Mr. Gouge on *Banking and Paper Money in the United States*.

The committee reported resolutions, which were read, collectively; and then, on motion, were read separately, and carried unanimously. The following are the resolutions, together with the remarks made by the different speakers on the second reading of them:

Whereas money, or the standard of value, is one of the most important objects confided to the care of government, and being so intimately connected with civil and political interests, it is the life-blood of the community, the purity and stability of which are of the utmost consequence to society, particularly of that portion to which we belong, the performers of useful labour, the producers of the real wealth of the nation; and whereas there appears to be an idea prevailing that this class of citizens are

not aware of the true cause of much of the injustice and oppression they suffer, while on the contrary, we feel satisfied there is scarcely an intelligent labouring man but knows that a great portion of the burdens he endures flows from an unconstitutional, false, and deeply injurious system of paper-money, and a train of evils it has engendered. Now, therefore, wishing to call the attention of Congress to our case, not to grant us favours or privileges, but to reinstate us in our rights, we ask leave to be heard in the following resolutions, authenticated by our chairman and secretary:

Resolved, That the course pursued by the President of the United States, and the administration of the general Government, in changing the place for depositing the public money, is entitled to, and has, our entire approbation, and our greatest gratitude. That the charter of the Bank of the United States, was granted in violation of the very plainest injunctions of our constitution, and, were there no other reasons than this for its speedy annihilation, the administration would have been faithless in the discharge of the duties confided to them had they failed to take this step towards its entire destruction.

Resolved, That as no money is recognised by the constitution but gold and silver, no other can be legally received in payment of Government dues, nor disbursed by officers or agents of Government, and that the countenance given to fictitious money by a contrary practice, has been an essential cause of flooding the country with a paper currency, which is not only worthless, and fluctuating in itself, but has caused a great depreciation in the value of real money (as much as could have been caused by allowing the States to issue debased coin), and nullifies the power of Congress "to regulate the currency," while it forces the people into subjection and slavery to a paper-money aristocracy, the baneful effects of which they are at this moment suffering under.

Resolved, That in order to restore the country to its honest circulating medium, it is the duty of Congress to adopt early and efficient measures to prevent

those numerous violations of the constitution by corporations and individuals, who, with their system of issuing "bills of credit," destroy the standard of value, inflict the most serious evils on the industry of the nation, its moral and social welfare, and sap the foundation of its liberties.

Resolved, That we highly approve of the proposition in Congress to require that the state banks temporarily intrusted with the public deposits, be directed to pay all the treasury drafts in specie.

Resolved, That it is expedient for Congress to establish sub-treasury-offices in the principal cities and towns in the United States; for the receipt and disbursement of revenue and the accommodation of the public in the transmission of money from one point to another, by receiving specie in deposit and giving a cheque or draft for the amount, (so framed, however, as not to enter into the circulation), on payment of a slight per centage; the officers to be elected annually by the people, but responsible to, and under the control of, the treasury department; the funds not to be loaned.

Resolved, That the thanks of this meeting be presented to Messrs. Benton, Reeves, and Wright, of the senate, Mr. Cambeleng, of the house, and the other members of Congress who have so opportunely proposed measures for restoring the constitutional currency.

Resolved, That the senators and representatives in the legislature of this State be earnestly requested not to grant any of the one hundred and five petitions for charters of new banks, nor any for the increase of bank capitals, that are now pending before that body, "and that they be requested to co-operate with the general administration in getting rid of the paper-money now authorised by this State, contrary to the Federal constitution."

Resolved, That copies of the proceedings of this meeting be forwarded to each of the members of Congress, and that the public papers be requested to publish the same.

LOCUST TREES.

I HAVE about seven thousand of these left; and I sell them at five pounds a thousand. They can be had at BOLT-COURT at any time, in six days after they are ordered. They are very fine, having been removed, and having the finest roots possible. Any one who plants them ought to have my book called the WOODLANDS, or he will not do it well.

LOCUST SEED.

Very fine and fresh to be had at BOLT-COURT for eight shillings a pound. A pound, if properly sowed, will produce from eight to ten thousand plants. To sow the seed properly, you must read the "Woodlands." If you follow the directions therein, almost every seed will come up: if you do not, you will get very few plants, and, perhaps, none at all.

FIELD SEEDS.

I notified, some time ago, that I should not make any distinction in price, whether a single pound, or a number of pounds were sold; but, by some mistake, the old prices were inserted in a recent *Register*. The prices will, for the present, be as follows:

Deep red MANGEL WURZEL Seed, 9d. a pound. — SWEDISH TURNIP Seed, which I warrant to be the finest and truest that ever was grown in England, 9d. a pound. — ITALIAN CLOVER SEED, one shilling and threepence a pound.

GARDEN SEEDS.

Bags of seed for large gardens (the seeds tied up in paper bags, and those sewed up in a canvass bag), with a printed list of the seeds in the inside, along with a manuscript card of my writing, with the following words on it, "Garden seeds, raised at Normandy farm, in 1833, by Wm. Cobbett," 25s. each.

Bags for small gardens, having all the same sorts of seeds, but in half the quantity of the preceding, with printed list and card the same, 12s. 6d. each.

The following is the list of my seeds, which contains the KNIGHT-PEA, not contained in my list of last year. The EARLY-FRAME pea is the very quickest in

cornering that I ever saw in my life ; and I think I can defy all the world for cabbage seed, though I have not got it, even yet, into that state of perfection that I shall have it next year.

KITCHEN-GARDEN SEEDS.

- No. 1. Asparagus.
2. Bean—Broad, or Windsor.
3. Long Pod.
4. Early Masagan,
5. Kidney (or French). Scarlet Runners.
6. White Runners.
7. Bean—Black Dwarf.
8. Dun Dwarf.
9. Robin-Egg.
10. Speckled.
11. Beet—Red.
12. Brocoli—White.
13. Purple.
14. Cape.
15. Cabbage—Early Battersea.
16. Early York.
17. Savoy.
18. Calf—Curled—Scotch.
19. Carrot.
20. Cauliflower.
21. Celery.
22. Chervil.
23. Cress.
24. Cucumber, early frame.
25. Corn (Cobbett's).
26. Endive.
27. Leek.
28. Lettuce—White Coss.
29. Brown Dutch.
30. Mustard—White.
31. Nasturtium—Dwarf.
32. Onion.
33. Parsnip.
34. Parsley—Curled.
35. Knight-Pea.
36. Pea—Early-frame.
37. Tall Marrowfats.
38. Dwarf Marrowfats.
39. Radish—Early Scarlet.
40. White Turnip.
41. Spinage.
42. Squash (from America, great variety).
43. Turnip—Early-Garden.

FLOWER SEEDS.

44. Canterbury Bells.

45. Catch Fly.
46. China-asters.
47. Convolvulus—Dwarf.
48. Indian Pink.
49. Larkspur—Dwarf Rocket.
50. Lupins—Dwarf Yellow.
51. Poppy—Carnation.
52. French.
53. Stock, Scarlet, ten-week.
54. Mignonette.
55. Sweetwilliam.
56. Sweet Pea.
57. Venus's Looking-glass.
58. Virginia Stock.
59. Wall-flower.

From the LONDON GAZETTE,

FRIDAY, MARCH 14, 1834.

INSOLVENT.

BATTIE, W., Sheffield, silver-plater.

BANKRUPTCY ENLARGED.

FERRERS, T. B., and L. J. Mackintosh, Copthall-court, Throgmorton-street, stock-brokers.

BANKRUPTS.

CLARK, R., High Holborn, woollen-draper.
CRITCHFIELD, S., Norwich, haberdasher.
HOWARD, J., Ripon, Yorkshire, scrivener.
PAREZ, L., Brixthelmstone, Sussex, print-seller.

PARRY, J., Leeds, hatter.

PAYNE, T., Old Quebec-street, dealer in horses.

POWNALL, E., Ipswich, Suffolk, money-scrivener.

RICHARDSON, J., and R. Mansfield, Brownlow-street, Holborn, tailors.

SHAW, T., and B. Wild, Charlesworth, Derbyshire, cotton-spinners.

SMITH, J., Sun Tavern-fields, Shadwell, hosier.

STANFORTH, H., Kingston-upon-Hull, merchant.

TANNER, A. T., Howford-buildings, Penchurch-street, bill-broker.

THOMAS, B., Narbeth, Pembrokeshire, merchant.

TURNER, W. R., Great Dover-road, Newington, carver.

SCOTCH SEQUESTRATIONS.

BARLAS, J., Airdrie, surgeon.

M'VICAR, A., Rothsay, ship-owner.

TUESDAY, MARCH 18, 1834.

INSOLVENT.

BEECRAFT, E. A., Curzon-street, May-fair, embroiderer.

BANKRUPTCY ENLARGED.

BROWN, G. A., Dockhead, Shad-Thames, baker.

BANKRUPTCY ANNULLED.

WHITESIDE, J., Whitehaven, Cumberland, merchant.

BANKRUPTS.

CAWTHRON, J., Bolingbroke-row, Walworth, oilman.

CLARKE, P., Kingston-upon-Hull, merchant.

GARNER, S., Liscard, Cheshire, innkeeper.

JENSON, T., Coventry, druggist.

JONES, J., Plasnewydd, Caermarthenshire, cattle-salesman.

JONES, T., Birmingham, collar-maker.

KNOWLES, E., Barking, Essex, grocer.

LOWE, P., Upton, Cheshire, merchant.

PARR, J., Hartlebury, Worcestershire, corn-dealer.

PARRY, F., Brighton, tailor.

STOCKER, G., High-street, Whitechapel, grocer.

WARLAND, T., Steward-street, Spitalfields, silk-manufacturer.

WATKEYS, D., Swansea, Glamorganshire, dealer.

WIGHT, H., Sunderland, Durham, grocer.

WRIGHT, T., Northallerton, Yorkshire, victualler.

SCOTCH SEQUESTRATIONS.

HANDYSIDE, T. P., Edinburgh, wine-merchant.

LEGATE and Watt, Glasgow, merchants.

M'DOUGALL, P. and J., Glasgow, calico-printers.

LONDON MARKETS.

MARK-LANE, CORN-EXCHANGE, Mar. 17.—Since Friday we have been rather liberally supplied with Wheat and Barley. The principal portion of the samples of the former article were from Essex, Kent, and Lincolnshire. At the beginning of the market the finer qualities of Wheat were taken at the currency of last Monday; but the secondary and inferior parcels hung heavily on hand at a decline of 1s. per qr. from this day week, and the trade again closed with a heavy aspect. No inquiry was experienced for Corn in bond.

Fine Malting qualities of Barley realized the terms of this day se'nnight, a fair demand. Chevalier, except superfine, met a limited inquiry, though prices were nominally the same. The distillers still refraining from purchasing, rendered distilling samples very dull. Grinding sorts were also difficult of disposal at previous prices.

Malt continues dull, but prime parcels unaltered in value.

Oats experienced a slow sale at the cur-

rency of last week, and stale sorts, though offered lower, were nearly unsaleable.

Beans met little inquiry.

White Peas heavy sale; maple dull, and rather cheaper; and grey Peas saleable at fully last week's rates.

It was generally expected that Flour would to-day have declined 5s. per sack; at the close of the market, however, the point was left undecided, and quotations of town-made must be considered at 45s. to 48s.; ship marks, 34s. to 38s. per sack. There is little doubt, however, that next Monday the top quotation will be 45s.

Wheat	45s. to 58s.
Rye	—s. to —s.
Barley	22s. to 24s.
— fine	28s. to 31s.
Peas, White	—s. to —s.
— Boilers	30s. to 36s.
— Grey	30s. to 33s.
Beans, Small	32s. to 37s.
— Tick	27s. to 33s.
Oats, Potato	22s. to 23s.
— Feed	16s. to 19s.
Flour, per sack	43s. to 45s.

PROVISIONS.

Pork, India, new 95s. to 100s.

— Mess, new 55s. to 57s. per barl.

Butter, Belfast 74s. to 78s. per cwt.

— Carlow 66s. to 80s.

— Cork 66s. to 68s.

— Limerick 62s. to 64s.

— Waterford 60s. to 72s.

— Dublin 50s. to 60s.

SMITHFIELD, March 17.

This day's supply of Sheep and Beasts was moderately good, especially as to quality; the supply of Calves, Lambs, and Porkers, limited. Trade was, throughout, rather dull, with Beef at a depression of about 2d. per stone; with Mutton, Lamb, Veal, and Pork, at Friday's quotations.

Full four-fifths of the beasts appeared to consist of about equal numbers of short-horns, Devons, Scots, and Welsh runts; the remaining fifth of about equal numbers of Herefords, and Irish beasts, with about 100 Town's and Cows, about fifty Sussex Beasts, a few Staffords, &c.

A full moiety of the Sheep were South-Downs; about a fourth new Leicesters, of the South-Down and white-faced crosses, in the proportion of about three of the former to two of the latter; and the remaining fourth about equal numbers of old Leicesters, Kents, and Kentish half-breeds, with a few pens of horned and polled Norfolks, horned Dorsets and Somersets, horned and polled Scotch and Welsh Sheep, &c.

The Lambs, in number about 200, were chiefly Dorsets.

About 1,500 of the beasts, in about equal numbers of Devons, Scots, and short-horns,

with a few Norfolk home-breds, were from Norfolk, Suffolk, Essex, and Cambridgeshire; about 250, chiefly short-horns, Devons, and Scots, with a few Herefords and Irish beasts, from Lincolnshire, Leicestershire, and others of our northern grazing districts; about 180, chiefly Devons and runts, with a few Scots and Irish beasts, from our western and mid-land districts; about 100, chiefly Sussex beasts, with a few runts, Devons, and Irish beasts, from Kent, Sussex, and Surrey; and most of the remainder, including the Town's-end Cows, from the stall-feeders, &c. near London.

MARK-LANE.—Friday, March 21.

The arrivals this week are small; but the market is dull at the prices of Monday.

THE FUNDS.

3 per Cent. } Cons. Ann. }	Fri.	Sat.	Mon.	Tues.	Wed.	Thur.
	91½	91	90½	91½	90½	91½

COBBETT-LIBRARY.

Fourth Edition.

COBBETT'S Spelling-Book (Price 2s.)

Containing, besides all the usual matter of such a book, a clear and concise
INTRODUCTION TO ENGLISH GRAMMAR.

This I have written by way of

A Stepping-Stone to my own Grammar;

such a thing having been frequently suggested to me by Teachers as necessary.

1. ENGLISH GRAMMAR.—Of this work sixty thousand copies have now been published. This is a duodecimo volume, and the price is 3s. bound in boards.

2. TULL'S HORSE-HOEING HUSBANDRY; or, a Treatise on the Principles of Tillage and Vegetation. With an Introduction, by WM. COBBETT. 8vo. Price 15s.

3. THE EMIGRANT'S GUIDE. Just now Published, under this Title, a little Volume, containing Ten Letters, addressed to English Tax-payers. A new edition, with a Postscript, containing an account of the Prices of Houses and Land, recently obtained from America by Mr. Cobbett. Price 2s. 6d. in bds.

4. THE WOODLANDS; or, a Treatise on the preparing of the ground for planting; on the planting, on the cultivating, on the pruning, and on the cutting down, of Forest Trees and Underwoods. Price 14s. bound in boards.

5. YEAR'S RESIDENCE IN AMERICA.—The Price of this book, in good print and on fine paper, is 5s.

6. FRENCH GRAMMAR; or, Plain Instructions for the Learning of French. Price, bound in boards, 5s.

7. COTTAGE ECONOMY, —I wrote this Work professedly for the use of the labouring and middling classes of the English nation. I made myself acquainted with the best and simplest modes of making beer and bread, and these I made it as plain as, I believe, words could make it. Also of the keeping of Cows, Pigs, Bees, and Poultry, matters which I understood as well as any body could, and in all their details. It includes my writing, also on the Straw Plait. A Duodecimo Volume. Price 2s. 6d.

8. MARTENS'S LAW OF NATIONS.—This is the Book which was the foundation of all the knowledge that I have ever possessed relative to public law. The Price is 17s., and the manner of its execution is I think, such as to make it fit for the Library of any Gentleman.

9. MR. JAMES PAUL COBBETT'S RIDE OF EIGHT HUNDRED MILES IN FRANCE. Second Edition. Price 2s. 6d.

10. A TREATISE ON COBBETT'S CORN; containing Instructions for Propagating and Cultivating the Plant, and for Harvesting and Preserving the Crop; and also an account of the several uses to which the Produce is applied. Price 5s.

11. LETTERS FROM FRANCE; containing Observations made in that Country during a Residence of Two Months in the South, and Three Months at Paris. By JOHN M. COBBETT. Price 4s. in boards.

12. SERMONS.—There are twelve of these, in one volume, on the following subjects: 1. Hypocrisy and Cruelty; 2. Drunkenness; 3. Bribery; 4. Oppression; 5. Unjust Judges; 6. The Sluggard; 7. The Murderer; 8. The Gamester; 9. Public Robbery; 10. The Unnatural Mother; 11. The Sin of Forbidding Marriage; 12. On the Duties of Parsons, and on the Institution and Object of Tithes. Price 3s. 6d. bound in boards.

A Thirteenth Sermon, entitled "GOOD FRIDAY; or, The Murder of Jesus Christ by the Jews." Price 6d.

13. PROTESTANT "REFORMATION" in England and Ireland, showing how that event has impoverished and degraded the main body of the people in those countries. Two volumes, bound in boards. The Price of the first volume is 4s. 6d. The Price of the second volume 3s. 6d.

Just published,
PRACTICAL EXERCISES:
 WITH
A KEY TO COBBETT'S FRENCH
GRAMMAR.

By J. P. Cobbett. Price Two Shillings.

Price 12s.

A GEOGRAPHICAL DICTIONARY
OF ENGLAND AND WALES;
 CONTAINING

The names, in Alphabetical Order, of all the Counties, with their several Subdivisions, into Hundreds, Lathes, Rapes, Wapentakes, Wards, or Divisions; and an Account of the Distribution of the Counties into Circuits, Dioceses, and Parliamentary Divisions.

ALSO,

The names (under that of each County respectively), in Alphabetical Order, of all the Cities, Boroughs, Market Towns, Villages, Hamlets, and Tithings, with the Distance of each from London, or from the nearest Market Town, and with the Population, and other interesting particulars relating to each; besides which there are

MAPS;

First, one of the whole country, showing the local situation of the Counties relatively to each other; and, then, each County is also preceded by a Map, showing, in the same manner, the local situation of the Cities, Boroughs, and Market Towns.

FOUR TABLES

Are added; first, a Statistical Table of all the Counties, and then three Tables, showing the new Divisions and Distributions enacted by the Reform-Law of 4th June, 1832.

DECOMPOSITION OF SALT AS MANURE.

This day is published, price 2s. 6d.,

ON THE

ADVANTAGES OF THE DECOMPOSITION OF COMMON SALT, for the purposes of MANURE; whereby an acre of land is prepared for the reception of any crop at a cost of ten shillings only. Addressed to the Occupiers of Land in Great Britain and Ireland. By HENRY KEMP.

James Ridgway and Sons, Piccadilly; J. S. Denham, Poole; and by order through every bookseller in the kingdom.

"NICHOLSON'S COMMERCIAL
GAZETTE AND PRICE CURRENT."

THIS paper of "Useful Knowledge" has effected in the last ten years, a complete "Revolution" in the "Old System of the Tea Trade," and split to pieces the "Old Monopoly," which existed up to that period, by which the Consumers of Tea have "SAVED THREE MILLIONS OF MONEY ANNUALLY."

During the last three months, the "COMMERCIAL GAZETTE" has been at open war with the "Russian Bears," and the English Bull "Tallow Gamblers." The whole of their nefarious system has been exposed and broken up.

It is a comprehensive "PRICE CURRENT," a "Register of Useful Knowledge"; in Commerce and Politics, and a "Scourge" to Corporation Robbery.

In its Political opinions it is neither Whig, Tory, nor Radical; it is the advocate of the millions v.z., the MIDDLEING and WORKING CLASSES; it is the defender of the Bees against the Drones who rob them.

It is a "TRAVELLER" that ought to be received weekly, and welcomed by every Dealer in the kingdom, who sells Tea, Sugar, Coffee, &c., the trifling charge being 7d. per visit, or 30s. 4d. per annum.

In a thousand instances this "TRAVELLER" has saved his Patrons considerably more than double his annual cost in a single Chest of Tea, a cask of Tallow, or a box of Raisins.

Saturday's Number, the 22nd of March, will contain our "TEA SALE LIST," published Quarterly the last ten years; by consulting which every Dealer may know the EXACT AVERAGE Cost of all the Tea Sold at the India House; and that, too, more correctly than if they had been present in the Sale Room.

* * All Tea Dealers in the United Kingdom may be supplied with a "Single Chest of Boxes" at a 2d. per lb. Commission; or a CHEST OF CONGOU, SOUCHONG, TWANKAY, and all sorts of Tea at ONE PENNY per lb. COMMISSION. The charge on a LOT OF TEA IS ONE PER CENT.

This Paper is now absolutely indispensable to "Country Dealers." The Tea Trade is in a state of Revolution; and the Prices, like those of Tallow and other things, will be changing daily.

No Letters will be received UNLESS POST PAID; nor will any Orders be executed, unless a remittance is first received, or an order to receive payment in London after the articles are delivered, as may be directed.

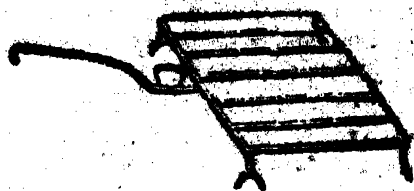
JOHN NICHOLSON & CO.,
 "TEA AGENTS" and "COMMISSION
 MERCHANTS."

Fenchurch-street, London,
 17th March, 1834.

P.S. Arrangements will be made in due time for the formation of "Establishments" at LIVERPOOL, DUBLIN, and LEITH, as early as possible.

* * The "COMMERCIAL GAZETTE" is to be had every Saturday, at Two o'clock, of BARNETT, at the Royal Exchange, and, by order, of every other Newsvender and Bookseller in London and throughout the United Kingdom.

Printed by William Cobbett, Johnson's-court; and published by him, at 11, Bolt-court, Fleet-street.



CORN BILL.

TO THE
PEOPLE OF GLASGOW.

Bolt-court, 25. March, 1834.

THERE is a paper, entitled "The LIBERATOR," published in your city. In that paper I find some very strong censure on me for what I was reported to have said on the presentation of the GLASGOW petition for a repeal of the corn laws. I will insert the article first; and then you shall see how I will twist down its at once stupid and malignant author.

"PARLIAMENT.—Only one hundred and fifty-five members of the precious House have been found, with energy of mind and honesty of purpose sufficient to vote for a committee to inquire into the propriety of a given annually diminishing duty on foreign corn. Three hundred and twelve voted directly against the proposition, who may be considered the bold and barefaced abettors of national robbery, and the rest of the members who deserted, the craven *footpads* of the plundering "order." In the minority, about eighteen Scottish members are enumerated; Messrs. Oswald and Ewing being included, the latter confessedly unable to resist the appeal of 60,000 of his fellow-citizens; and the whole of the Irish members, with the exception of O'Connell and about a dozen of his immediate friends, are either in the majority or among the members-off. Now, these can excuse themselves, or again call for the re-

sponsive sympathy of the people of England and Scotland, in their appeals and Repeal questions, let time determine, they have now broken faith with Britain, and exhibited the cloven-foot of *self*, as the supporters of injustice and oppression towards their fellow-subjects; they have indeed proved "who are the traitors," and is *Sheil* also among them? Among the English *deserters*, we cannot be surprised, after his expression regarding those who signed the Glasgow petition, to find *Cobbett*. He would prove that the whole of the Glasgow male population (all at least who signed the petition), and who, according to Mr. Oswald, were most 'enlightened and intelligent,' a set of 'ignorant and deluded' wretches. And how could *Cobbett* prove this? Perhaps by referring to what he experienced while sojourning among us, when even the operatives put a few plain questions to him which he could neither comprehend nor answer, and we well recollect the hearty sneer emitted by the hoary veteran at the proposal as to the best means of educating and improving the literary taste of workmen—"Give them *learning* and books!" says he, 'fill their bellies with good beer and *bacon*!' a sentiment well worthy of the man who, in Paisley, turned with contempt from the rich, vast, and various productions of human ingenuity, to lick his lips, and gloat over, with the gross zest of a beastly gourmand, the huge, flat, and filthy occupants of a pig-sty. 'Fill their bellies,' says *Cobbett*; and at the same time he denies them corn at a sufficient price to do so. This is, however, but another instance of the consistent inconsistency of one who repudiates popular education, yet writes a *Register* weekly, on the exorbitant profits of which he lives, the ostensible purpose of which is to teach the people; of one who is a great admirer of kingly pomp, yet denounces

"the taxes by which such pomp is upheld and perpetuated."

I will first notice the barefaced lies in this paper.

1. That I am an admirer of *kingly pomp*. On the contrary; but, I do not grudge that which is necessary to support the King in the use of his palace, his gardens, and other objects calculated to make his life pleasant, and to enable him to live in a style greatly superior to that of any of his subjects.
2. I do not repudiate "*popular education*." I am for letting people do as they like about it; but I am against taxing the people, in order to enable the Government to appoint a schoolmaster and schoolmistress in every parish; I am against taxing the married people to pay for the "*heddekashun*" of bastards; I am against taxing single people to pay for the "*heddekashun*" of married people's children; I am against raising up hundreds of thousands of idlers to live upon the labour of those who work.
3. So far from "*turning with contempt*" from the wonderful performances of the manufacturers of PAISLEY, those which I did see I beheld with great admiration; but professed my want of knowledge as to such matters, and my want of taste; professed my incompetence to speak upon the subject; and contented myself with expressing my indignation at seeing the ingenious operators compelled to lie upon straw, and live upon miserable oatmeal.
4. I did not "*sneak away*" from the discussion on Mr. HUME's motion; I stayed to hear him for an hour, Sir JAMES GRAHAM for two hours, and Mr. POULETT THOMSON for three hours. I could not dispute the turn with Mr. BARING; or, I should have shown, that which indeed was confessed by the advocates of the motion, that it had no tendency whatsoever to make corn at a lower price, either now or at any

other time; and, wanting to go home to go to sleep, having heard all that could be said upon the subject by others, I went home instead of staying to vote against the motion, which I should if I had stayed, as something perfectly useless, and perfectly senseless.

5. It is asserted here, that I called the GLASGOW petitioners, "*ignorant and deluded wretches*." This is not only a falsehood, but a falsehood of great malignity. Mr. OSWALD having read the petition, which petition ascribed all the calamities of the country to the corn laws; which petition asserted, that the corn laws were a cruel tax upon bread; and asserted, that the repeal of those laws would relieve the working people from their present distresses; Mr. OSWALD having read this petition, told the House, that "it came from sixty thousand of the best-educated and most enlightened people in the kingdom." I said that, "as the honourable Member had asserted the petitioners to be amongst the best educated people of the kingdom, I could not dispute the fact; but that, whenever the subject came before the House for discussion, I would undertake to prove that, *as far as related to this particular subject, ignorance more gross, and delusion more complete, never were heard of in the world, than those which were manifest in this very petition.*"

And, not having had an opportunity to do it when Mr. HUME's motion was brought forward, I will do it now; and I am very sure I shall do it to the satisfaction even of the sixty thousand men, who were prevailed upon to sign this petition: a petition worthy of the best attention of the House, and, of course, worthy of my best attention; but a petition, much as I respected those who signed it, which was not to blind my judgment; not to take from me my knowledge of facts; and, above all things, not to prevent me from endeav-

vounging to dissipate the delusion under which I was sure the petitioners were labouring; a terrible and mischievous delusion, too; because it draws the people aside from the real causes of sufferings, and tends to prevent those measures which would tend to relieve them from their distress.

I am now going to show the absurdity, the gross folly, the impudence, of this man, who calls the corn laws "*national robbery*," and who calls those who voted against Mr. HUME's motion, or who did not vote at all, "*traitors to the people, and the footpads of the plundering order*."

Before, however, I proceed into the real matter of the subject, let me observe, that the motion which Mr. HUME brought forward was not the motion of which he had given notice. He had given notice of a motion *for such an alteration in the corn laws, as would lead to their total repeal, or abolition*. This was not the motion that he made; his motion was merely for a *fixed duty* on corn, instead of the present *graduated duty*; and both he and Mr. POULETT THOMSON declared, that the proposition, if adopted, would not have a tendency to make corn cheaper than it would be if it were not adopted. Both of them said, that they scorned to seek popularity by the holding forth of *any such hope to the people!* So that here was not much in the way of response to the GLASGOW petition, which represented the Corn Bill as causing bread to be dearer than it otherwise would be: and which represented the dear bread, thus occasioned, to be the great source of all the sufferings of the country. It was, therefore, no very monstrous offence against the GLASGOW petitioners to vote against this inefficient, this unoperative, this unmeaning motion. Had the motion been for a repeal of the corn laws, I and my colleague would have *voted for the repeal*; but, not without having an opportunity to prove to the country, that we gave that vote for reasons wholly and entirely other than those stated by the GLASGOW petitioners; and also wholly and entirely

different from the reasons stated by Mr. HUME and by Mr. POULETT THOMSON. If ever the motion be made, in a plain and distinct manner, for a repeal of the corn laws, I will vote for it, unless, in the meanwhile, circumstances should arise different from those which exist at present: but it will not be because the corn laws are tyrannical or unjust in principle, nor because their existence is injurious to the working people.

I now come to show the want of knowledge discovered in the GLASGOW petition. The petitioners represent the corn laws to be the sole cause of the miseries of the country; it represents that they make bread dear; and, therefore, prevent the working people from having as much of it for their wages as they otherwise would have. It is curious that this is not the doctrine of Mr. HUME and Mr. POULETT THOMSON, who want the corn laws altered, in order that the *WAGES OF THE MANUFACTURING OPERATIVES MAY BE LOWERED*; so that if I had voted for Mr. HUME's motion, I should have voted for the lowering of the wages of the operative manufacturers of GLASGOW and PAISLEY.

However, leaving the Glasgow petitioners to praise Mr. HUME and Mr. POULETT THOMSON for their efforts to lower their wages, I will now proceed. The petitioners of GLASGOW want cheaper bread. They should then have petitioned for some law relative to the charges of *millers and bakers*; for, the wheat is as cheap now as it was in the time of their grandfathers; taking the average of the kingdom through, it is not more than forty shillings the quarter. How, then, would they get cheaper bread by repealing the corn laws? This is a matter from which these corn law gentry always fly off. It is *dear bread* and *cheap wheat*; and yet they turn away from the truth, and pitch in upon the landlords, as if they made the bread dear.

I mentioned, in my place in the House, a few days ago, a base and most atrocious misrepresentation, circulated gratis, in a stampless publication called the "*QUARTERN LOAF*." At the head

of this publication is a vignette encircling the following statement:

"THE QUARTERN LOAF.

"Flour and baking. . . . 4½d.

"Landlord's tax 3½

"Total. . . . 8½d"

And this is called "*useful knowledge*"; and a tax upon this paper is called a "*tax upon knowledge*." Now, let us see what sort of knowledge this is. At this time, a bushel of the very best wheat costs, at the most, six shillings and eightpence; that is to say, eighty pence. This bushel of wheat will make sixty-four pounds of the best bread. So that the FOUR-POUND LOAF (for there is no quatern loaf now) of the very best bread, made from the very best wheat, costs, as far as the wheat is concerned, fivepence; and it is sold for eightpence-halfpenny. All that the landlord, the farmer, the labourer, the poor of the parish, the high-wayward, the parson or tithe-owner, the county-rate to preserve the peace of the country; all that they charge upon this four-pound loaf, even on their very best wheat, is *fivepence*, and the loaf costs the eater *eightpence halfpenny*. What a foolish, or what an excessively base man, then, must this quarter-loaf gentleman be! What pretty knowledge he circulates about; and what a sin it is to have a tax to prevent such knowledge from circulating!

One would hope that this exposition would suffice for honest and sensible and industrious persons, like the petitioners of GLASGOW, who have been deluded by statements of this sort, only because they have not taken time, or had opportunity to look into the matter. The knave, or fool, or both, who circulates this rubbish, does it for the purpose of picking up a few pennies, caring nothing at all about the consequences; but so far from sixty thousand men being to be found in GLASGOW, entertaining dishonest designs, I would pledge my life that there are not sixty men of that description to be found in that industrious city, taking PAISLEY into the account. One of the reasons which

I would give for voting for a repeal of the Corn Bill, is, that it would effectually dissipate this delusion. From the very first mention of the Corn Bill, I was against it; I petitioned against it, and I pursued the bill with my petition to the Lords; and my principal objection to it was, that, while it never could be a safe and sufficient protection to the land, it would be a constant source of heartburning amongst the people; it would constantly give lazy knaves a handle for deluding industrious men; it would be a constant means of withdrawing the attention from the people of the real cause of their sufferings, and would thus do great mischief to the nation at large, while it was impossible that it could be a protection to the land. For this reason, amongst others, I would now vote for its repeal; but never will I, either expressly or tacitly, give my countenance to the monstrous delusion, that the corn laws are the cause of the sufferings of the industrious part of the people.

Let us now take another look at the matter. The Glasgow petitioners seem to look upon corn laws, as something so tyrannical in their nature; so obviously tyrannical, that the fact ought to be taken for granted, unsupported by any argument, either of authority or assertion. As these sensible persons of GLASGOW (and I allow them to be amongst the most sensible persons in the kingdom) are not amongst those *doctrinaires*, who deny that there ever were any such things as real liberty and good laws in England, they will please to recollect, that we have, in the statute book, still preserved, corn laws, from the time of Edward the Third to the present day; which shows, at any rate, that corn laws and free institutions and happy people can co-exist; and it shows, besides, that in all times such laws have been deemed consonant with the principles of freedom and of justice; but, let us concede to the *doctrinaires*, let us concede to that garret-bred crew; let us concede to this crew, who think that nobody ought to have public money but themselves; and who, having in their eye the old maxim that, "when

"the political pot boils, the scum gets to the top"; and feeling in every fibre of them, that they themselves are scum, are so anxious to set the pot a boiling; let us concede to this crew, that there never was any thing good in England; that all has been bad and devilish; and that our forefathers who built the cathedrals and founded the abbeys, and who built the sixteen thousand parish churches in England, seven or eight hundred years ago; let us concede to the conceited, garret-bred vermin, that these our fathers were a mere handful of ragamuffins, without money, without goods, clad in skins with the hair on, and living upon acorns and pig nuts. Still, if we concede all this to them, they will hardly contend that there are neither free institutions, nor justice, nor good laws, nor good living, in the United States of America. They must allow that there is something new there. That which is there is not "*mus/y*," at any rate. They will allow, too, I think it possible, that America is a prosperous country, thriving in all sorts of ways. Indeed, Mr. POULETT THOMSON, who appears to be the chief of the *doctrinaire* generation, told the House of Commons, that, if we would have taken American corn; if the landholders would let us have a free trade in American corn, God only knew what masses of prosperity would have fallen upon us.

Now, my friends, which shall we follow, the *precept*, or the *example*, of America? Ninety-nine times out of a hundred we are to judge of what people think, with regard to what they recommend to us, by what they do themselves, with regard to the same matter. In ticklish times, kings used to have *tasters*: that is to say, somebody to taste the thing first before they ventured to eat it. Now, these Americans shall be tasters for us. We will take their last list of duties; and we will see whether they have a "*landlords' tax*." We will begin with the divers sorts of corn; and then we will go to the other eatables and drinkables, and other products of the land, and just take a look at their "*taxes*

upon knowledge." The following, then, are the duties which they impose on the following articles:

Wheat, the Winchester bushel (more than 30 per cent. upon the usual price of wheat in that country) ..	1s. 1d.
Barley	15 per cent.
Rye	15 per cent.
Oats, per Winchester bushel, (a third part of the usual price of oats in that county) 5d.	
Peas	15 per cent.
Beans	ditto
Seeds, of all kinds	ditto

And yet it never came into the heads of the people of America to call this a "*landlords' tax*," or a "*farmer's tax*," or a "*tax upon bread*"; and especially to call those "*robbers*" and "*footpads*" who imposed the tax, or who voted against the repeal of it; or to call those "*deserters*," who went away and did not vote at all.

Let us now come to ready-prepared eatables and drinkables.

Ale	10d. per gallon.
Beer	10d. ditto.
Bacon	1½d. per pound.
Beef	1d. ditto.
Butter	2½d. ditto.
Cheese	4½d. ditto.
Flour	1s. 3d. per cwt.
Hazle Nuts	15 per cent.
Malt	15 ditto.
Mushrooms	15 ditto.
Mustard	15 ditto.
OATMEAL	15 ditto.

Stop, here! Here are barbarous fellows! Their country will not produce oats worth a straw, except they have the seed from Europe; and, then, but one crop good for any thing; and yet they tax both the oats and the oatmeal. And yet it is a good and a free government, and a good-living people; and nobody calls the Government "*robbers*" and "*footpads*"; and if the beast who writes thus against me at GLASGOW, were to hold such language, he being in America, he would be turned from with scorn by every working man in that country. They would not kick him: they would despise him too much

for that; but they would turn from him with scorn and contempt.

Pork 5d. per pound.

Potatoes (*authentic part of their price*) 5d. per bushel.

Rice 15 per cent.

Snails (*the French and Italian eat snails*) . . 15 ditto.

TURNIPS 15 ditto.

And yet nobody calls the Government "robbers" and "footpads," nor talks of "a landlords' tax." As to wine and spirits and pepper and vinegar, tobacco, snuff, cigars, currants, figs, and fruits of all sorts, not omitting acorns, for which last there is a duty of 12 per cent.; even *melons*, there is a tax on an average of from 15 to 30 per cent., and on all sorts of drugs. But, let us now go to the "taxes on knowledge."

Writing-paper & demy printing paper 8½d. per pound.

English books 1s. 3d. ditto.

Printing types and printing presses 25 per cent.

Now, observe, here is actually more duty upon the paper than the paper itself, exclusive of duty, costs in England at this time; and, let it be observed, that, while we charge *threepence* a pound for paper, as well as for books, bound or unbound, they charge *eightpence-halfpenny* a pound for the paper, and *one and three pence* a pound for books, and they tax the presses and the type at the same time; and yet, I will be bound to say, that there is not a single working man in the whole country who is unmannerly beast enough to call the members of the Congress "robbers" and "footpads." No, he knows very well, that these taxes are useful in promoting the interests of his own country, in preference to the interests of other countries, and he acquiesces in the restriction accordingly. He is not fool enough not to perceive the utility, the benefit, the justice, of these restrictions. Now, to some other products of the land; and things absolutely necessary to the country.

Flax 43l. 10s. a ton.

Hemp 13l. 10s. ditto.

Cotton 25 per cent.

Tallow 6d. per lb.

Hides, tanned 80 per cent.

Oak-bark (*though their own bark is greatly inferior to ours*) 15 ditto.

Beans or Hops of grass 50 ditto.

Baskets, of wood 30 ditto.

Bricks 15 ditto.

Brooms 15 ditto.

Casks 30 ditto.

Chalk 15 ditto.

Coals, the Winchester bushel 8d.

Lime 15 per cent.

Boards 30 ditto.

Plank 30 ditto.

Soap 2d. per lb.

Spoke staves 30 per cent.

Live Animals 15 ditto.

SINGING BIRDS 15 ditto.

Wool (*not manufactured*) 2d. per lb. and 50 per cent.

Here is enough, I think, for all the brood of garret-bred, smoke-dried, free-trade, doctrinaires in the universe; and much more than enough for the considerate and sensible people of GLASGOW and PAISLEY. Our tax upon wool is one penny a pound; and even that is grumbled at by the manufacturers, and said to be a "tax upon their industry."

What, then, must twopence a pound be! And, over and above that, fifty per cent. *ad valorem*! I take these taxes from the last tariff enacted in America.

I have taken the pains to make out the list, not in answer to the unmannerly ruffian who has called me a "deserter" and a "footpad"; but for the information of the industrious and valuable persons, who, for want of knowledge upon the subject, were induced to sign the GLASGOW petition.

With regard to the heroes of free-trade, I have very little hope of putting sober sense into their bothered brains.

They have been carrying on their system for ten years; and the country has been getting more and more in distress all the while. America has adhered rigidly to that restrictive system, under which England was prosperous in her commerce for so many years; and, while we see this nation rising into

greatness and wealth, under this system, these horrible coxcombs have the insupportable conceit and authority to tell us that if we would but take away all protection whatever for the products of our own soil, we should get rid of all our difficulties, pay our enormous debt tripled in real amount by the laws which have been passed, and be bursting with wealth, and have no earthly danger left but that of dying from an overflow of prosperity.

The worst of it is that we are in the hands of these miserable doctrinaires. Our situation would be bad enough, even if the commercial system of our ancestors remained; but these conceited wretches have lighted the candle at both ends; and I am sorry not to perceive in the House of Commons, anybody who has spirit enough, even to bestow rebuke on their impudent pretensions to superior knowledge.

I am sure that I have said enough to the industrious and sensible people of GLASGOW and PAISLEY; but though I do it with reluctance, I must bestow one more observation on the article of this unmanly assailant. He accuses me of reproaching the working people for their taste for reading and writing; and abuses my taste in preferring for their use beer and bacon to books, or rather to newspapers. But what is it that he is doing? What is it that this modest and mannerly person is doing? He is calling me a footpad, because I did not vote for a motion which he says, had a tendency to make *viatuals* cheap! What need he care about that? One would have thought that cheap books and newspapers were the sole object of his care. Books and newspapers, at any rate, do not grow out of the land; and as my vote, or want of vote, related to the produce of the land, one might ask him, why he should pester his muddled brains about that vote? However as to bestow more words on such a man must be offensive to every reader, I here quit him, quite satisfied that I have most amply proved to the people of GLASGOW and PAISLEY, whose real interest, and whose happiness I have very much at heart, that I acted as I ought to have

acted upon this occasion; that they have entertained erroneous notions upon this subject; and that they ought to despise, and shun a man like this, whose object is to mislead and delude them; and by the means of that delusion, to lead a lazy and half-drunken life on food and drink and raiment extorted from their virtuous industry.

With sentiments of the sincerest regard for their welfare,

I remain their faithful

and obedient servant,

WM. COBBETT.

P.S. Just as I was sending the above letter to the press, I received from PAISLEY, a letter, relating to the recent election, concluding with the following words: "CRAWFORD wished to *abolish the corn laws and leave the debt entire*, "a proposition so absurd, that the "more intelligent portion of the public "considered they might as well have "his opponent for their representative." Yes: that was like the sensible people of PAISLEY: they were not like the people of DUNDEE, to be humbugged by a cheap-bread story; when they saw all their neighbours ruined by the cheapness of wheat: they saw the real cause of their suffering; and they took a man, who would not condescend to act the part of a deluder.

In another part of the *Register*, the reader will find a sensible and well-written letter upon this subject, which I take from the *True Sun*. The people seem to be coming to their senses upon this subject; and it is high time. Delusion has done mischief enough. These sixty thousand petitioners of Glasgow had petitioned for a repeal of the malt-tax; or had petitioned against paying eight shillings a week to rear up a soldier's child for him: if they had petitioned against keeping soldiers like gentlemen, while ploughmen and weavers are starved: if they had petitioned against giving an average of more than six shillings to eighty-three thousand out-pensioners, who have been well paid all the time they were serving; if they had petitioned against, paying twelve shillings a week to keep

every pensioner in CHELSEA Hospital while the worn-out, infirm old labourer, or weaver, or carpenter, is grudging half-a-crown a week; if they had petitioned against paying the fundholder three bushels of wheat for one: if they had petitioned against these things indeed, instead of putting their hand to a parcel of nonsense, and a parcel of falsehoods about corn bills; then their petition would have given some support to those members of Parliament who wish to make their lot better; and, if they will not do this, all that I can say is, that I shall think that they deserve all that they suffer; and never will I give my consent to inflict injury on the owners and cultivators of, and labourers on the land, because crowds of men choose to be deluded by the knaves or fools who ascribe all their suffering to the corn laws. I should like to see the corn laws repealed; because, amongst other things, these blinded and noisy people would soon find, that it would do them no good at all; but I would not give my consent to the repeal, even for that purpose, without substituting a much greater protection for the produce of the land in its stead. While the land in America is protected in the manner that we have seen, I warrant you, that I would never leave the land of England unprotected. This, therefore, is my determination as to this matter; and I repeat my contempt and scorn of the abuse of men like this, GLASGOW newspaper writer.

CURSED PAPER-MONEY.

I HAVE in another part of this *Register*, inserted very ample extracts from the American papers, which show that the brave defender of his country in arms is determined to rid it of an enemy, ten thousand times greater than the British fleet, and army to boot. I have no time for commentary on this news now. That which will be found at the beginning of the extracts, having been received by me only this minute (Thursday noon) by post, in a letter dated at New York on the 3^d inst.

for which I beg my correspondent to accept of my best thanks. We have now what my correspondent calls the "*President's manifesto against the monster of paper-money*." My correspondent concludes his letter thus: "Pray, sir, be so good as to let Lord ALBANY see the manifesto; and I hope his lordship will not fail to keep a bright look out as to this matter. Your letters to the President have been published all over this country; and the frightful state to which the paper-money has reduced England, does not a little, I can assure you, in support of the President's resolution."

I have the Life of General JACKSON before me; to-morrow I send it to the press; and whoever shall read the account of that life, will never entertain a doubt, for one single moment, that nothing upon earth will divert the President from his purpose. A man of such resolution I never read of, nor heard of, before; and it was with singular delight that I perceived, that he sprang from poor, oppressed, emigrant Irish parents. How often have I said that the bitterest and most efficient enemies of England have been those who have been driven out of Ireland by ill-treatment! In this really and truly "*illustrious*" man, we have a most striking instance of this truth.

(From the New York Evening Post, Feb. 27.)

The panic makers have not been entirely idle in Boston. The *Boston Mercantile Journal* complains of the "frequent circulation of unfounded rumours tending to affect the credit of respectable mercantile houses." The "*failure*," says that Journal, "of a house of high standing and undoubted credit, has been twice reported within a few weeks, and after a time pretty generally believed. In either case there was not the slightest cause for the rumour, which must have originated in malice or in mischief." The "malice or mischief" which could aim such a blow at the fortune of an individual is no less a crime than the act of the midnight robber or incendiary. It is of the same pro-

big game character with the ruinous attacks upon mercantile credit made here by the *Courier and Star*, with this difference, that the Boston felons circulate their profligate slanders in the dark, while here the same class defy the public sense of morals and justice by uttering them in the newspapers. Somewhat alarmed at the general indignation which was beginning to manifest itself at their course, the conductors of those presses have thought prudent to take a lower tone; but their malignity has only taken another direction, and letters, under date of New York, repeating the same falsehoods in a still more extravagant shape, if possible, are published in the Philadelphia papers, evidently from the same vile source, and intended to work the same mischief and ruin. A morning paper very properly recommends those incendiary attempts to the notice of the Union Committee.

The Gazette of this morning has made a great discovery, over which that rickety journal chuckles with amazing glee. It has discovered that General Jackson will no longer deserve to be called the second Washington, for the very good and sufficient reason that a figured and likeness of General Jackson has been ordered to be prepared for the frigate Constitution, now undergoing repairs at Boston, whereas General Washington was opposed to having the likenesses of the presidents stamped on the one-cent pieces! This settles the question for ever. The head of one of our national vessels to be adorned with a full-length image of General Jackson in Roman costume! Think of that, Master Brook! Is not this sheer usurpation; rank tyranny? If any further proof were needed of the ambitious designs of the President, might it not be found in the fact that his likeness—or something meant for his likeness—swings from half the tavern sign-posts in the country? The Bank party in Boston, as well as the Gazette, in this city, are making themselves very unhappy at this fresh evidence of the unworthiness of the President, and find

more reason than ever to cry out, "Down with the dictator!" But, in the midst of all this clamour, it may be as well to understand the real facts of the matter, to enable our readers to do which, we copy the following paragraph from the *Boston Post*:

"FIGURE HEAD.—We learn, that by order of the navy department, the cut-water of the United States frigate Constitution (a ship dear to every American), now repairing at the navy yard in Charleston, is to be surmounted with a colossal figure of Andrew Jackson. The work is to be executed by Laban S. Beecher, of this city, and is already in a state of forwardness. It will represent the general dressed in his ordinary riding cloak, holding his hat and cane in one hand, in the other a scroll of the constitution."—*Mercantile Journal*.

We copy the above for the purpose of correcting an error, and to append a statement relative to the repair of the Constitution. Sometime since, during Mr. Secretary Branch's administration of the Navy Department, he reported to the President Jackson, that the Constitution could not be repaired, and must be broken up. General Jackson, knowing the patriotic recollections associated with the name and fame of old "Ironsides," promptly said, as he did of the Federal Union, on another occasion, "THE CONSTITUTION MUST BE PRESERVED," and directed that she should be thoroughly repaired, and restored as nearly as possible to her original model. The repairs now making are in obedience to these orders. The ornaments put upon the ship, are not by the order of the Navy department, but by the order of the commandant of the Navy yard. The old figure-head was originally a colossal wooden figure of a man—after that, a common bullet-head was substituted. In ornamenting her anew, the commandant of the yard, that brave and excellent officer, the gallant Commodore Elliott, has ordered the stern to be decorated with the likenesses of her former brave commanders, Hull, Bainbridge, and Stewart, and the bows with the

figure of General Jackson, the commander of the army and navy of the United States, in the act of giving his positive order for her preservation. Nothing could be more appropriate, and none more popular throughout the Union, we are sure.

The inflammatory placard, relative to this matter, posted up throughout the city on Saturday, and copied into the Boston Transcript and Evening Gazette, is the offspring of some poor driveller, who dare not own his name or avow the authorship, and is condemned by all the decent part of the opposition.

The Philadelphia bankites are pursuing the same sort of policy, as the bankites in this city. They have meetings, adopt memorials, and send committees to Washington, in the hope to worry and tease General Jackson into saying some petulant thing, which they would straightway treasure, as a choice morsel to be duly cooked up in the reports of their proceedings. The following passage contains a report of the remarks which a recent Philadelphia bank committee profess to have drawn from General Jackson. These remarks they make the ground of a string of intemperate and abusive resolutions; but for our own part we see nothing either in the sentiments ascribed to the President or the language (making only the slightest allowance for the natural exaggerations and misrepresentations of the committee) which we do not think well become him, and which will not receive the hearty concurrence of the democracy of the country.

The memorial having been satisfactorily disposed of in both Houses of Congress the delegates thought it respectful to call on the President of the United States, and made known to him the condition, the sufferings and opinions of the constituents. This interview took place by appointment at two o'clock on the 11. February. The delegates having been severally introduced to the President, were received with such politeness and courtesy of manner, as to justify the expectation of a patient and candid

hearing. In this, however, they were disappointed. The chairman had hardly announced in one or two sentences, the general nature of our mission, when the President interrupted them, and proceeded in a vehement discourse of more than twenty minutes' duration, to announce to us, and through us to our constitution, his opinions and his determination in reference to the restoration of the deposits, the re-charter of the Bank, and the future disposition of the public revenue. In the course of those remarks (which, as they were long, and somewhat desultory, it is deemed unnecessary to present in detail) the following positions were distinctly assumed by the President.

1. That the application for relief must be made to the Bank of the United States and not to him; that whatever distress existed in the community (and he believed there was some distress) had been caused by the Bank, which was hoarding its specie and curtailing its discounts in order to crush the state banks and compel the government to abandon its policy. That the executive had no power to relieve the distresses of the community, but that the stockholders of the Bank might effect that object by electing directors who would conduct its affairs honestly, and on principles of Christian benevolence.

2. That the present directors of the Bank had violated its charter, by giving to the President the whole power of the Bank, a power to use its funds without voucher or receipt. That such a power in the hands of one man, was dangerous to the liberties of the country, and had been used to destroy the elective franchise. That the President of the Bank, if an honest man, would not have accepted a trust so unlawful. That for these reasons he regarded the Bank as a monster of corruption, which he was determined to put down. That a Bank so using its powers ought (as he repeatedly expressed it) to be robbed of those powers.

3. That the law creating the Bank of the United States was in his opinion unconstitutional. That no power to create a national bank was conferred or in-

tended to be conferred by the constitution; that the provision by which Congress was authorised to regulate the currency, had reference only to domestic and foreign coin, and not to paper of any description.

4. That having made up his mind irrevocably upon all these points, Andrew Jackson never would restore the deposits to the Bank; Andrew Jackson would never re-charter that monster of corruption; that neither persuasion nor coercion, nor the opinions of the people, nor the voice of the legislature, could shake his fixed determination: that sooner than consent to restore the deposits or re-charter the Bank, he would undergo the tortures of ten Spanish Inquisitions; that sooner than live in a country where such a power prevailed, he would seek an asylum in the wilds of Arabia.

5. It was announced by the President that he meant to continue the present system of collecting the revenue by the state banks, until the experiment had been fully tried, and at all events until the expiration of the charter of the United States Bank. That he had no doubt of the success of the experiment, nor that the state banks would answer all the purposes of the country. That he would furnish the country with as good, nay, a better and more solvent currency than that of the National Bank. That he had early foreseen and provided against the inclination of the Bank of the United States to crush the state banks, and that his interposition alone had saved them from ruin. That he would continue to protect the state banks by all the means in his power.

6. That the President admitted that considerable distress had followed the action of the Government in relation to the deposits. He had never doubted that brokers and stock-speculators, and all who were doing business upon borrowed capital, would suffer severely, under the effects of the measure, and that all such people ought to break.

The foregoing paragraphs are believed to contain all the important ideas expressed by the President, in the first part of his discourse to the delegates.

In some emphatic expressions his language is accurately preserved, while his numerous repetitions of the same idea in different words, which serve unnecessarily to prolong the interview, have been avoided. Once or twice the chairman took occasion to explain that he seemed to misapprehend the position of the delegates; that they had not come to represent the Bank, or promote its interests, but to lay before him the condition and wishes of citizens of Philadelphia, unconnected with that institution and engaged in the various departments of commerce and industry. Such explanations, however, produced no visible effect on the tenor of the President's discourse, nor did he allow an opportunity to make those statements as to the condition of this community with which the delegates were especially charged.

In reference to his declaration, that he would continue the present system of collecting the revenue through the State Banks, until the experiment had been fairly tried, one of the delegates inquired, whether he had determined upon any plan by which the country might be relieved in case the experiment failed. His answer was, that he was disposed to be candid, and would explain his views on that point. That in order to restore the currency to the condition intended by the constitution, and place the monied concerns of the country, where the sages of the constitution found and left them, he proposed to put out of circulation all notes of five dollars and under by placing the public money in such state banks as would issue no notes below ten dollars, and by forbidding the receipt in payment of the revenue of the notes of all banks which should issue notes under ten dollars. That the same process would next be pursued in reference to all notes under twenty dollars, and thus a metallic currency be ensured for all the common purposes of life, while the use of bank notes would be confined to those engaged in commerce.

The same delegate having inquired when he proposed to put his plan in execution, the answer was, not imme-

diately, not until the expiration of the charter of the Bank of the United States. Go home, gentlemen (said he) and tell the Bank of the United States to relieve the country, by increasing its business. Let the United States Bank make no run upon the state banks, and I will take care that the state banks will make no run upon her. Let the war between the banks cease, and all will be well in forty-eight hours. The Bank of the United States is trying to crush the state banks. Tell the state banks that I will protect them, and that the power of the United States Bank is nearly gone, and that it will be compelled to cease its present course. Here one of the delegates observed to the President, We are, many of us, sir, connected with state banks, and yet we know of no such warfare between them and the Bank of the United States, as you speak of. It does not exist in the city of Philadelphia. There is, on the contrary, the utmost good will and harmony between the United States Bank and the other banks of our city, and nearly all the latter are in favour of a re-charter. To which the President quickly replied, I know all about it, sir; I know that some of your banks have combined in favour of the Bank of the United States. I have examined the whole subject, and understand it better than any of you. I have looked impartially at both sides of the question, and have the best information on the subject, from Maine to New Orleans, from the most undoubted sources. I learn this morning (Feb. 11), from New York, that stocks are rising, and that money is becoming abundant. Let the directors of the Bank pursue their business on principles of Christian benevolence, and all will be well. Let them wind up the Bank, without attempting to break down the Government and force a re-charter, and it will die with the blessing of thousands; otherwise, it will have the curse of millions. I have read the Scriptures, gentlemen; and I find that when Moses ascended the mountain, the children of Israel rebelled, and made a golden calf, and worshipped it, and brought a curse upon

them. This Bank will be a greater curse. I have no hostility to the Bank; I am willing it should expire in peace; but if it does persist in its war with the Government, I have a measure in contemplation which will destroy it at once, and which I am resolved to apply, be the consequences to individuals what they may. The Bank has in circulation ten millions of checks, which I have no doubt are illegal, and which I will direct the state banks to refuse in payment of the public revenue. These checks must then be returned upon the Bank, and will drain her of the specie she is hoarding. This measure I will apply, unless the Bank desists from her course.

DISSENTERS' CLAIMS.

THERE have been three half days' debate in the House of Commons, on a petition from some members of the University of CAMBRIDGE, who pray the House to pass a law for the doing of that which King JAMES the Second was driven from the throne for merely attempting to cause to be done; and Mr. SPRING RICE, one of the present King's Ministers, brought in the petition, and recommended its prayer to be granted! The petitioners prayed that Dissenters (Catholics included) may be admitted to take degrees in the University. Now let us see what King JAMES did: "Father Francis, a Benedictine, was recommended by the King's mandate to the University of Cambridge, for the degree of Master of Arts; and as it was usual for the University to confer that degree on persons eminent for learning, without regard to their religion; and as they had even admitted lately the secretary to the ambassador of Morocco; the King on that account thought himself the better entitled to compliance. But the University considered, that there was a great difference between a compliment bestowed on foreigners, and degrees which gave a title to vote in all the elections and degrees of the University; and which, if conferred on the Catholics,

"would infallibly in time render that sect entirely superior. They, therefore, refused to obey the King's mandate, and were cited to appear before the court of ecclesiastical commission. The vice-chancellor was suspended; but as the University chose a man of spirit to succeed him, the King thought proper for the present to drop his pretensions."

King JAMES, whose whole revenue raised upon his people did not amount to one-third part as much as we now give to half-pay officers, their widows, and children, wanted to do precisely that, for which the Dissenters are now praying; namely, he wanted to do away with all the penal statutes on account of religion; to grant a general liberty of conscience to all his subjects, and to put them all upon a perfect equality with regard to civil and religious matters. He issued a proclamation to that effect; and subjoined to it an order for the reading of this proclamation after divine service. The clergy of the church demurred; and, in fact, refused obedience to his order, though the law made him the head of the church. Seven of the bishops presented to him a petition against this order. Their petition was in the following words:

"That the great averseness found in themselves to their distributing and publishing in all their churches your Majesty's late declaration for liberty of conscience, proceeds neither from any want of duty and obedience to your Majesty (our holy mother, the church of England, being both in her principles and her constant practice unquestionably loyal, and having to her great honour been more than once publicly acknowledged to be so by your gracious Majesty), nor yet from any want of tenderness to Dissenters, in relation to whom we are willing to come to such a temper as shall be thought fit, when the matter shall be considered and settled in Parliament and Convocation. But among many other considerations, from this especially, because that declaration is founded upon such a dispensing power as hath been often declared illegal in Parlia-

ment, and particularly in the years 1662 and 1672, and in the beginning of your Majesty's reign, and is a matter of so great moment and consequence to the whole nation both in church and state, that your petitioners cannot in prudence, honour, or conscience, so far make themselves parties to it as a distribution of it all over the nation and the solemn publication of it once and again, even in God's house, and in the time of divine service, must amount to in common and reasonable construction."

These bishops were called before the king, who ordered them to find bail for the seditious libel; they were tried, they were acquitted; and a great part of the nation sided with them; and, the consequence was, that the Whigs, who were the enemies of JAMES, brought over a Dutchman, and made him King WILLIAM the Third; JAMES was compelled to take shelter in France; and he and his family were excluded from the throne for ever; thus the Whigs of 1834 are proposing to do that very thing, for which the Whigs of 1683, drove the lawful king from the throne and disinherited his family for ever.

But we have not yet even a glance at the real nature of the present proceedings. These petitions of the University of CAMBRIDGE only propose to suffer the Dissenters to *take degrees* in their University; but is this what the Dissenters pray for? Oh, no! They want a great many things besides what relate to the Universities; but, as to the Universities, they want "THE PRIVILEGES of the Universities of OXFORD and CAMBRIDGE"; that is to say, *all* the privileges; and not a small and insignificant part of them. What, then, are these privileges? Why, amongst them, is that of being "Fellows of Colleges"; that is to say, sharers in the advowsons, and in the rents and income of all the property belonging to the colleges. This is what the Whig Ministry say they will not grant; so that here they are at open war with those whose cause they openly espouse; and this is a situation in which they will continue

to stand, unless they go the whole length at once; and that is nothing short of a demolition of the church establishment altogether; and, indeed, this is a question which is now to be decided.

For my part, I am so angry with the clergy of the church altogether; I have so long and so justly accused them of neglecting their flocks; so long cried out, and with quite sufficient reason, against the shameful pluralities and the shameful non-residence; that I will not say, how I may finally vote upon this subject; but I will say that nothing shall be done covertly if I can help it; nothing done under false pretences; nothing done for one professed end, when another end is really at the bottom. Were I the Minister, I would compel all the rectors and vicars and perpetual curates to repair instantly to their benefices, and there constantly to reside; I would propose an act to undo all pluralities, and to cause a resident incumbent to be in every parish in England, as far as relates to England and Wales. I would take from the clerical corporations and lay-impropriators a sufficiency of tithes to make every benefice adequate to the maintenance of a minister; I would compel the tithes to be taken in kind by the minister, and compel him to give a certain portion of it towards the relief of the poor of the parish; I would take from the bishops all that they had which was exorbitant in amount; and I would do the same with the deans and chapters. This is what I would do if I could, because I know that it would be better for the working people, than the total overthrow of the church. This would be a great change to be sure; but not half so great as that which is now manifestly approaching. In short: it is this, or it is the total overthrow of the church establishment: the torrent is too strong to be resisted by any means short of these.

One thing it is necessary to caution the working classes against; and that is, that the pulling down of the church, and the abolition of the tithes (unless the abolition of the debt take place, too)

will be ~~any good to them~~. The benefices of the church will be swallowed by the money-monster; that which is now taken by 12 or 15,000 persons, will be swallowed up by the money-monster, and spent far away from the parishes where a part of it is now spent, at any rate; and the people would soon find that they had lost a church, without having gained any thing in its stead. However this petition from the University of CAMBRIDGE tells us, *that the revolution is begun*; and we must have patience to see when and how it will end.

DORSETSHIRE LABOURERS.

ON Tuesday night I presented a petition from a very large meeting in London, of the TRADES' UNIONS, in favour of the six poor men, labourers in agriculture, who have been condemned to seven years' transportation for taking or administering oaths relative to the conditions on which they should work in future. I besought the merciful consideration of the Ministers to their hard case; and I must do them the justice to say, that they heard the application with great attention. A petition was presented last night by Mr. HUGHES, from Oxford, signed by fifteen hundred persons in eleven hours, which shows the deep interest which this matter has excited all over the country. Great credit is due to these petitioners of London and of Oxford, and I should do the Ministers injustice, if I did not say, that I believe that these petitions will be attended to in a manner becoming a Government which rests, and which ought to rest, upon public opinion. Great injustice has, in this case, been done by the newspapers, to Mr. O'CONNELL, who is represented as having said that the law against these men was clear, and as having said nothing in their favour. He said no such thing: the rules of the House would allow him to say but a few words. He apologized for trespassing so far against the rules; but, every word that he uttered had a tendency to mitigate any punishment allotted to these poor men. I am aware

of the difficulties which reporters labour under; but, in a case like this, where character is at stake on one side, and almost life at stake on the other side, great care should be taken. I accuse not the reporters of wilfully misrepresenting, by any means; but I have felt it my bounden duty, as far as I am able, to correct this important mistake.

HISTORY OF GEORGE THE FOURTH.

No. XV.

THIS number, which is just published, brings the history of the last American war to a close, winding up with the terrible battle of NEW ORLEANS, and with the treaty of peace. This is a war, of which the people of England never heard of before, except in the way of rumour; and it now becomes them to know every thing about it.

CORN LAWS.

To the Editor of the True Sun.

SIR,—There is no man more than myself desirous of the abolition of every sort of fiscal exaction affecting the industry of this or any other country; and if I desired the removal at one "fell swoop," of all such clogs to the usefulness of man's exertions, I should say SWEEP OFF "THE DEBT," for this is the dam of "night-mares"; but since I am convinced that there are means to effect this, and the relief of our beloved country from all the minor imposts that affect it, without inflicting sudden pain, or adding to the mass of poignant misery with which we are now tortured; that the change from present distress may be not only safe and expeditious yet gradual and pleasant, I cannot, therefore, bring my mind to contemplate with composure such schemes as are now being propounded, having for their object relief, but the effect of which will be, I am sure, to produce immense temporary evil, and to throw us backward for many years more than the most

sanguine can hope for us to advance. I more particularly, for the present, allude to the question for a repeal of the "corn laws."

I am called to make these remarks in consequence of reading the article on that subject in the *Times* of yesterday. I would not for the world accuse any man moving in the sphere of the writer of that article, of being actuated by a feeling of wanton cruelty towards any class of his fellow-countrymen; but cruelty greater than that which he advocates the infliction of, I cannot conceive. The most prostrated—the most humble-minded—the most patient in suffering, and the most tried of our labouring community, are the agricultural labourers. Why, then, are they to be selected as the first to suffer the experiment of free-trade enactments? Why is the bounty—the niggard bounty which the import duty affords them—to be removed, in order that British money should be employed in cultivating the continental territory of our loving allies of Russia, Prussia, and Holland? Why is the land of our own country to be given up in this determined and reckless manner, to the great fundholder and mortgagee? Already the debt preys upon the land, with remorseless and rapacious fury; shall we by the repeal of the bounty on home industry, "the corn laws," consign it altogether to the jaws of the ravenous monster, "the debt"? I trust we shall not commit madness and folly of this sort; or if we do, that we shall accompany it by a course of consistent legislation, and remove at the same time all other bounties or import taxes, so that one grand holocaust may be at once made to the principles of "national faith," as propounded and entertained at the Stock Exchange.

I have not by me that useful little manual of "Customs," "Ellis's British Tariff," or I could show up the monstrous fallacies that are entertained by ignorant writers and ignorant speakers relative to the question of protective duties on manufactured goods, and other produce besides that of corn. If we are to abandon our farmer at home, and

leave him to the mercy of chance as to a new field of employment; why shall our colonies be protected in their timber produce, by a tax on Baltic timber of at least 150 per cent.; but for this impost we should have the best pine in the world for 9d. or 10d. per foot, whereas we pay 1s. 11d. to 2s. We can have the pine from Russia and Prussia, where we are anxious to run for our corn; assuredly two measures of this sort would be in beautiful harmony. But I have another at hand, and another equally worthy of the quarter from whence the "anti-corn law" schemes originated. There is a protective duty of 20s. per cent. in favour of the British carpenter, cabinet-maker, and statuary, inasmuch as all manufactured furniture, doors, windows, and similar timber goods; marble chimney-pieces, and other sculptured articles, (this is not talking, sir, of walking-sticks, canes, or umbrellas; what I speak of are not to be considered trifles,) are liable to such charge coming from abroad. No doubt the abolition of these charges would be welcomed by the three great powers of Germany as no little boon to their craftsmen. My God, sir, instead of England being the workshops of Europe, we should soon find that Germany would usurp the distinction; and degraded Italy itself could not present a more loathsome picture of strolling mendicants than would once-happy England, in its crowds of famished farmers, labourers, carpenters, &c., to be effected by such measures of insanity. Not to trespass too much on your valuable paper, I would urge one little home question, which the conductors of the *Times* themselves may be able to speak to the effect of better than myself. What say you to a boon to the German printers and publishers, by removing from our tariff any tax upon German and French typography? Our dandy authors and novel writers would soon be found on the other side of the water, correcting proofs for the press, and returning home enveloped in a cargo of ready-made octavos, bound up in real Russian calf, and silk of Lyons' manufacture.

The fact is, sir, that the whole hue and cry is, to propitiate the party that presides over the fund dominion. THE DEBT would be doubled, and the population, the industrious population, halved, to satisfy its cravings; and the downward progress would be in a geometrical ratio, until all that would be left to salute the face of nature in once-merry England, would be a "wandering Jew."

I am, sir,
your obedient servant,
JOHN HANSOM.

I TAKE the following article from the *True Sun*, which seems to give up the question of the Corn Bill repeal; but insists upon it that the landlords ought to suffer for having been the cause of the debt. That is another matter. The money-mongers as well as the landowners were the cause of that debt; and they are altogether the cause of its continuance now to its present amount. But let us, then, have a proposition at once: a straight-forward proposition for seizing all the lands and houses, and giving them to the fundholders right away; and not a parcel of rubbishy nonsense about corn bills. I like for us to understand clearly what men mean; and not to have a parcel of shuffling that nobody can understand. I hate all this disguise and this hypocrisy.

The corn laws have been discussed with great zeal in the House of Commons during the morning sittings of the week; and it is not uninteresting to mark the infinite varieties of opinion which the discussion has elicited.

Yesterday Mr. CONNERY observed:

He was much surprised to hear the right hon. Gentleman, the Member for Manchester, assert a few days ago, that if the corn laws were taken off, the Americans would take the manufactures of England. He would ask if America had set us the example? In that freest of all free countries, where the Congress really represented the people, was not a duty imposed upon the import of every article that was necessary for the sustenance of life? A duty of twenty-five cents was put upon the bushel of wheat; Winchester measure, which was rather more than a fourth part of the

average price of wheat in that country. (Hear, hear.) He had rarely known it continue long as a dollar for the Winchester bushel. Again, fifteen cents was the duty paid on oats (which were very bad, except when raised from English seeds), and this was one-half the average price of oats in America. They could not do without seeds, so that seeds of all sorts had a protection of 25 per cent. *ad valorem*, including flax and hemp seeds, the flax and hemp itself also being taxed. The duty on English cheese was 3*d.*, and on butter (speaking from memory) 4*d.*, English money. On hams and bacon 3*d.* per lb., on pork 1*d.*, and on wool 50 per cent. *ad valorem*. (Hear.) What would the manufacturers of this country say to such a duty? Yet there no objection was made to it. Why, therefore, was such an outcry raised against the protection on the land, which, by-the-by, was no protection at all? (Hear.)

It is, precisely, because the corn laws are no protection to the cultivators of land, that we conceive the outcry against them to be justifiable. If these laws *did* protect the real cultivators of the soil, it would only remain, we apprehend, for every other class of producers to secure protection to the same extent. But the corn laws are no protection to those who cultivate the land. If these laws raise the price of corn, rents will, of course, rise in the same proportion; and the farmer remain, relatively to the landlord, precisely as he did before. If these laws could be supposed *not* to raise the price of corn, the farmer might say that he had been entrapped on the faith of an expected rise of prices, to offer unnaturally high rents. But the farmer could not, in the most favourable circumstances, gain more than the average rate of profit; while as a consumer he would, of course, suffer from high prices. The landlord alone can by possibility gain by the corn laws; and the corn laws are serviceable to landlords in the same way in which the free-trade system serves the unproductive classes generally. We oppose the corn laws not on the principles of free trade; but because the corn laws are part and parcel of the free-trade system. The direct and immediate effect of that system, in the present circumstances of society, is to lessen the value of labour, and to increase the power of the unproductive classes over the productive. The landlords who belong to the unpro-

ductive orders contrive by means of corn laws to get higher rents, whilst the farmers, even when they get higher prices, are no better than they were before, and the public in consuming dearer bread is decidedly in a worse condition. If all the unproductive classes shared in the benefit of the corn laws, as they all do in the advantages of a system of free trade, we should not find the fundholders and others joining in the outcry against the landlords. But of the whole body of unproductive consumers, the landlords alone can derive benefit from the corn laws.

It is very true that the occupants of land under leases, and all the labourers employed in agriculture, have an interest in the continuance of the present system, until they can secure, the one class, their emancipation, and the other, employment in other quarters. We have heard of late, of compensation to the landlords as a means of bribing them into the surrender of the corn laws. Compensation would be more justly due to the poor farmers, whom the landlords have entrapped into long and ruinous leases, on implied conditions which they (the landlords) have not been able to fulfil.

Mr. CORRY further observed:

There never was a misrepresentation so gross as some of the statements which had been made to the House upon this subject. A little unstamped publication, called the "Quartern Loaf," had been put into his hand. At the head of the publication there was a little ornament, and at the centre of the ornament was the picture of a quartern loaf, over which was stated this most atrocious falsehood:—"Flour and baking, 4*d.*; landlord's tax, 3*d.*; total, 8*d.* (A laugh). This he denied to be true, for if you put the value of the wheat, which came to 1*d.* the lb., and the amount for the landlord, farmer, and labourer all together, it would not make 4*d.*, at the utmost, out of the price of the 4lb. loaf. The rest was added by the miller and the baker. He did not charge them with extortion; but they added to the landlord and the farmer's charge. Look back to 1792, when wheat was not so low as at present. What was it then? Why, at the utmost 6*d.* What now?—8*d.* (Hear, hear). How came it to be 8*d.*? Why, because we had the fundholders to pay. Had we they the malt and window taxes? No; the whole amount of taxes was 13,000,000*l.*, and now it was 60,000,000*l.* (Hear). So that the landlord and the farmer had nothing to do

with it. If the petitioners were rational creatures, they would not have petitioned for cheap bread, but for the reduction of those taxes which caused it to be so high.

But we can scarcely concede to Mr. CORNBETT that "the landlord has had nothing to do" with the taxes which Mr. CORNBETT very justly declares to be the immediate cause of the general distress. The fundholder is the person who swallows up the wealth of the country; but the fundholder is a creature called into existence by the landlords, by the men who have so long abused the privilege of making laws for their fellow-men. The fundholder has long preyed upon the productive industry of the country, and ere long he will, by the instrumentality of PEEL'S Bill, destroy the landed aristocracy, by whom he was at first called into being.

GOOD NEWS!

FROM

THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

I HAVE no time to make remarks upon this news. It confirms the former news; namely, that there is every reason to believe that the accursed paper-money will be totally destroyed. Another stupid deputation had been to the President; and the reader will see what sort of answer he gave them. I shall here insert the articles as they occur; and the reader will see what a mess of confusion this accursed paper-money has produced. It was expected when the last news came away, that the general Government would insist upon the taxes being paid in specie; and then the END is in America; something like the end must come here very soon afterwards.

As a sort of preface, I shall insert two articles from the London COURIER, which are not inapplicable at this time. The first is a letter from a correspondent; and the second is the editor's remarks.

THE CURRENCY.

To the Editor of the Courier.

Sir,—The amount of the exportation of the precious metals from this country

to America, France, and Germany, has been very considerable for some time past, and is on the increase, not only as may be seen from the public entries, but it is well known they are being exported privately also to a great extent. In case of a war (and look to the state of our foreign relations, if that event can be very far distant) how are we to provide for the payment of our army and navy? Paper will not do for them any more than for the poor negroes when the West India free labour commences; besides that, a coinage will be wanted for the West India Islands out of their twenty millions compensation, much of which, too, will be required in specie, for many of our planters will emigrate with their compensation money. At present our great imports of silver and gold are from the South American mines, and a war may interrupt that supply. I, therefore, wish immediate attention to be called to our at present hazardous situation, and whether some check may not be forthwith imposed on this dangerous exportation of the sinews of war; for what will our stocks and paper avail if not based on a sufficient metallic currency?

I am, sir, yours most obediently,
CURATOR.

March 22, 1834.

We call attention to a letter stating, what we believe is a fact, that considerable exportations have of late taken place of the precious metals. We do not participate in the views of the writer, as to laying restrictions on the exportation; but the fact, that the extent of our paper currency also rests, and properly rests, on the gold in the coffers of the Bank, it being great in proportion as the deposits are large, deserves consideration. The destruction of paper-money in the United States must, of course, lead to a demand for the precious metals, which will enhance their value in Europe; and we may, therefore, calculate upon the prices of all commodities rather falling still further, than upon their rising.

GENERAL JACKSON.

The following account of General Jackson's interview with a deputation, to hear the report of the mechanics committee, sent to Washington, with the memorial praying for the restoration of the deposits, is interesting :

We repaired to his residence on the morning of the 14., and were admitted at once to his presence. Two gentlemen were with him at the time, who retired in a few moments. The President received us with "good morning, gentlemen, be seated." We introduced each other and took seats. The President also sat down by a table and signed several papers ; after which he took up a letter, broke the seal, and read it very deliberately : then another letter, and was engaged with a third, when company was announced. During all this time he did not seem to notice our presence, and fearing to interrupt important business, we had patiently waited his leisure ; but perceiving at length that we must introduce our subject without further delay, or lose the opportunity, we commenced by saying, "You are aware, sir, that we are a delegation from the mechanics and artisans of the city of New York, to make known to the Government the pecuniary difficulties under which the citizens are labouring at the present time."

He answered, "Well, what do you want? What would you have me do? What do you come here for? Why don't you go the United States Bank? Go to Nicholas Biddle!" His manner was agitated, expressing impatience and anger. We replied that we were not authorised to make application to the Bank, but to the Government, for an amelioration of our sufferings ; to which he replied : "I have been applied to by committee after committee, from New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore, and New York again ; one, two, five, seven, and you are the eighth. I have dealt openly and candidly with all : you have seen the committee from your city, they could tell you my determination. I told them, and I now tell you, I will

"never restore the deposits, I will never re-charter the United States Bank, or sign a charter for any other bank, so long as my name is Andrew Jackson." His energy and his anger increased as he continued to speak ; we replied that we did not come to ask the re-charter of the United States Bank, but merely to declare that our complaints did not originate in fiction, and to request from the Government the adoption of some system which might tend to restore mercantile confidence. He asked, "How am I to do that?" We replied that we were not instructed to dictate to the Government what to do ; but we look upon the want of a good understanding between the President and the Bank as the great cause of our present embarrassment. At this he became excessively agitated, rose from his seat, and, shaking his finger in an earnest and threatening manner, said, "In what way have I produced it?" To which we replied, "You informed Congress in your official communications that you did not believe the Bank was solvent, and that it would not be able, on winding up, to pay all demands against it." The President replied, "I did so, and I say it now ; it will not pay all ; it is a corrupt and abominable institution, buying up presses and interfering with elections throughout the country. It has violated its charter repeatedly." We answered that the business portion of the citizens of New York, we believe, view it in a different light. But if the Bank has violated its charter, the laws point out the proper course to be pursued. Here his excitement assumed an extraordinary shape, his whole frame trembling with agitation. "Well," said he, "have I not pursued lawful measures?" We answered that, the charter authorised the President to issue a *scire facias*, but we believed that course had not been pursued. He answered in a vehement manner, "It may be, however, before the affairs of the Bank are wound up." This is the amount of the committee's report. But let us hear what further is reported to have been said by General Jackson.

"Why am I teased with committees? Here I am receiving two or three anonymous letters every day, threatening me with assassination if I don't restore the deposits and re-charter the Bank; the abominable institution, the monster that has grown up out of circumstances, and has attempted to control the government: I've got my foot upon it, and I'll crush it. Am I to violate my constitutional oath? Is it to be expected that I am to be turned from my purpose? Is Andrew Jackson to bow the knee to the golden calf; as did the Israelites of old? I tell you if you want relief go to Nicholas Biddle." We replied, "Nicholas Biddle will tell us that he is but following the recommendations of the executive in winding up the affairs of the Bank, by curtailing its discounts." He continued, "Did I advise him to interfere with elections, and corrupt the morals of the people? Did I advise him to withdraw thirty-five millions from the purchase of inland bills of exchange in the western country? I tell you I am opposed to all banks and banking operations, from the South Sea bubble to the present time. The Israelites during the absence of Moses to the mount made a golden calf, and fell down and worshipped it, and they sorely suffered for their idolatry. The people of this country may yet be punished for their idolatry."

(From the *Journal of Commerce*, Feb. 20.)

What's the matter? — We learn that an agent of the bankers in Wall-street carried 15,000 dollars in notes of different safety fund banks to Albany, to be redeemed by the great sharing concern there, which has hitherto redeemed them at one per cent. discount, but they were not redeemed; and we learn that the agent has returned again. Usually these notes were discounted at from one to one and a half per cent. Yesterday three per cent. were demanded for some, and five, seven, and ten, for others. Many of the brokers refused to take them at any price. Hitherto the concern at Albany called the "Little Bell" almost confined its operations to redeeming these notes, and it is supposed divided the share with the country banks. Now let us reason on this matter. If the safety fund system is a sound one, then all their notes should pass at par.

All the clamour and the panic, and the news-papers on earth, cannot make a five-dollar United States Bank note be worth less than five dollars in silver. Why then should the holders of the safety fund notes be compelled to have from one to five per cent. deducted from their par value, when all the New England Bank notes are at par? Is there any safety in this? We were told by the *Journal of Commerce* that all these banks had immense sums in specie at Wall-street. If it is so, why send their notes up to Albany for redemption? — *Star*.

This crowns the effrontery of the most unblushing impudence which was ever attempted to be practised upon a civilized community. A man stabs another to the heart, and then as his victim lies groaning and bleeding, calls out with a mixture of hypocrisy and guilt, "What's the matter?" He sets fire to a city, and as he sees the whole population running to and fro in consternation and dismay, to see if any thing can be done to arrest the conflagration, he asks with the stupid unconcern of a Nero when Rome was burning, "What's the matter?" We'll tell you what's the matter, though you know it full well without any information from us. The matter is, that your malignant efforts and those of the *Courier* and *Inquirer*, and other papers of the same stamp, to bring upon the banks, and of course upon the merchants and the whole community, have in part succeeded. Your incendiary paragraphs, which have been poured into the ears of the public from day to day and from month to month, for the purpose of impairing confidence in the country banks, have at last availed, in part, to accomplish your design. You saw prosperity beginning to return, as evinced by an increase of business, a rapid rise of stocks, and an easier state of the money market, and you redoubled your efforts to avert so great a blessing. You know the country banks supplied so large a portion of the circulating medium, that if you could contrive any means to bring them into discredit, you would withdraw their funds from our city banks, and stop their discounts at home, thus pouring double ruin upon the merchants of New York. Do not comfort yourselves with the great in-

fluence which this power to do mischief implies. It is an influence no greater than a graduate of the state prison would possess, if by any change of circumstances he should chance to have the control of a public press. What, though your torrent of misrepresentation has been resisted by us and others; we cannot reach the same readers; and if we could, the breach of slander, once put forth, is not easily dissipated. Had you aimed your shafts at the credit of an individual merchant, or a hundred merchants, your conduct would have been innocence itself, compared with what it is. It is not the credit of hundreds, but of thousands, which you have attempted to undermine. It is the credit of fifty or sixty banks, and of the many thousands of individuals whose credit is linked in with, and dependent upon them. What does it avail, though merchants are ever so wealthy, if they have no circulating medium for the payment of their notes, and none in which they can receive payment from others. You ask, "what's the matter?" We will show you, from your own columns and those of your contemporaries; and if you look at the matter candidly, you will only wonder that you had not succeeded sooner. Nothing, surely, but a previous conviction that the country banks are sound, could have saved them from the effects of your slanders at an earlier period. Nothing but the same conviction, confirmed by unquestionable facts, can save them now from the fall reality which you seek to bring upon them. Need you be told that *credit* is the most delicate of all earthly possessions; and that a single whisper is often sufficient to destroy it? By what authority, then; by what semblance of justice; by what possible pretext, do you presume to tamper with the credit of a whole community? It would be some palliation, if you had stated only the truth in regard to these institutions; though even the truth is not to be told at all times; and in reference to *credit*, may be highly libellous, and productive of the most disastrous consequences. But you have so used the truth as to convey an im-

pression heaven-wide from the truth. You have represented, and persisted in representing, in spite of positive information to the contrary, that the specie in the vaults of said banks was the only funds which they had to meet specie demands. From a statement by the bank commissioners, which we publish to-day, you will see that it constitutes but little more than *one-seventh part* of such funds. For if a country bank has a credit upon a bank in Albany or in this city for 100,000 dollars, it of course can draw upon the latter for that amount, which will be paid in the bills of the latter bank; and these, if the holder pleases, can be presented for specie. But we proceed to answer the inquiry, "What's the matter?"

(From the Star).

Jan. 7.—Will times mend; will confidence be restored; will money be plenty, if nothing be done by Congress. We say, no; do not hope for it. We have only seen the commencement of trouble.

Jan. 25.—The real and efficient enemy of that (the U.S.) Bank, the foundation of all the troubles now felt, is the *united safety banks of this state*; their political power holds the state in bondage, and paralyzes its vote in Congress. If the Senate and House of Representatives of the U. S. refuse to recognize the safety fund political banks of this state as a medium of national currency and exchange, they will be compelled to give way; and the re-charter of the Bank follows.

Feb. 5.—(After quoting the statement of the resources and liabilities of the safety fund banks). This looks pretty well on paper; and if there should be a blow-up in the market, the banks have, by their own showing, just *six and a half cents in silver*, to every *paper dollar*.

Feb. 7.—Everybody is speaking of the *trick* practised by the commissioners in their report. Instead of giving the names of each bank, its location, capital, notes in circulation, and specie, as was done last year, the commissioners *club* the whole circulation, and take in all our city banks; whose condition is sound, and make out a good statement by the *average*.

Feb. 16.—Will the bank commissioners be pleased to *lay before the people* a list of the banks throughout their state; their location; capital; amount of notes in circulation; and specie in vaults? Why, in this indispensable information held back this year, when it was last year laid before the legislature?

Feb. 11.—What prevents the re-charter of the U. S. Bank? *The vote of New York.* And

who controls that vote? Mr. Van Buren and the safety fund banks.

Feb. 12.—The poorest exchange broker, inhabiting a small basement in Wall-street, has a greater cash capital to till than most of those banks. There are twenty-eight banks in this state under the safety fund, neither of which can redeem 10,000 dollars of their notes in specie. There are ten which cannot redeem 5,000 dollars in cash.

In these times of trouble and scarcity, what would become of the whole system if one-fourth of the country bank-notes which float through the city, were sent back to those banks to redeem in specie? They would all break at once. And the handsome sum of 290,000 dollars, which is in the banks for safe keeping, is already collected in the fund to protect thirty million of dollars in notes!!

Feb. 14.—The *Journal* says, that "most of the country banks have specie in Wall-street [specie, funds, we said.—Eus. JOUR. COM.] placed here for convenience." Does that paper mean to say, that any of the country banks have specie in Wall-street over and above the returns of specie in their vaults, sworn to before the bank commissioners? If they have specie in Wall-street, then they have it not in their vaults. Is it reasonable to suppose that the Ithaca bank would return 3,658 dollars; the Ossego county, 4,020 dollars; the Ulster county, 4,064 dollars; the Hudson River, 5,772 dollars; the Tanners, 6,796 dollars; the Wayne county, 6,769 dollars; and twenty-two other banks, having each less than 10,000 dollars to the legislature though the bank commissioners, if they had one cent more in specie lying in Wall-street?

(From the *Commercial Advertiser*.)

New York, Jan. 11.—Let our legislature beware how they provoke the Bank to retaliation. The United States Bank has but to say the word, and in three weeks the regency itself, its chief, and most of its safety fund banks, except in the cities of New York, Albany, and Troy, would be blown sky-high.

Feb. 4.—In regard to the condition of the local banks individually, the report of the [bank] commissioners is silent, and of course unsatisfactory. * * * The grand safety fund amounts now to 290,000 dollars, to redeem an actual circulation of 15,000,000 dollars, and liabilities of 30,000,000 dollars, in the event of an explosion.

Albany, Jan. 27. (Correspondence).—The whole safety fund machinery is in jeopardy already. An extension, to satisfy all, would blow the whole sky-high, if it does not go as it is.

Washington, Jan. 22. (Correspondence).—The country has not suffered enough yet. They are shaken it is true, but not yet convinced. They certainly have not repented and reformed. Perhaps the storm which is to break upon New York in March and April may open their eyes.

Washington. (Correspondence. Data not recollected).—The prospect from every part of the country is daily more and more dreary and alarming. If the people do not soon rise in their might, and speak in a language and with a voice which shall be heard and obeyed in the halls of legislation, there will be, before the first of May, a general wreck of banks and merchants.

The above must be taken only as a specimen. The columns of the *Courier* and *Star* abound with such stuff. The *Commercial* is much less deeply in, and manifests a very proper feeling, now that real mischief is begun to be produced. The *Star*, on the other hand, appears to glory in it. Other papers have aided in the work, to a greater or less extent, particularly the *Philadelphia Inquirer*, which has manifested a very special concern for the safety of the banks in this State. We have not access to a file of that paper at this moment, and we must therefore content ourselves with the following paragraph, under date of Wednesday last:

We give below a statement of the notes in circulation and specie on hand of twelve of the safety fund banks of New York, by which it will be seen that they have but about three dollars for every hundred in bank notes. A pretty condition truly! There is not an hour in the day, from the time they open in the morning until they close in the evening that they can consider themselves safe. Any depositor of the Ithaca Bank having a balance of four thousand dollars therein, would break the bank at once were he to demand payment in specie; for it will be seen that with a circulation of 339,470 dollars, she has only 3,658 dollars to meet it. The tide of distress which first began to rise in the Atlantic cities, and which has been gradually flowing west, must soon reach these baseless fabrics built upon the sand, and when they fall, great will be the destruction thereof.

After reading these extracts, the public will know "What's the matter," if the *Star* does not. The matter is, that political editors have wickedly undertaken to make game of the safety fund banks, and have adapted their means to the end. The matter is, that they have so far succeeded, as to produce a partial alarm in regard to these institutions. But they will be disappointed after all. The communication of the bank commissioners (or two of them) more than sustains all that we have said.

of the soundness of these banks. It appears from this statement, that on the 1. of January, the New York country banks had in specie, or in funds, in this city and Albany, available at any moment, 3,539,975 dollars, equal to forty-four per cent. on the amount of their actual circulation. If this fact does not put their accusers to the blush, nothing will. They have assailed individual banks, and it has turned out those very banks were among the strongest in the state. They have assailed the banks in the aggregate, and it turns out that they have specie, or funds as good as specie, (and for all common purposes preferred to specie,) to the amount of forty-four per cent. on their circulation. To all which may be added, that since the first of January the circulation of most or all of them has been contracted, to prepare for the storm which these incendiary prints have been attempting to raise.

We now call upon these papers to come out like honest men and acknowledge their error. If they do so distinctly and clearly, so as to make *their* readers understand it, and if they endeavour to atone for the mischief they have done, we will then believe that they have not been actuated by any evil intent, but only have been made the dupes of their own folly.

To the Editor of the Journal of Commerce.

New York, Feb. 20, 1834.

Gentlemen,—Having observed several articles in the papers of this city within the last few days calculated to create distrust of the country banks of this state, by holding up to the public the amount of specie possessed by them as their only means of redeeming their circulation, we deem it proper to endeavour to correct any erroneous or injurious impressions which such publications may be the means of producing, by a statement of the actual means of redemption possessed by these banks, as collected from their reports to us on the 1. of January last. It is well known to all who have any acquaintance with the subject, that the banks in the country

very seldom have a call to redeem their paper in specie. Their notes in the ordinary course of trade find their way to the city, are then purchased in by the brokers, and sent home for redemption generally through the banks at Albany. The purpose of the holder is thus better ensured by receiving a draft at sight upon the city, than it would be by receiving specie, which would subject him to the expense of transportation. The operation has been simply this:—The broker in New York purchases the bills, and sends them to his corresponding bank in Albany; the bank in Albany remits in return a draft upon New York for the amount, then sends the bills home, and receives in return a draft upon New York or Albany.

This mode of redemption has been found so perfectly convenient to all parties, that the banks in the interior have scarcely been in the habit of relying at all upon their specie as means of redemption, but have depended upon their funds in the city provided for that purpose; funds which at any time are susceptible of being converted into specie.

For the purpose of showing the means of the country banks to redeem their paper, we have compiled the following statement from the returns made to us on the 1. of January last.

Leaving out of view the banks in Albany which keep accounts with the Western banks, which is in fact excluding all their resources beyond what may be necessary to pay the amount deposited with them by other banks, the statement is as follows:

	Dollars.
Circulation of Banks out of the cities of New York and Albany, ...	9,852,624
Deduct notes of other Banks on hand, which, when exchanged, will of course reduce their circulation this amount	1,763,400

Leaves this amount in actual circulation 8,089,224
The means of redemption possessed by those banks available at any moment are,

Specie	Dollars.
Funds in Albany	573,412
Funds in New York	1,717,978
	1,268,590

equal to forty-four per cent. of their actual circulation.

Without calculating, therefore upon a dollar of the debts becoming due to them from day to day, both at home and in the cities; the resources of those banks would enable them to reduce nearly half their bills in circulation at any moment.

When we consider that these bills are scattered among a population of nearly two millions, it would seem to be impossible that any thing like such a proportion of them could be returned at once, or within so short a time as to embarrass the banks.

It is probable that in consequence of recent events in this city, and of the present state of excitement, the arrangements between the brokers here who have been in the habit of receiving country paper, and the banks in Albany, may have been deranged or suspended, by which a temporary depreciation of country paper may be occasioned, but we are perfectly confident that there is nothing in the condition of either of the banks in the country which should be the cause of the slightest alarm.

C. STEBBINS,

GEO. R. DAVIS,

Bank Commissioners.

LOCUST TREES.

I HAVE about seven thousand of these left; and I sell them at five pounds a thousand. They can be had at BOURCOURT at any time, in six days after they are ordered. They are very fine, having been removed, and having the finest roots possible. Any one who plants them ought to have my book called the *Woodlands*, or he will not do it well.

Locust Seed.

Very fine and fresh to be had at BOURCOURT for eight shillings a pound. A pound, if properly sowed, will produce

from eight to ten thousand plants. To sow the seed properly, you must read the "*Woodlands*." If you follow the directions therein, almost every seed will come up: if you do not, you will get very few plants, and, perhaps, none at all.

Field Seeds.

I notified, some time ago, that I should not make any distinction in price, whether a single pound, or a number of pounds were sold; but, by some mistake, the old prices were inserted in a recent *Register*. The prices will, for the present, be as follows:

Deep red MANGEL WURZEL Seed, 9d. a pound. — SWEDISH TURNIP Seed, which I warrant to be the finest and truest that ever was grown in England, 9d. a pound. — ITALIAN CLOVER SEED, one shilling and threepence a pound.

GARDEN SEEDS.

Bags of seed for large gardens (the seeds tied up in paper bags, and those sewed up in a canvass bag), with a printed list of the seeds in the inside, along with a manuscript card of my writing, with the following words on it, "Garden seeds, raised at Normandy farm, in 1833, by Wm. Cobbett," 25s. each.

Bags for small gardens, having all the same sorts of seeds, but in half the quantity of the preceding, with printed list and card the same, 12s. 6d. each.

The following is the list of my seeds, which contains the KNIGHT-PEA, not contained in my list of last year. The EARLY-FRAME pea is the very quickest in coming that I ever saw in my life; and I think I can defy all the world for cabbage seed, though I have not got it, even yet, into that state of perfection that I shall have it next year.

KITCHEN-GARDEN SEEDS.

No.

1. Asparagus.
2. Bean—Broad, or Windsor.
3. Long Pod.
4. Early Masagon.
5. Kidney (or French). Scarlet Runners.
6. White Runners.
7. Bean—Black Dwarf.

8. Dun Dwarf.
9. Robin-Egg.
10. Speckled.
11. Beet—Red.
12. Brocoli—White.
13. Purple.
14. Cape.
15. Cabbage—Early Battersea.
16. Early York.
17. Savoy.
18. Cabbage—Curled—Scotch.
19. Carrot.
20. Cauliflower.
21. Celery.
22. Chervil.
23. Cress.
24. Cucumber, early frame.
25. Corn (Cobbett's).
26. Endive.
27. Leek.
28. Lettuce—White Coss.
29. Brown Dutch.
30. Mustard—White.
31. Nasturtium—Dwarf.
32. Onion.
33. Parsnip.
34. Parsley—Curled.
35. Knight-Pea.
36. Pea—Early-frame.
37. Tall Marrowfats.
38. Dwarf Marrowfats.
39. Radish—Early Scarlet.
40. White Turnip.
41. Spinage.
42. Squash (from America, great variety).
43. Turnip—Early-Garden.

FLOWER SEEDS.

44. Canterbury Bells.
45. Catch Fly.
46. China-asters.
47. Convolvulus—Dwarf.
48. Indian Pink.
49. Larkspur—Dwarf Rocket.
50. Lupins—Dwarf Yellow.
51. Poppy—Carnation.
52. French.
53. Stock, Scarlet, ten-week.
54. Mignonette.
55. Sweetwilliam.
56. Sweet Pea.
57. Venus's Looking-glass.
58. Virginia Stock.
59. Wall-flower.

AGRICULTURAL DISTRESS.

SUFFOLK COUNTY MEETING.

At a meeting of the nobility, gentry, clergy, yeomanry, and inhabitants of the county of Suffolk, convened by the High Sheriff, (pursuant to a requisition for that purpose), on Thursday the 13. day of March, 1834, at Ipswich, to take into consideration the depressed state of agriculture, and the most advisable and effectual means to impress upon the Government and the Legislature the necessity for some immediate and extensive measure to ameliorate the condition of the landed interest;

JOHN GARDEN, Esq, High Sheriff,
in the Chair;

It was resolved,

That the following petition to the House of Commons be adopted, and that the members for the county be requested to present and support the same.

To the Honourable the Commons of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, in Parliament assembled.

The humble Petition of the undersigned Landowners, Clergy, Occupiers of Land, Tradesmen, Labourers, and others interested in the welfare of agriculture, of the county of Suffolk:

Showeth,

That your petitioners viewing, with unmixed feelings of sorrow and alarm, the rapidly increasing difficulties under which they labour, and the utter ruin in which they must speedily and inevitably be involved, unless some of the heavy burdens, under which they struggle, are removed, or some increased means of meeting them are afforded; approach your Honourable House with a full confidence that you will take into your immediate consideration the hardships under which they labour, and afford them such aid and assistance as to your wisdom shall seem expedient. Yielding to no one class of his Majesty's subjects in loyalty to his royal person, and in devotion to the laws and constitution of the country, your petitioners beg permission respectfully, but firmly, to state the deplorable grievances under which they now, and for a long time

past have laboured; and without presuming to dictate to your honourable House, they humbly desire to state what are the circumstances of depression under which the agricultural interest now suffers, leaving it to your honourable House to ascertain what are the remote but original causes which have ultimately produced these disastrous effects.

We therefore beg humbly to represent to your honourable House that the continued fall in the price of agricultural produce is the first and great evil of which we have to complain.

That this fall has in some measure been progressive for many years.

That although the wholesale prices have fallen to an alarming extent, yet that there has been no proportionate fall in general retail prices, and little or no diminution in the direct or indirect taxes.

And therefore, that the necessary expenses of farming (measured in the quantity of produce sold to pay them) have exceedingly increased.

That consequently the quantity, as well as the price, of the remaining produce has been exceedingly diminished.

That this remaining produce constitutes the farmer's means of subsistence, his profits, and his rent.

That this reduction in the quantity and the price has been so great, that, when the means of subsistence have been subtracted, nothing has been left for profit, and hardly any thing for rent, except on the best lands, or in favourite situations.

That this inability to pay the rent from the sale of produce has obliged the farmers to make up the deficiency by the annual sacrifice of their capital.

That thus their means of employing labour and of cultivating the land to the best advantage, have been rapidly diminishing.

The consequent diminution in the demand for labour has thrown large portions of the labourers on the rates for support.

That thus a heavy and rapidly increasing burden has fallen on the land, which has again, in its turn, exceedingly increased the previous difficulties.

That thus the necessary expenses and burdens now swallowed up nearly the whole proceeds of the land.

That, consequently, already many farms of good land, on which the expenses are heavy, have been thrown out of cultivation.

That, with present prices, large tracts of fair land must cease to pay for cultivation, even if rent be altogether remitted.

That, consequently, the power to supply the increasing population with food must be rapidly diminished.

That though a considerable portion of rents have been paid out of capital, yet that these rents have not been obtained by any unfair means on the part of the landlords; but by the scarcity of other employments, and by the deceptive hopes which have, till lately, rendered the applicants for farms numerous.

That the landlords have been reducing their rents time after time.

That retail prices in general have not been reduced to them at all in proportion to the reduction made in their rents.

That the landlords contracted mortgages, settlements, and debts, and consented to taxes under higher prices, and on the understood pledged national assurance, that agricultural produce should retain its remunerating price.

That these taxes and money engagements have not been reduced.

That, consequently, hundreds of landowners have been ruined, and many are suffering most severely—and all are obliged to adopt a system of economy, extremely injurious to the welfare of every interest in the country.

That a large proportion of the capital possessed by those able and willing to take farms, has passed into other hands, by the process previously described, so that, already (except in favoured situations), it is found very difficult to obtain tenants whose capital will enable them to keep the land in cultivation.

That the inevitable results of causes and effects, operating as they do at the present time, must be an almost entire loss of income to the landowner, in-

volving, in many instances, the confiscation of his land to mortgagees, as well as the utter ruin of all farmers. The gradual laying waste of a large proportion of the land, and ultimately agrarian laws, famine, and other consequences too dreadful to contemplate.

We, therefore, humbly beg your hon. House immediately to investigate the cause of this dreadful fall of prices, with the view, as speedily as possible, either to diminish all taxes and burdens which press directly or indirectly on the cultivators of land, or else to adopt such measures as may be calculated to raise prices, and thus place farmers in a situation in which they may be enabled to meet their present expenses; to employ labour, cultivate the land with profit to themselves, and to pay fair rents to their landlords.

That thus the present ruin, and the state of impending destruction, may be exchanged for a state of general prosperity.

And your petitioners shall ever pray,
&c JOHN GARDEN, Sheriff.

Resolved,—That the thanks of this meeting be given to the High Sheriff for convening the same, and for his conduct in the Chair.

These statements were omitted in the copy of the petition brought before the meeting on account of their length:—

That a continuous fall in the price of agricultural produce has been produced by some latent cause. For that this fall has gone on though the English farmers have been almost entirely protected from the importation of foreign corn.

Though the population has been rapidly increasing.

And though the quantity, both of corn and meat produced in the kingdom has been diminishing.

That the pressure of taxes direct and indirect, as well as of all burdens, has been exceedingly increased.

That consequently, the necessary expenses in farming, and the burdens which fall on farmers, have, in reality, been much increased.

That though rents have been very much reduced in many cases 50 per cent.; yet, that this great reduction has not been proportionate to the fall in prices coupled with the effects produced by that fall.

That many labourers have been thrown on the parish rates for support, and have, consequently, become degraded, indifferent to consequences, idle and vicious.

That by the operation of these various circumstances, thousands of honest and industrious farmers have been utterly ruined.

That those who still remain, must, under present circumstances, soon share the same fate.

That even where farmers still possess capital, or the means of borrowing it, the value of the returns produced by its outlay in the employment of labour and in improvements, is not sufficient to induce them to make the outlay.

That the labouring population is increasing in an unhealthy manner.

That this increase is not consequent upon prosperity, but upon its reverse.

For that all the restraints which prudence and the anticipation of consequences exercised over improvident marriages, have been removed.

That a large portion of the rising generation of the poor, are being brought up in idleness, and, are, therefore, quite incompetent to perform any useful work.

That they are gradually imbibing notions, not only that they have a claim to be supported even without work; but that this state is even better for them, than a state of honest and useful labour.

That thus the best feelings and the true strength of the country are being rapidly undermined.

From the LONDON GAZETTE,

FRIDAY, MARCH 21, 1834.

BANKRUPTCY ANNULLED.

BRIGHTWEN, J. South-place, Finsbury, and Providence-row, Worship-street, veterinary-surgeon.

BANKRUPTCY SUPERSEDED.**GUDGE, E.**, Bristol, woollen-draper.**BANKRUPTS.****CAPPER, H.**, Straud, tea-dealer.**COWAN, W.**, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, draper.**GIBBINS, E. B.**, Red Lion-square, lodging-house-keeper.**GOFF, W.**, Wantage, Berkshire, tailor.**HAMMOND, W. J. B.**, Upper Thames-street, merchant.**HORROCKS, W.**, Liverpool, corn-miller.**JOHNSON, A.**, Southport, Lancashire, draper.**MILLER, F.**, St. Alban's, Hertfordshire, victualler.**PYMAR, W.**, Newgate-street, tobacco-manufacturer.**SHARP, J.**, Liverpool, victualler.**SLAGG, R. H.**, Swinton, Yorkshire, steel-manufacturer.**SMITH, J.**, Old Kent-road, coach-proprietor.**SCOTCH SEQUESTRATION.****IRONSIDE, J.**, Edinburgh, wood-merchant.**TUESDAY, MARCH 25, 1834.****INSOLVENTS.****THORPE, M.**, Spalding, Lincolnshire, merchant.**YOUNGMAN, P.**, Chatham, Kent, bookseller.**BANKRUPTCIES ENLARGED.****ATKINSON, R.**, Huddersfield, Yorkshire, woollen cloth-manufacturer.**BRADDOCK, J.**, Chester-gate, Macclesfield, hatter.**BANKRUPTS.****BAINBRIDGE, J.**, Richmond, Yorkshire, ironmonger.**BULLOCK, B. H.**, Quiet-street, Bath, and Bond-street, London, wine-merchant.**CHALMERS, R.**, Chirk Bank, Salop, shop-keeper.**GRASEMANN, C. F.**, Liverpool, merchant.**METCALF, C. D.**, Birmingham, grocer.**MORRIS, T.**, Derby, draper.**MOULSEY, E.**, Haulton, Stafford, maltster.**PAUL, J.**, Paternoster-row, bookseller.**TWIST, J.**, Rhyddlan, Flintshire, timber-merchant.**WHALLEY, T.**, Stafford, wholesale shoe-manufacturer.**LONDON MARKETS.**

MARK-LANE, CORN-EXCHANGE, Mar. 24.—The supplies from the home counties have to-day been short, as the farmers are now engaged in out-door operations. The quality of the Wheat samples is being improved by the

weather, and the choice limited; fine descriptions in some instances realized rather more money, while other sorts were steady at last week's currency. We have not heard of any transaction of bonded Wheat since that noticed last week, consisting of 500 qrs. of soft Russian at 24s.

Malting Barley moved off hand at the rates of last week, but the demand for Chevalier having abated, prices have given way 1s. to 2s. per qr. In distilling and grinding sorts little doing, and the quotations nominally the same.

Malt has experienced no alteration.

The Oat trade was dull, but good fresh corn was taken at the currency of last week; while the stale and weathered samples were very difficult of disposal.

Beans were dull, though the prices are unaltered.

Peas experienced rather an improved demand, and all qualities maintained the terms of last week.

The top price of town-made Flour still remaining undecided, quotations vary from 45s. to 48s., and which renders the trade for ship's marks, and secondary qualities very unsettled, and prices nominal.

Wheat	45s. to 57s.
Rye	—s. to —s.
Barley	22s. to 24s.
— fine	28s. to 30s.
Peas, White	—s. to —s.
— Boilers	30s. to 34s.
— Grey	30s. to 33s.
Beans, Small	31s. to 37s.
— Tick	26s. to 33s.
Oats, Potato	21s. to 23s.
— Feed	16s. to 19s.
Flour, per sack	43s. to 47s.

PROVISIONS.

Pork, India, new	95s. to 100s.
— Mess, new ...	55s. to 57s. per barl.
Butter, Belfast	66s. to 76s. per cwt.
— Carlow	50s. to 76s.
— Cork	62s. to 64s.
— Limerick ..	60s. to 62s.
— Waterford ..	50s. to 70s.
— Dublin	50s. to 52s.

SMITHFIELD, March 24.

This day's supply of Beasts, Sheep, and Lambs was moderately good; the supply of fat Calves and Porkers but limited. Trade, with prime Mutton, Lamb, and Veal, was somewhat brisk, at fully, with the middling and inferior kinds of Mutton, Lamb, and Veal, dull, at barely Friday's quotations.

Full three fourths of the beasts consisted of about equal numbers of short-horns, Devons, Scots, and Norfolk home-breds; the remaining fourth of about equal numbers of Herefordshire, Sussex, and Irish beasts, with, perhaps, 100 Town's-end Cows, a few Staffords, &c.

A full moiety of the Sheep appeared to be South-Downs; about a fourth new Leicesters, in about equal numbers of the South-Downs and white-faced crosses; and the remaining fourth about equal numbers of Kents, Kentish half-breeds, and old Leicesters, with a few pens of old Lincolns, horned and polled Norfolks, horned Dorsets and Somersets, horned and polled Scotch and Welsh Sheep, &c.

The Lambs, in number about 400, consisted of about equal numbers of Dorsets and new white-faced Leicesters, with a few coarse-wooled South-Downs, &c.

About 2,200 of the beasts, a full moiety of which were in about equal numbers of Scots and Norfolk home-breeds; the remainder, in about the same proportion of short-horns, Devons, and Welsh runts, came from Norfolk, Suffolk, Essex, and Cambridgeshire; about 150, chiefly short-horns, with a few Devons, runts, and Irish beasts, from Lincolnshire, Leicestershire, and others of our northern grazing districts; about 120, chiefly Devons, with a few runts and Irish beasts, from our western and midland districts; about 140, chiefly Sussex beasts, with a few Devons, Welsh runts and Irish beasts, from Kent, Sussex, and Surrey; and most of the remainder, including the Town's-end Cows, from the stall-feeders, &c. near London.

MARK-LANE.—Friday, March 28.

The arrivals this week are small; but the market is dull at the prices of Monday.

THE FUNDS.

	Fri.	Sat.	Mon.	Tues.	Wed.	Thur.
3 per Cent. } Cons. Ann. }	91½	91½	91½	90½	90½	91½

COBBETT-LIBRARY.

Fourth Edition.

COBBETT'S Spelling-Book. (Price 2s.)

Containing, besides all the usual matter of such a book, a clear and concise

INTRODUCTION TO ENGLISH GRAMMAR.

This I have written by way of

A Stepping-Stone to my own Grammar;

such a thing having been frequently suggested to me by Teachers as necessary.

1. ENGLISH GRAMMAR.—Of this work one hundred thousand copies have now been published. This is a duodecimo volume, and the price is 3s. bound in boards.

2. TULL'S HORSE-HOEING HUSBANDRY; or, a Treatise on the Principles of Tillage and Vegetation. With an Introduction, by WM. COBBETT. 8vo. Price 15s.

3. THE EMIGRANTS' GUIDE.

Just now Published, under this Title, a little Volume, containing Ten Letters, addressed to English Tax-payers. A new edition, with a Postscript, containing an account of the Prices of Houses and Land, recently obtained from America by Mr. Cobbett. Price 2s. 6d. in bds.

4. THE WOODLANDS; or, a Treatise on the preparing of the ground for planting; on the planting, on the cultivating, on the pruning, and on the cutting down, of Forest Trees and Underwoods. Price 14s. bound in boards.

5. YEAR'S RESIDENCE IN AMERICA.—The Price of this book, in good print and on fine paper, is 5s.

6. FRENCH GRAMMAR; or, Plain Instructions for the Learning of French. Price, bound in boards, 5s.

7. COTTAGE ECONOMY.—I wrote this Work professedly for the use of the labouring and middling classes of the English nation. I made myself acquainted with the best and simplest modes of making beer and bread, and these I made it as plain as, I believe, words could make it. Also of the keeping of Cows, Pigs, Bees, and Poultry, matters which I understood as well as any body could, and in all their details. It includes my writing, also on the Straw Plait. A Duodecimo Volume. Price 2s. 6d.

8. MARTENS'S LAW OF NATIONS.—This is the Book which was the foundation of all the knowledge that I have ever possessed relative to public law. The Price is 17s., and the manner of its execution is I think, such as to make it fit for the Library of any Gentleman.

9. MR. JAMES PAUL COBBETT'S RIDE OF EIGHT HUNDRED MILES IN FRANCE. Second Edition. Price 2s. 6d.

10. A TREATISE ON COBBETT'S CORN; containing Instructions for Propagating and Cultivating the Plant, and for Harvesting and Preserving the Crop; and also an account of the several uses to which the Produce is applied. Price 5s.

11. LETTERS FROM FRANCE; containing Observations made in that Country during a Residence of Two Months in the South, and Three Months at Paris. By JOHN M. COBBETT. Price 4s. in boards.

12. PROTESTANT "REFORMATION" in England and Ireland, showing how that event has impoverished and degraded the main body of the people in those countries. Two volumes, bound in boards. The Price of the first volume is 4s. 6d. The Price of the second volume 3s. 6d.

Just published, price 4d.

MR. COBBETT'S SPEECH.

AND THE

**OTHER SPEECHES ON HIS MOTION
FOR AN ABOLITION OF THE MALT-
TAX.**

Just published, price 4d.,

NATIONAL REGENERATION.

1. Letter from Mr. Fitton to Mr. Fielden.
2. Letter from Mr. Fielden to Mr. Fitton.
3. Letter from Mr. Holt to Mr. Fielden.

Which Letters contain a development of all the principles and all the views connected with this important change in the manufacturing affairs of the country.

**THE CURSE
OF**

PAPER MONEY AND BANKING,

Or, a short History of Banking in the United States of America, with an account of its ruinous effects on Landowners, Farmers, Traders, and on all the industrious classes of the community.

By W. M. GOUGE, of Philadelphia, in 1833.

To which is prefixed an Introduction by WM. COBBETT, M.P. for Oldham. Price 4s. 11, Bolt-court, Fleet-street, and all Book-sellers.

Just published, price 2s.,

FOUR LETTERS.

TO THE

HON. JOHN STUART WORTLEY,

In answer to his "Brief Inquiry into the true award of an Equitable Adjustment between the nation and its creditors."—By WILLIAM COBBETT, M.P. for Oldham.

Price 6s. a new edition of the

ENGLISH GARDENER,

OR,

A TREATISE

On the Situation, Soil, Enclosing and Laying-Out of Kitchen Gardens; on the Making and Managing of Hot-beds and Green-Houses; and on the Propagation and Cultivation of all sorts of Kitchen-Garden Plants, and of Fruit-Trees whether of the Garden or the Orchard.

AND ALSO,

On the Formation of Shrubberies and Flower-Gardens; and on the Propagation and Cultivation of the several sorts of Shrubs and Flowers;

CONCLUDING WITH

A KALENDAR,

Giving instructions relative to the Sowings, Plantings, Prunings, and other labours, to be performed in the Gardens, in each Month of the Year.

By WILLIAM COBBETT.

Price 12s.

**A GEOGRAPHICAL DICTIONARY
OF ENGLAND AND WALES;**

CONTAINING

The names, in Alphabetical Order, of all the Counties, with their several Subdivisions, into Hundreds, Lathes, Rapes, Wapentakes, Wards, or Divisions; and an Account of the Distribution of the Counties into Circuits, Dioceses, and Parliamentary Divisions.

ALSO,

The names (under that of each County respectively), in Alphabetical Order, of all the Cities, Boroughs, Market Towns, Villages, Hamlets, and Tithings, with the Distance of each from London, or from the nearest Market Town, and with the Population, and other interesting particulars relating to each; besides which there are

MAPS;

First, one of the whole country, showing the local situation of the Counties relatively to each other; and, then, each County is also preceded by a Map, showing, in the same manner, the local situation of the Cities, Boroughs, and Market Towns.

FOUR TABLES

Are added; first, a Statistical Table of all the Counties, and then three Tables, showing the new Divisions and Distributions enacted by the Reform-Law of 4th June, 1832.

CHEAP CLOTHING!!

SWAIN AND CO., Tailors, &c.,

93, FLEET-STREET,

(Near New Bridge-street.)

BEg the attention of the public to their extensive stock of goods for the present season, which they supply at the following prices:—

FOR CASH ONLY.

	£.	s.	d.
A Suit of Superfine Clothes.....	4	18	0
Ditto, Black or Blue.....	5	10	0
Ditto, Imperial Saxony.....	6	0	0
Petersham Great Coats.....	3	3	0
Barogan or Velveteen Shooting } Jackets.....	1	10	0
Cobbett's Cord Trowsers.....	1	2	0
A complete Suit of Livery.....	4	10	0
SPANISH, OPERA, and WALKING CLOAKS, LADIES' HABITS and PELISSES, and CHILDREN'S DRESSES, and every other article in the trade made in the most elegant manner.			

I recommend Messrs. Swain and Co as very good and punctual tradesmen, whom I have long employed with great satisfaction. WM. COBBETT.

END OF VOL LXXXIII.

Printed by William Cobbett, Johnson's-court; and published by him, at 11, Bolt-court, Fleet-street.
